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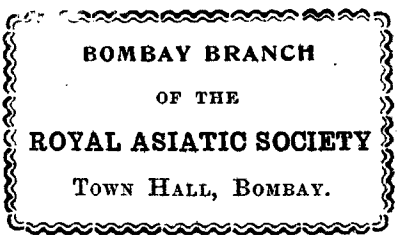

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THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

1. LACONIA:—

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908. (Plates I.–VI.)

		PAGE
R. M. DAWKINS.	§ 1.—The Season's Work	1
„ „	§ 2.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. (Plates I., II.)	4
J. P. DROOP.	§ 3.—The Pottery. (Plates III., IV.)	30
J. FARRELL.	§ 4.—The Archaic Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Orthia	48
A. M. WOODWARD.	§ 5.—The Inscriptions	74
G. DICKINS.	§ 6.—The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos	142
A. J. B. WACE.	§ 7.—A Third-Century Marble Head	147
„ „	§ 8.—A Hoard of Hellenistic Coins. (Plates V., VI.)	149

II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

A. J. B. WACE. F. W. HASLUCK.	South-Eastern Laconia	161
2. D. G. HOGARTH.	Hierapolis Syriae	183
3. A. J. B. WACE. J. P. DROOP. M. S. THOMPSON.	Excavations at Zerélia, Thessaly	197
W. VOLLGRAFF.	Notes on the Topography of Phthiotis	224

PAGE

4. R. M. BURROWS. P. N. URE — Excavations at Rhitsóna in Boeotia. (Plates VII.–XV.) 226

5. M. M. VASSITS. — South-Eastern Elements in the Pre-historic Civilization of Servia 319

6. D. MACKENZIE. — Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilization. IV. 343

Annual Meeting of Subscribers 423

Income and Expenditure, 1907–1908 438

Donations and Subscriptions, 1907–1908 440

List of Subscribers 445

List of Directors, Honorary Students, Students, and Associates . . 451

Suggested Plan of Study 459

Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens . . . 460

Index 464

LIST OF PLATES.

I. Sparta. Plan of Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

II. Sparta. Sectional Drawings of Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

III. Sparta. Kylix of Laconian III. Style.

IV. Sparta. Kylix of Laconian III. Style. Detail of Ornament and Shape.

V. Sparta. Hoard of Hellenistic Coins.

VI. Sparta. Hoard of Hellenistic Coins.

VII. Rhitsóna. Terracotta Statuettes from Graves 31 (A) and 18 (B).

VIII. Rhitsóna. Boeotian Geometric Vases from Graves 18 (A) and 26 (B)

IX. Rhitsóna. Vases from Graves 49 and 51.

X. Rhitsóna. Vases from Grave 50.

XI. Rhitsóna. Vases from Graves 26 and 31.

XII. Rhitsóna. Terracotta Statuettes, etc. from Graves 26 and 31.

XIII. Rhitsóna. Vases from Graves 18 and 22.

XIV. Rhitsóna. Red-Figure Skyphos from Grave 22.

XV. Rhitsóna. Vases from Graves 26, 31, 49, and 51.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

LACONIA :—

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 2.—THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA.

PAGE

Fig. 1. Profile of Archaic Capital from the Temple of Orthia . . . 7
Fig. 2. Houses outside the Wall of the Archaic Hieron 8
Fig. 3. Fretwork Carvings in Bone 10
Fig. 4. Lead Figurines and Pottery of about 400 B.C. 11
Fig. 5. View of the Sixth-century Temple and the Remains of the Primitive Temple 17
Fig. 6. The Primitive Temple with the Edge of the Cobble-pavement, and the South Wall of the Sixth-century Temple . . 18
Fig. 7. View of the Interior of the Primitive Temple 19
Fig. 8. Bone Carvings of Orthia. 23
Fig. 9. Lead Figurines 24
Fig. 10. Carvings in Soft Limestone 25

§ 3.—THE POTTERY.

Fig. 1. Laconian I. 31
Fig. 2. „ „ 32
Fig. 3. Laconian II. 33
Fig. 4. Laconian III. 36
Fig. 5. „ „ 38
Fig. 6. „ „ 39
Fig. 7. Laconian IV. 41
Fig. 8. Laconian V. 42

LACONIA (*continued*):—

PAGE

Fig. 9. Laconian VI. 44

Fig. 10. Stems of Kylikes of Laconian II. and Laconian V. . . . 45

§ 4.—ARCHAIC TERRACOTTAS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA.

Fig. 1. Small Hand-made Figures 50

Fig. 2. Hand-made and Moulded Figures 53

Fig. 3. „ „ „ „ „ 56

Fig. 4. Moulded Protomai and Standing Female Figures . . . 59

Fig. 5. Terracotta Heads 61

Fig. 6. Figures of Orthia as Πότνια Θηρῶν, etc. 63

Fig. 7. Nude Male and Female Figures 66

Fig. 8. Miniature Masks 72

§ 5.—INSCRIPTIONS.

Fig. 1. White Marble Stele (No. 70) 78

Fig. 2. Grey „ „ (No. 73) 81

Fig. 3. „ „ „ (No. 94) 92

Fig. 4. *Rosso Antico* Stele (No. 60*) 100

Fig. 5. Marble Bench (No. 1) 104

§ 6.—THE HIERON OF ATHENA CHALKIOIKOS.

Fig. 1. Limestone Stele 144

Fig. 2. Bronze Statuette of Armed Aphrodite 145

§ 7.—A THIRD-CENTURY MARBLE HEAD.

Fig. 1. Marble Head of a Satyr 147

II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

SOUTH-EASTERN LACONIA.

Text Plate. Laconia: Sketch Map of S.-E. District . . *To face* 161

Fig. 1. Sculptures at Neapolis 170

Fig. 2. Cape Malea: S. Irene 173

Fig. 3. Epidaurus Limera: Plan of the Ruins 180

Fig. 4. „ „ Southern Wall 181

Fig. 5. „ „ Masonry of Tower 182

HIERAPOLIS SYRIAE :—

PAGE
Fig. 1. The Sacred Lake at Hierapolis Syriae (Mumbij) . . . 188
Fig. 2. Statue of a Recumbent Lion 188
Fig. 3. Terracottas representing the *Dea Syria* 190

EXCAVATIONS AT ZERÉLIA, THESSALY :—

Fig. 1. Map of Part of North Greece 197
Fig. 2. Zerélia from the South 198
Fig. 3. „ Plan and Section of Mound 200
Fig. 4. Diagram to explain Stratification 201
Fig. 5. Building in Second Settlement 202
Fig. 6. Pottery with Red Designs on White Ground 203
Fig. 7. „ „ „ „ „ „ „ 204
Fig. 8. Shapes of Pottery 205
Fig. 9. Unpainted Pottery from the Later Settlements . . . 207
Fig. 10. Unpainted Vases from the Seventh Settlement . . . 208
Fig. 11. Pottery with White Paint on Red Surface 209
Fig. 12. Pottery with Black and Orange-red Designs . . . 210
Fig. 13. Wheel-made Pottery from the Eighth Settlement . . 212
Fig. 14. Tombs B, C, D 214
Fig. 15. Cist Tombs (F and H) 214
Fig. 16. Pithos from Tomb B 215
Fig. 17. Terracotta Statuettes 217
Fig. 18. Male Terracotta Statuette 218
Fig. 19. Stone Axes 219

EXCAVATIONS AT RHITSÓNA, IN BOEOTIA :—

Fig. 1. Rhitsóna: Grave Area Excavated 1907–8 230
Fig. 2. Euripus and Chalcis from Anephorites 233
Fig. 3. Anephorites from Euripus 233
Fig. 4. Rhitsóna from Anephorites 233
Fig. 5. Junction of Chalcis and Vathy Roads 233
Figs. 6, 7. Nails from Graves 49 and 50 243
Fig. 8. Grave 18: Vases in Position 248

EXCAVATIONS AT RHITSÓNA, IN BOEOTIA (*continued*):—

PAGE

Fig. 9. Grave 50: No. 28 258
Fig. 10. „ „ No. 258 259
Fig. 11. „ „ No. 282 262
Fig. 12. Inscriptions on Vases from Graves 18, 26, 31, 49 . . . 263
Fig. 13. Grave 51: No. 49 267
Fig. 14. „ „ Design on No. 231 269
Fig. 15. Grave 31: Nos. 131, 151, 152, 153 274
Fig. 16. Grave 26: Nos. 242, 243 286
Fig. 17. Grave 18: Designs on No. 83, *a* and *b* 291
Fig. 18. „ „ No. 133. Signed by Teisias 293
Fig. 19. Red-Figure Kylikes in the British Museum, signed by Hermaios 294
Fig. 20. Cook Figurine (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) 296
Fig. 21. Grave 18: No. 267 296
Fig. 22. Grave 21: No. 1 299
Fig. 23. Grave 22: Inscription on No. 8 301

SOUTH-EASTERN ELEMENTS IN THE PRE-HISTORIC CIVILIZATION OF SERVIA:—

Fig. 1. Two Views of Male Figure 321
Fig. 2. Statuette of Earliest Type 323
Fig. 3. Back of Head of Statuette of Developed Type 323
Fig. 4. Statuette of Decadent Type 324
Fig. 5. Bone Statuette 327
Fig. 6. Statuette of Kourotrophos 328
Fig. 7. Bicephalous Statuette 328
Fig. 8. Types of Foot of Bowls 331
Fig. 9. Vase Sherds with Impressed Designs 333
Fig. 10. „ „ „ Painted „ 334
Fig. 11. Bichrome Matt-painting on Three-Legged Altar 335
Figs. 12, 13. Vase Fragments shewing Designs Derived from Nature . 337
Fig. 14 (*a*, *b*). Vase Fragments with Human Figures in Relief . . . 338

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION IV.:—

Fig. 1. Pyxis from Melos 359
Fig. 2. Neolithic House at Magasá in East Crete 361

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION IV. (*continued*).—

PAGE

Fig. 3. Prototype Rectangular House 363
Fig. 4. Development of *ibid.* 363
Fig. 5. Early Minoan Ossuary at Kastrí 363
Figs. 6, 7. Developments of Prototype House 363
Fig. 8. Plan of House of Period II. at Phylakopi 370
Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Neolithic Houses at Dimini and Sesklo . . 375
Fig. 14. Central-Hearth Hut with Doorway at End of Wall . . . 389
Fig. 15. Development of Porch in *ibid.* 389
Fig. 16. Plan of House of Period II. at Phylakopi 390
Figs. 17, 18, 19. Plans shewing Development of the Nordic House . . 402
Fig. 20. The Elliptical House at Chamaizi 402
Fig. 21. Diagram of Rectangular Model serving as Basis of the Elliptical House 402

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

(PLATES I.—VI.)

§ 1.—THE SEASON'S WORK AND SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

THE work of the School in 1908 was again confined to the site of Sparta, and the continuance of the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia demanded the greater part of the time and funds available. In expressing thanks to the Hellenic Government and to the Ephor General of Antiquities, Doctor Kavvadias, for their support and the interest which they have always taken in the work, especial mention must be made this year of the progress in furnishing the new rooms recently added to the Sparta Museum. One of these has now been filled with exhibition cases in which a representative series of the new finds has been placed, so labelled as to enable visitors to form some idea of the results of the excavation and the fresh light which it throws upon the art of early Sparta. The Hellenic Government was again ably represented at the excavation by Mr. Gerasimos Kapsalis.

Work was begun on the 23rd of March and lasted, with a short break for the Greek Easter, until the end of May. Messrs. Wace, Droop, and the Director were present throughout, and Messrs. Dickins, Woodward, Farrell, and Thompson for nearly the whole time. Mr. Harvey, an Architectural student of the Royal Academy, also visited Sparta during the excavation, and made drawings of some of the painted vases and ivory carvings. Most of the members of the expedition devoted themselves to

the Orthia sanctuary, either in the field, where the method of digging by levels demanded a great deal of supervision, or in the Museum, but Mr. Dickins completed the excavation of the site of the Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos, which he had begun the year before, Mr. Woodward searched for inscriptions, and Mr. Wace, whilst superintending the digging of some trial trenches, made an important find of Hellenistic coins. A special donation went a long way towards paying the expenses of a professional photographer from Athens, who made a fine series of photographs of the objects found.

Until he was needed at Knossos, we again had the advantage of the services of Gregory Antoniou of Larnaca as foreman, and during the last part of the work his place was filled by Michael Katsarakis, one of the foremen who had before worked for the School in Crete. Joannis Katsarakis again came from Palaikastro to act as mender.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The following brief summary of the sections of the detailed report gives the main results of the season's work, which, even more than the year before centred round the Orthia site.

The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (§ 2, p. 4).—Work for another season still remains, but much progress has been made, especially in filling up the gaps in the series of votive offerings. These now present us with the various arts, especially of pottery and ivory carving, in unbroken development from the Geometric period to the fourth century B.C. In every case we have the remarkable result that the finest works belong to the seventh century, and that the sixth already shows the beginning of the decline which is so marked in the very poor character of the finds of the fifth century. Pottery forms a considerable proportion of these objects, and Mr. Droop (§ 3 below), basing his thesis on the long series of stratified deposits now discovered, has been able to establish the important point, which last year could be no more than a suggestion, that the fabric hitherto known as Cyrenaic was in reality made in Laconia. In its development from the beginning of the seventh to the middle of the fourth century he sees six stages, which he has called Laconian I.–VI., and this terminology has been adopted throughout the report. Detailed accounts of the lead figurines,

the number of which now exceeds sixty thousand, of the terracotta masks, of which a great mass were again found this year, of the archaic inscriptions and of the carved ivories have been necessarily held over, from considerations of space and time. Reports on each of these will be subsequently published similar in scope to Mr. Droop's study of the pottery and Mr. Farrell's paper on the terracotta figurines in § 4.

On the site itself the temple contemporary with the archaic altar found last year has now been discovered and excavated. It was a small building made of crude brick with, apparently, a timber framework, and the interior was probably divided into two naves by a row of wooden pillars; and as it dates from the ninth or even the tenth century, it may claim to be one of the oldest Greek temples known. The general shape and position of the archaic hieron at the bottom of a natural hollow has also been determined, and the history of the site traced from the earliest times. This work has involved the removal of a good deal of the foundation of the Roman amphitheatre.

The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos (§ 6, p. 142).—The excavation of the area inside the hieron wall has been concluded by Mr. Dickins. It is unfortunate that the site of so important a sanctuary has proved to be so much denuded. The most interesting find this year is a stele with the draped figure of a woman inscribed Ἀναξίβιος.

The Late Roman Wall.—The work of clearing the face of this wall on the Acropolis, in order to uncover the inscriptions built into it, has been continued by Mr. Woodward with some success. The inscriptions he publishes in § 5 of this report. The marble head published in § 7 was also found in the course of this work.

A Hoard of Hellenistic Coins (§ 8, p. 149).—A small excavation was conducted by Mr. Wace in a piece of ground near the Sparta end of the modern bridge over the Eurotas on the Tripolis road, where trial pits had before shown some promise. This led to the discovery of a hoard of 86 Hellenistic tetradrachms in a vase. About half of them are Athenian and the rest belong to different Hellenistic rulers.

R. M. DAWKINS.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 2.—THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA.—THE EXCAVATION.

(PLATES I., II.)

THIS year again the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia claimed the greater part of the resources of the School, and with the exception of a few days at the Greek Easter the work went on continuously from March 23rd to the end of May under the charge of the Director, assisted in the field especially by Messrs. Wace and Thompson. The surveying was undertaken by Mr. Thompson, and the plans and sections accompanying this report are based upon his measurements. The comparative smallness of the area excavated, and the necessity for working slowly, in order that as far as possible no detail of the stratification should pass unnoticed, precluded the employment of any large number of workmen, and the number never rose above thirty-five, and was often much lower.

When the work of the season began, the interior of the sixth-century temple and the space occupied by the arena of the Roman amphitheatre had been dug down to the virgin soil, the archaic altar below the arena had been uncovered, and the space surrounding it shewn to have been roughly paved with cobble-stones, upon which a rich deposit of archaic votive offerings had accumulated. This altar and pavement had been attributed to the ninth century B.C.,[1] and had been shewn to have been

[1] The preservation of this cobble pavement is very unequal. Scattered stones at its level are never lacking, but they only form an unbroken pavement in certain parts. The exact state in which it was found below the arena is shown in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 66, Fig. 12.

covered with a layer of sand and gravel, by which the level of the site was raised at the building of the sixth-century temple, The campaign of 1907 had thus left two main desiderata. The first was to find the temple contemporary with the archaic altar, and the second to reach the limits of the cobble pavement, and thus to ascertain the extent of the early hieron with which it seemed to be co-extensive, and at the same time to recover as many as possible of the votive offerings with which its surface was strown.

The Roman Amphitheatre and Sixth-Century Temple.

This programme involved the removal of part of the foundations of the Roman amphitheatre, and this was our first task. Three sections were successively attacked: the region east of the altar, where the existence of a wall beneath the Roman work had been discovered by a trial trench in 1906;[1] the northern part between the temple and the river, beneath which very rich finds were made in the first days of the excavation; and the triangular piece south of the temple and between it and the experimental cutting made in 1906 known as Trench *A*.[2] This last part lay between a very rich area immediately in front of the temple and the point in Trench *A*, just west of the Roman foundation, which had yielded an immense mass of fragments of terracotta masks at the end of the first season of the work.[3] It was fortunate that in the second and third of these regions there was already practically nothing of the amphitheatre left except the concrete foundation, whilst in the first it was possible to leave the outer part of the building with the external row of piers untouched. The exact amount of the foundation thus removed is marked on the plan in Pl. I., which shews that the whole northern half has now disappeared. In removing the foundation north of the temple a small piece was left adjacent to the north-east corner, in order to preserve some of the stone slabs set on edge, by which it was originally surrounded. The poverty of the archaic deposit at this point had made it plain that not much was likely to be lost by doing this.

[1] The position of this trench and the wall revealed by it are shewn in the plan in *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. II. The wall is seen between Rays XI. and XII., and is the corner marked *A* on the plan on Pl. I. in this volume.

[2] The plan on Pl. I. marks the edge of this trench. Its whole extent is given in the plan of the sanctuary in *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII. 1.

[3] In *B.S.A.* xii. p. 324, where this find is recorded, the word 'east' in the bottom line of the page is an error for 'west.'

The interior structure of the Roman foundation is somewhat remarkable. The upper surface of the raft is formed by a firm floor of stones bound together by hard mortar or cement, and on this floor the walls and piers of the structure are built without their stones being bonded at all with those of the foundation. Some 65 m. below the surface of the raft is a second floor of mortar, and the space between these two floors is occupied by a system of mortared walls, the interspaces being filled simply by loose stones. The direction of these walls is either concentric with the ring of the arena or radial to it, the concentric walls being about 2·50 m., and the radial from 1·00 m. to 1·50 m. apart. They have only one face, which in the concentric walls is on the outer curve. It was noticed that where the foundation abutted on the temple, these interior walls were not radial, but parallel with the edge of the foundation, and that this arrangement gave way to the radial system as the distance from the temple increased, the object of the builders being simply to divide the whole space into rough equal rectangles. Below this system of walls and floors the foundation consists generally of stones thrown in at random with very little mortar, to a further depth of about ·75 m.

As in the two previous years, a number of inscriptions were found built into this foundation. They are published below by Mr. Woodward, and as the precise position in which they were found has no importance no more need be said about them here. One of them, however, is of interest for the architectural history of the sanctuary, as it gives us a picture of the façade of the temple as it was in the Roman period. The photograph of the stone on page 95 shews that it was a Doric distyle *in antis*. We owe this relic of the building to the fact that Xenokles, the son of Aristokritos, victor three times in the musical contest, saw in the three spaces between the *antae* and columns of the façade a suitable frame for the three sickles which had rewarded his skill, and made his stele a copy of the front of the temple, in which the pediment filled the gable-shaped top of the slab. Close architectural details are not to be looked for in such a work, and in particular no conclusions can be drawn as to the decoration of the pediment. The temple represented is the Hellenistic reconstruction of the sixth-century building.

A probably authentic relic of the sixth-century temple itself, however, was found in the Roman masonry, in the shape of a fragment of a Doric capital, which, as the drawing of the profile in Fig. 1 shews, had the

characteristic archaic form. It had been used again as building material and cut into quarters for this purpose, and the piece recovered is one of these. The shape of the curve and the proportion of the height to the width of the echinus are almost exactly those of the archaic temple of Tiryns, the first and earliest of the series given by Choisy to illustrate the development of the Doric capital.[1]

East and south of the temple wall the plan shews certain round holes about ·60 m. in diameter, at distances from the wall of from 1·20 to 2·50 m. These were filled with sand and passed through the archaic deposit from the layer of sand above to the virgin soil below. Similar holes were also observed outside the north wall of the temple, but their actual position was

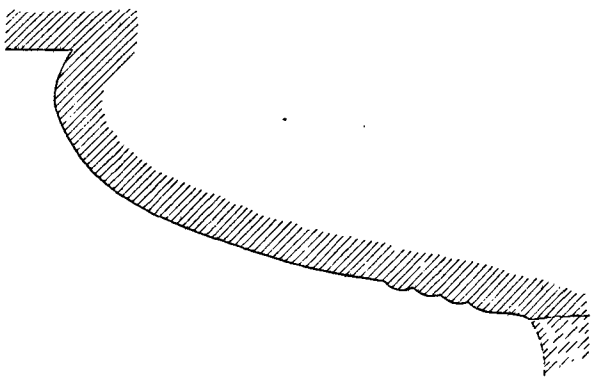


FIG. 1.—PROFILE OF ARCHAIC CAPITAL FROM THE TEMPLE OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

not sufficiently accurately observed for it to be possible to put them on the plan. They seem to be the traces of the holes made for the scaffolding when the temple was built. Such holes would naturally get filled with the sand with which the site was then covered.

Houses East of the Altar.

The remains found below the Roman foundation east of the altar must now be described. A glance at the plan will shew that a net-work of walls was uncovered, the majority of which clearly belonged to houses. None of them were preserved to a greater height than about a metre, and

[1] Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, i. p. 315.

they were broken off immediately below the Roman foundation. As well as the plan on Pl. I., the sectional drawing on the line *G–H* (Pl. II.) illustrates the various points of this description.

Parallel to the length of the altar and 3·50 m. east of it, the plan shews a wall running along the edge of the pavement, which is marked as the limit of the archaic hieron. This wall is interrupted in the middle, and the part to the south of the break is slightly lower in level than the northern section. The methods of construction are also different. The

FIG. 2.—HOUSES OUTSIDE THE WALL OF THE ARCHAIC HIERON.

northern part, of which only one course remained, was built of roughly dressed, roundish blocks, whilst the southern consists of several courses of limestone slabs. It appears in the photograph in Fig. 2, which was taken after the removal of the northern part. The southern section is evidently the earlier. Both pieces of the wall lie partly inside the space occupied later by the Roman arena, and projected slightly from the vertical face formed by the excavation of the arena in 1907. With regard

to its date it is to be noted that even the southern part is later than the layer of sand which, as the plan shews, extends some 1·10 m. beyond it eastwards and could be traced below its foundation. The whole structure dates therefore from between the beginning of the sixth century and the building of the Roman amphitheatre. The lowness of its level in comparison with that of the later altar, as shewn in the section on the line *G–H* in Pl. II., suggests a date early in this period.

On the plan the line of this wall has been produced northwards by a dotted line, and the whole extent marked as the limit of the archaic hieron. This is the inference drawn from the fact that no archaic objects were found to the east of this line nor any traces of the cobble pavement. The earliest objects were sherds of Laconian III. pottery, such as were found with the deposit of masks south of the temple, which may be dated to the early part of the sixth century, and most of the finds are even later. The important point is, that nothing was found not clearly later than the latest objects in the deposit between the cobble pavement and the bottom of the sand, and later therefore than anything associated with the archaic altar and the sanctuary as it was before the sand was laid down and the sixth-century temple built. This distinction in date was equally plain to the north of the actual wall, and justifies the production of the line shewn in the plan. As in the regions north and south of the temple, the outer margin of the slope of the layer of sand is a little way outside the edge of the cobble pavement.

Of the houses in this region nothing is left but the foundations. There are no doors and hardly any signs of floors, and the walls are poorly built of small frequently undressed stones. Their date may be the fifth or fourth century or even later. There are indications of two periods, but they cannot be clearly distinguished, and the most that can be said is that the houses lasted long enough to undergo a certain amount of rebuilding and alteration. The finds are of much greater interest. The earliest and richest deposit was that found in cutting the trial trench *B* in 1906, which opened up the corner of wall marked *A* in the plan, and exhausted the space between the two houses. The later objects were found elsewhere, and were especially numerous in the region immediately south of the bed of the mill stream. Taken altogether the finds range in date from the period immediately succeeding the laying down of the sand and the building of the later temple to the late fourth

century, which is represented by a stratum just below the Roman foundation.[1] This yielded a few fragments of Megarian bowls and some black glazed Hellenistic pottery with a ribbed surface. Some fragments with the incised inscription ΧΙΛΩΝΙΣ ΤΑΙ ΒΩΡΘΕΙΑΙ are interesting as shewing that these houses, although outside the archaic hieron, yet bore some close relation to the sanctuary.

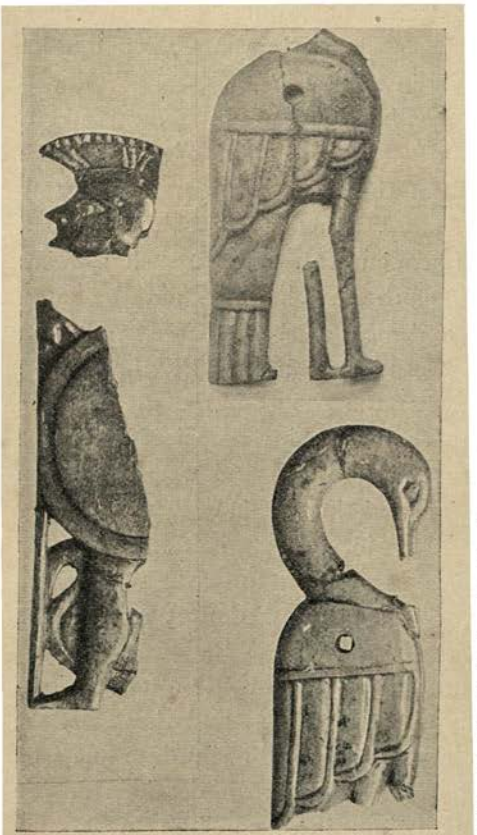


FIG. 3.—FRETWORK CARVINGS IN BONE. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

The stratification was in some places a good deal confused, but in general it is well preserved, and exhibits the Laconian style in degeneration, a process given in detail by Mr. Droop below in the description of Laconian IV.–VI. The first stage, the disappearance of the slip, is accompanied by a new class of bone carvings. These are oblong plaques in which the ground of the design is cut away, leaving the figure, which is worked upon only one side, standing free. The most common subject, of which numerous examples, mostly fragmentary, have been found, is a water-bird so designed as to fill the whole of the oblong space. Examples of this and of a warrior in the same style are shown in Fig. 3.[2]

The Hellenistic pottery and Megarian bowl fragments mentioned above have no local characteristics, except of course the inscriptions,

[1] The position of these objects amongst the walls is shewn in the section on *G–H*, where they are marked as 'deposits posterior to the building of the later temple.'

[2] Other samples of these plaques have been published in the previous report, *B.S.A.* xiii. Fig. 30, *c* and *f*, p. 90, and Fig. 31, *d*, *e*, *h* and *i*, p. 101, where they are erroneously said to be ivory. The warrior's head in the figure in Fig. 3 above, is the same as that reproduced in the previous report, and does not actually belong to the body, but was photographed with it to shew the complete type.

and the late fifth- and early fourth-century deposit (marked by Laconian VI. pottery) is the latest of any distinctively Spartan work.

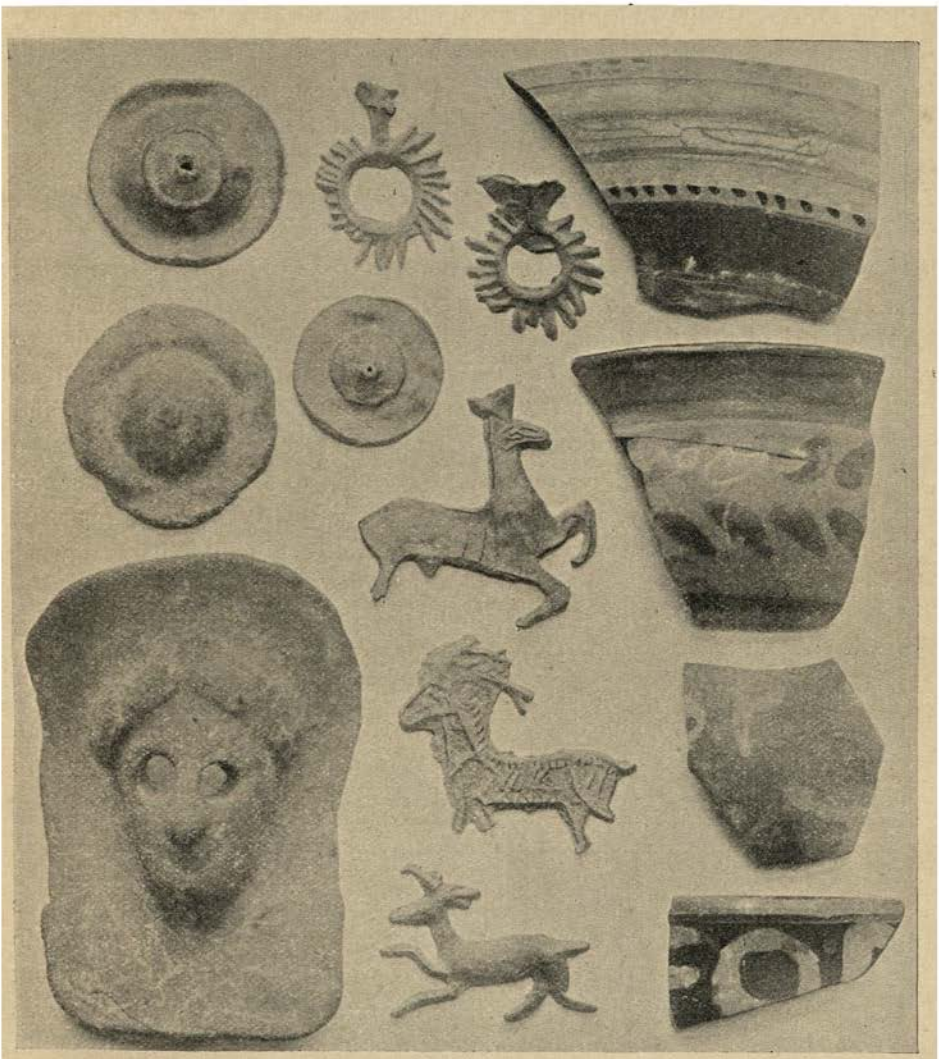


FIG. 4.—LEAD FIGURINES AND POTTERY (LACONIAN VI.) OF ABOUT 400 B.C. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

It shews the extreme decadence of the native art. The painted pottery has entirely lost its fine slip, and has become a coarse black-figured

style marked by a monotonous leaf pattern. The almost infinite variety of types of lead figurines found earlier are reduced to hardly more than three: deer, small wreaths, and plain discs. The earlier vigorous and varied types of masks are represented only by small terracotta faces of poor dull work. The group in Fig. 4 shews examples of these various objects including two sherds with part of the name of the goddess (ΓΟΡΘΕΙΑΙ) in painted letters. A fair number of fragments of these dedicated vases were recovered.

The penultimate stage of the local pottery recovered from these houses (Laconian V.) has some interest, as it proves to be the same as that found in 1907 in the deposit of burned debris of sacrifices accumulated round the *poros* blocks below the Roman altar, which were recognised as belonging to an altar in use with the later temple.[1] The evidence of the numerous lead figurines agrees with that of the pottery as to the date of this deposit, and shews that it was contemporary with another at the same level near the south-east corner of the later temple. According to Mr. Droop's scheme of dating for the pottery, these deposits fall between 500 and 425 B.C., although there is no reason why the altar itself should not be somewhat earlier, and perhaps contemporary with the sixth-century temple.

Outside the limit of the archaic hieron to the north of these houses, several fragments of large terracotta antefixes were found painted with scale-patterns in colours. It is not yet clear to what building these belonged, and their publication is deferred in the hope that the complete excavation of the site may yield further evidence and possibly more pieces.

The Primitive Temple.

In 1907 it was thought possible that the walls of these houses, whose presence underneath the Roman foundation had already been discovered in 1906 by means of the trial Trench *B*, would prove to be those of the ancient temple contemporary with the archaic altar, and the search for this was obviously the next step in our work. It was impossible that there should not have been from the beginning some sort of temple, however small, to house the image: the sanctuary demanded a temple as well as an altar, and it was with these ideas that we began this year's work by removing the

[1] For these remains see *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 64, and the plan and section on Pls. II. and III., and the section on *G–H* in this report (Pl. II.).

Roman foundation east of the altar. The account of these walls given above will shew that their claims to have any connection with the ancient temple were soon disposed of by the lateness of the objects found amongst them, and finally by the discovery that they lay outside the limits of the archaic hieron.

The temple was actually found in the middle of May, in digging the region south of the sixth-century temple. Its position is shown on the plan on Pl. I.

The previous finds which led us to suppose that the removal of the Roman masonry in this region would give important results have already been briefly mentioned, but some further details may now be conveniently noted. It was slightly to the west of the point at which the plan now shews the edge of the cobble pavement disappearing below the Roman foundation, that the great mass of terracotta masks were found, when Trench *A* was cut in the first year of the work, and the excavation of 1907 shewed that the richest parts of the archaic stratum were inside the later temple and just outside its south-east corner. Quite apart from the possibility of finding any building, the excavation of this area was therefore extremely promising. It was also observed that the archaic deposit was thicker here than elsewhere, presenting the form of a low mound. This appeared from the study of its form in the region north of the temple where a face was left at right angles to the temple wall in the position of the section line *E–F*, and from the observation of a similar rise in its upper surface, where the stratum appeared in section at the edge of the arena to the south of the temple. The notebooks of the 1907 work shewed further that the deposit was very thick outside the south-east corner of the temple and that its surface sloped upwards inside the temple from north to south. The calculated centre of this heap in the upper surface of the archaic deposit fell on the plan just south of the middle of the south wall of the temple, and when it was further noticed that a perpendicular line through the centre of the ancient altar passed across this centre it seemed that this mound might well conceal some remains of importance.

First the Roman foundation was removed, and the earth over the rest of the space to the same depth. In the lower level of the masonry was found a large inscribed statue-base of the Aurelian period, published below by Mr. Woodward.

The process of excavating this region down to the virgin soil proved

to be one of some difficulty. It soon became plain that the strata were not level, but that they sloped downwards from the wall of the temple and in the southern part of the area rose again with the rise of the virgin soil. The method followed in other parts of the site, this year as well as last year, of dividing the area into small plots, and digging each of these plots in layers, here required to be supplemented by a careful following up of each kind of earth or sand as the stratum containing it dipped, and by keeping the objects from each separate. In such circumstances the actual level of any object is of much less importance than the kind of earth in which it is found, for when debris accumulates on a sloping surface and the strata consequently dip, objects of the same date will be found at different levels, and the same level will yield objects of very different dates. In order to record the position and shape of these deposits it was necessary to make frequent plans of the area being excavated, keeping the surface of the whole space always level. In practice these plans were made at every metre of depth. In this way none of the evidence of the stratification was lost, and we could be sure during the excavation that at the end of the work it would be possible to construct a sectional drawing along any line that might seem desirable. As before, every sherd was washed and examined before anything was thrown away, and the contents of each level of each separately dug plot kept in its own tray until the end of the examination, before which hardly anything was rejected, and then only after a record had been made. The area excavated this year was divided into 84 such plots. When the finds were especially numerous or important the earth was not only dug out with knives, but was also washed in sieves, that no fragments should escape. The broken condition of many of the best finds made this precaution particularly necessary.

The result of this method is shewn in the drawing of the section on the line *E–F*, taken at right angles to the long walls of the sixth-century temple (see Pl. II.). The following account has been prepared with constant reference to this drawing and to the plan on Pl. I.

The first deposit containing anything earlier than a few Roman objects found near the surface was that marked on the section on *E–F* as laid down immediately after the construction of the sixth-century temple. It was traced, as the section shews, running down hill away from the south wall of the temple over the slope of the mass of sand, and then rising towards the south, where it immediately overlies the rise of the virgin soil.

It was formed, in fact, by the rubbish thrown out of the temple falling into the little valley formed between the natural slope of the original hollow, in which the sanctuary stood, and the sloping edge of the mound of sand by which the level was artificially raised and the hollow converted into a flat-topped tumulus. That the deposit belongs to the period immediately after the building of the temple and the laying down of the sand is shewn by the character of the objects found, for the pottery, lead figurines and some of the bone carvings form close links with the latest finds below the sand, which come in the main from the uppermost stratum in the region north of the temple described below. The pottery is 'Cyrenaic' (Mr. Droop's Laconian III. and IV.) and its initial date must be about the beginning of the sixth century, to which, rather than, as last year, to the middle of the century, the building of the later temple and the laying down of the sand must now be assigned. This date and its consequences are further discussed below. The most marked feature of the deposit, however, was the enormous mass of terracotta masks, mostly fragmentary. This was the remainder of the accumulation already tapped in 1906 by the trial Trench *A*, when a considerable number were discovered, although only a fraction of the many hundreds found this year. All the specimens then taken out came from the bottom of the V formed by the whole deposit (cf. the sectional drawing), and, judged only from their level, seemed to belong to the same period as the mass of archaic objects, now assigned to the seventh century. The complete excavation, however, by bringing to light the circumstances in which the accumulation was formed, as they now appear from the shape and position of the deposit, has dissociated them from the objects found below the sand, and by enabling the development of the pottery to be traced through a stratified series, has placed them clearly later. Below the sand fragments of masks are rare; only about 200 were found as against many thousands from this later deposit. It is also remarkable that the only place below the sand where they were at all frequent was in the region north of the temple, where the under-sand deposit shewed signs of being later than elsewhere. We may therefore now say that these masks began to be made at the end of the seventh century, and were in commonest use in the sixth. By the latter part of the fifth century the large masks had given way to the small, smoothly-made terracotta faces found in the higher levels among the houses outside the hieron east of the altar associated with Laconian

VI. pottery. By that time the old grotesque spirit had entirely disappeared.[1]

The continuation of this V-shaped deposit was traced again on the north side of the temple running down hill towards the river over the slope of the sand, but not on this side rising again. The deposit here, in fact, runs over and outside the mass of sand down to the river, where it occupies the same level as the earlier deposits below the sand, which appear on the river bank at a lower point than, that is to say east of, the deposit in question. Thus the objects found along the bank of the river in the first days of the excavation in 1906 now appear not to be all of the same date. Those found lower down the bank belong to the period of the older temple, and those higher up, although at the same level, to this later period, and it is interesting to note that the masks then found all came from the upper part, and thus belonged to the same deposit, in which they have now been found in such abundance. The difficulty caused by the very early date which some of the objects found lower down the bank then seemed to impose upon them, has in this way been removed. The point on the bank at which the earlier deposit below gives way to the later deposit above, is naturally that at which the hieron-area ceases, marked by the cutting of its limit, the edge of the cobble pavement, by the line of the erosion of the river. This point falls almost exactly north of the north-east corner of the sixth-century temple, just by the figures '1906' on the plan.

Below this deposit of the masks the layer of sand was found on both sides of the temple, the lower surface being fairly level, but the upper sloping downwards away from the centre of the site. On both sides we were at the edge of the flat-topped tumulus of sand, which formed the platform in front of the later temple. The plan shews that the edge of the layer of sand was reached on each side of the temple. Resting on the edge of the sand are two pieces of rough wall, one north and one south of the temple, running parallel with its side walls. The plan shews them disappearing towards the west at the limit of the excavation. Nothing can be said of them, beyond that they stood at the edge of the later hieron.

Below this sand we found, again on each side of the temple, a layer of small chips of stone derived from the dressing of the blocks used for the walls, and a reference to the day-book of the work of the previous year

[1] A specimen is shewn in Fig. 4 above.

shewed that a similar layer had been found inside the temple at exactly the same level. This layer is marked on the sectional drawing.

Below this layer of chips was the deposit of archaic votive offerings, the rise in the surface of which has already been mentioned as affording an indication of the presence of the remains of a building to the south of the later temple. The excavation of the archaic deposit in this region soon justified this surmise. The earth immediately outside the wall of the later temple, instead of being the usual dark *humus*, in which the archaic objects are buried elsewhere, was of the red colour characteristic

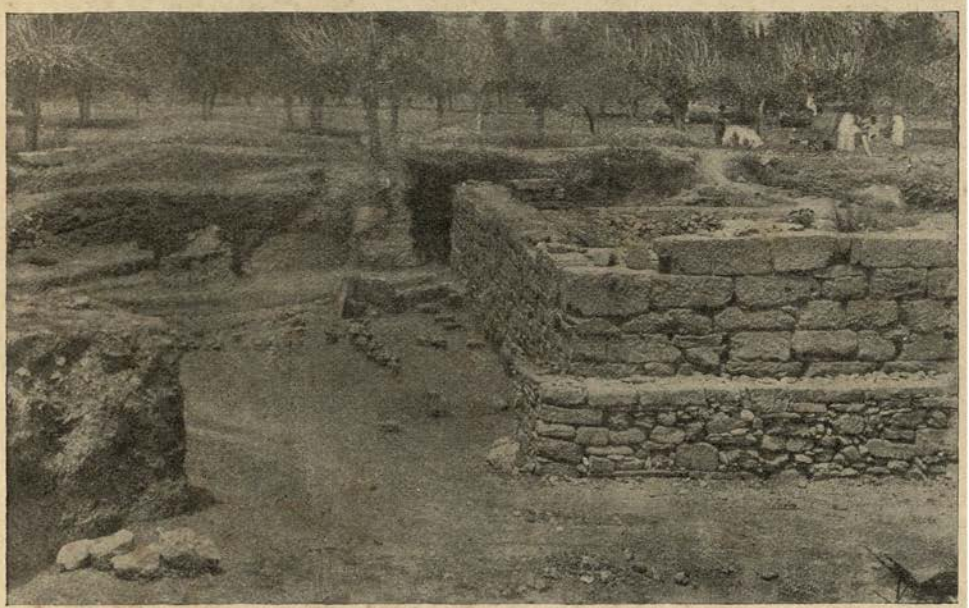


FIG. 5.—VIEW OF THE SIXTH-CENTURY TEMPLE AND THE REMAINS OF THE PRIMITIVE TEMPLE.

of the remains of brickwork. The stone slabs set on edge, which afterwards proved to be the back wall of the primitive temple, also appeared, and the objects inside them, being later in date than those outside, shewed that they were from the interior of a building, for at levels deep enough for the Geometric pottery to have begun elsewhere, the objects inside the slabs were still of the Orientalising style. It is natural to suppose that outside the building rubbish of past years would be

allowed to accumulate; whilst the interior was kept clear and the objects found in it would belong to the latest period of its existence, and thus be of much later date than the debris at the same level outside. The floor of the building was only a few centimetres above the virgin soil, and when this point of the work was reached, the remains of the south wall was uncovered, and the building presented the appearance shewn in Figs. 5, 6 and 7 and in the plan on Pl. I., where each stone has been drawn with some accuracy. The floor-level was marked by the flat stones

FIG. 6.—THE PRIMITIVE TEMPLE WITH THE EDGE OF THE COBBLE PAVEMENT AND THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SIXTH-CENTURY TEMPLE.

described below, and by the change of the pottery at this point from Orientalising (Laconian I. and II.) to Geometric. These Geometric sherds found beneath the floor, like those beneath the altar and the cobble pavement, prove that, like them, this structure dates somewhat later than the very earliest days of the sanctuary.

This building is without doubt the primitive temple corresponding in date to the archaic altar, and used with it, nor is there any indication

that it was not built at the same very early period, which may be put down to the ninth or even the tenth century. They were the two essential structures of the old hieron, facing one another at the two opposite edges of its pavement. It is noticeable on how much smaller a scale the temple is than the altar.

Although so little of it is preserved, some idea may be formed of its appearance. The remains consist of a part of the west and south walls, the former being cut off by the foundation of the later temple, and the

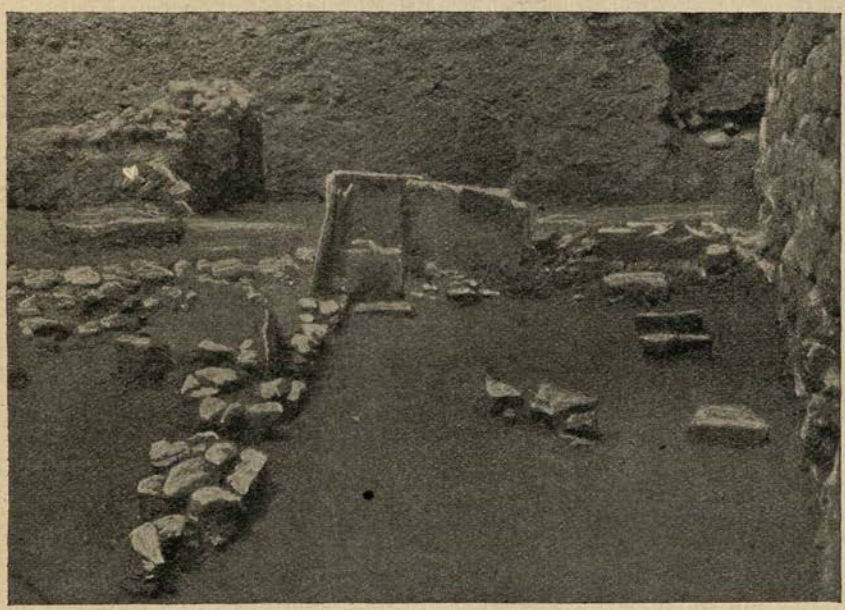


FIG. 7.—VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE PRIMITIVE TEMPLE.

eastern part of the latter having also disappeared. In the parts preserved all that is left is a foundation course of small undressed stones, evidently taken from the bed of the neighbouring Eurotas, surmounted at the west end by a row of slabs set on edge. The red earth, in which the whole was buried, shews that above this foundation course the wall was built of unbaked brick. A slab projecting from the south wall near the inner end of the building probably marks the front of a small cella about 1·00 m. deep. The earth between the west wall and this projecting slab was not the red

earth derived from brickwork, but of a black colour, and this would shew that the cella was slightly raised above the floor, this black earth found in it being part of the original structure and having formed a kind of dais. On it no doubt rested the Xoanon of the goddess.

The plan and photographs shew that at fairly regular intervals of about 1·25 m. there are small flat stones in the wall set among the round stones, and that each of these small slabs is backed by a vertical flat stone, the whole forming a kind of socket in the foundation course. There is an exact correspondence between these sockets and a row of flat stones set on the floor parallel to the long side of the building. The usual narrowness of early temples, and the fact that no traces were found inside the later temple, make it almost certain that this row of stones forms the centre line of the building, which must therefore have been 4·50 m. wide, and these slabs, whether in the wall or free in the middle, can hardly have served any other purpose than to support baulks of timber, and to keep their lower ends out of the wet. They are not sufficiently substantial to have supported stone columns.[1] The timbers down the middle would have appeared as columns, and those in the walls as a wooden frame to give strength and cohesion to the structure. The whole would thus be a frame house with a row of columns down the middle supporting a gable roof. With any other form of roof, it is not easy to see how the water would have been satisfactorily carried off, a prime necessity with a material which demands so absolutely to be protected from moisture as mud brick. Among the remains a piece of painted tile was found decorated with a tongue-pattern in reddish-brown and a maeander in white paint. Two other pieces similarly painted were found scattered about the site, and probably belonged to this building. They seem to be of the seventh century, and are in any case not as old as the building itself. This, however, may well have been re-roofed at any time.

If we assume that the row of free pillars was in the centre of the building, two important peculiarities in the plan will result; firstly, it must have had the long and narrow proportions characteristic of many very ancient temples,[2] and secondly, it must have been divided longitudinally into

[1] The same conclusion is drawn from the same premiss, the smallness and thinness of the bases, by Sotiriades in his account of the temple at Thermos in Aetolia (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, pp. 160 *sqq.*).

[2] The length of the remains preserved is only twice the estimated breadth of 4·50 m., but there is no trace of the front corner, and the probability that the rich mass of objects found outside the south-east angle of the later temple formed part of the contents of this building indicates that it was originally very much longer.

two naves. This is a feature of at least four archaic temples: the temple at Thermos in Aetolia, the so-called Basilica at Paestum, the cella of the old temple at Locri and the temple at Neandria; and in discussing this last Durm remarks that this type with the double nave is perhaps the oldest form of temple.[1]

This mixed construction of brick and wood resting on a stone foundation brings the building into close relation with the Heraion at Olympia, and gives it a place among the representatives of the earliest stages of the development of the Doric style. In its simplicity of plan it is even more primitive than the Heraion.[2]

If this temple contained any special cultus objects or vessels, they have disappeared, and were possibly removed when the building was destroyed. It was not, however, by any means empty, but yielded a great number of the same kinds of objects as are found everywhere in the uppermost stratum of the archaic deposit. An exception to this was formed by a large number of small unpainted vases, which only approximate to, without being exactly the same as, those usually found, of which specimens have already been published.[3] Hardly any painted pottery was found. This similarity of the contents of the temple to the deposit outside shows that superfluous objects were thrown out from time to time, and that it was in this way that the archaic deposit was formed. The especial richness of the deposit outside the south-east corner of the later temple may now be attributed to the nearness of the primitive temple, and it is even probable that the objects of which it consisted were stored in the western part of the building. Amongst them were a great number of bone and ivory objects, two of which demand especial notice: the ivory group of a lioness with a calf in her mouth being stabbed by a man, and the ivory relief of a ship, both found in this region.[4] The former is now supplemented by three other ivory carvings of lionesses with their prey, found this year close to the south wall of the later temple, and so far west and thus near to the preserved remains of the primitive temple, as to have

[1] For the temple at Thermos see Sotiriades, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900 (plan on p. 75); for the basilica at Paestum, Koldewey and Puchstein, *Die Griech. Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, Pl. 2 and p. 17; for the temple at Locri, *ibid.*, Pl. 1 and p. 3; for Neandria see Koldewey in *Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, LI. 1891 (plan on p. 22).

[2] Cf. Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, ii. pp. 28 *sqq.* (Doerpfeld).

[3] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 172, Fig. 2, *e*.

[4] These have been published in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 89, Fig. 23, and Pl. IV.

certainly formed a part of its contents.[1] These are a good deal larger and finer than the ordinary couchant animals in ivory, of which so many have been found, and it is likely that they were kept as objects of especial importance, the more so as the finest ivories are generally rather earlier than the period of the destruction of the primitive temple.

The Region North of the Later Temple.

At the edge of the Roman arena, just below the N of the word ROMAN on the plan, and 8·00 m. north-east of the north-east corner of the later temple, is a small piece of building which calls for some notice. No more of it is left than two blocks laid like a pair of steps, but these are so carefully bedded that there is no doubt that they are the remains of some building.[2] They are below, and therefore earlier than the layer of sand, but their level proves them to be later than the altar and the primitive temple. A great mass of objects was found near these blocks, and these, together with the objects found in the region north and west of them, are very important, as representing a period between the early Orientalising pottery (Laconian I.) found elsewhere at the top of the archaic deposit and the pottery (Laconian III.) and objects found immediately above the layer of sand. This character extends to the finds from the uppermost stratum below the sand inside the later temple, and to the finds from the primitive temple itself. Every class of object from these regions included examples demonstrably later than the latest found elsewhere below the sand. The pottery, instead of being exclusively of the Laconian I. style, was occasionally much more developed, some of it being indistinguishable from that found above the sand, and in particular the fine kylix with the four wing-footed men (Pls. III., IV.) was found near these blocks. Details are given below in Mr. Droop's account of the Laconian II. style. The carved bone objects point the same way. Bone xoanon-like figures of the goddess are very characteristic of the deposits immediately succeeding the sand, belonging, that is, to the early days of the later temple, and it is only

[1] The largest of these is ·04 m. high, and rests on a base ·08 × ·05 m., on the lower surface of which is a relief of two women with clasped hands facing one another.

[2] Slightly to the east of these remains an angle of masonry projects into the arena. Its level is just below that of the Roman pavement, and it therefore belongs to a very much later building, of which a small piece was thus buried in the Roman foundation. Nothing further can be said of its date, and nothing at all of its purpose.

in this region that they have been found below the sand. One was found also on the outside face of a slab forming the back wall of the primitive temple, and was most likely in the cella itself, and got into this position at the destruction of the temple. Fig. 8 shews an example of both of the types which occur, one with arms and a waist, and the other much less human with only a head on the top of a post-like body. The *polos* head-dress and misplaced ears are common to both types, between which no

FIG. 8.—BONE CARVINGS OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

chronological distinction can be drawn. The lead figurines, Mr. Wace informs me, have the same intermediate character. A series of these, chronologically arranged, is given in Fig. 9. The examples in the top row are from immediately above the sand. The animals in the second row are from this latest deposit below the sand, and link it with the deposit above, as it is in this latter that figures of animals are common, whilst elsewhere

below the sand they are rare. The figures in the lowest row, on the other hand, hardly occur at all above the sand, but are common to this and the other below-sand deposits. It has been also observed that within limits the later the deposit the more abundant are the lead figurines, and here again

FIG. 9.—LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

this stratum takes a middle place. The other below-sand deposits have yielded 1705 figurines, this deposit 12,907, and from the stratum immediately above the sand 31,841 have been counted, and there is a good prospect that this last figure will be considerably increased.

Lastly, near the blocks above described, a hoard of reliefs and statuettes in the round, carved in soft limestone, was found, of which some bear short dedicatory inscriptions. Two striking examples are given in Fig. 10. The sphinx is in the round (·21 m. high), and has a recess behind the neck for the attachment of a second wing, which was outstretched symmetrically with the one remaining. The relief of a man is perhaps the crudest and most naïve of the series. Similar carvings were found in 1906 in the trial trench cut through the houses east of the altar, where there was nothing not later than the sand, and other pieces, notably the relief of the

FIG. 10.—CARVINGS IN SOFT LIMESTONE. (SCALE 1 : 5.)

two lions facing one another, already published, were found in the sand itself.[1] Other examples were found this year near this spot immediately above the sand.

Several other inscribed objects furnish further proof of the relative lateness of this deposit. Some ivory flutes with dedicatory inscriptions are interesting, but the most important is a plate with an inscription in white paint on a black ground, which gives the name of the goddess as Orthasia. It reads

·[ἀνέθε]κε τᾶ Fορθασίᾳ.

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 6, Fig. 3.

These points clearly prove that the deposit in this region goes down to a later period than is represented elsewhere below the sand, and as it links on very closely with the deposits immediately above the sand, it may be assigned to the later years of the seventh century. The accumulation is especially rich round the blocks in question, and as the debris of votive offerings gathered here so thickly in the latest period of the primitive temple, it may be inferred that this building was then in use. It may well have been built early in the century.

It may be pointed out that this close sequence of the deposits below and above the sand, and the connection of the latest below the sand with the primitive temple and of the first above the sand with the later temple, prove that the building of this latter followed immediately upon the destruction of the former.

In view of the 'Cyrenaic' (Laconian III.) pottery found in the deposit immediately above the sand, the position of these inscribed reliefs is of great chronological importance. As this pottery cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century, these inscriptions and the others on objects found here must be considered as clearly dated to the end of the seventh century, and the destruction of the primitive temple must fall about 600 B.C. The final date of the archaic deposit below the sand elsewhere than in this region marked by the latest accumulations (*i.e.* the date of the end of Laconian I.) must then be put earlier than this, and Mr. Droop, guided by the time necessary for the development of the Laconian II. phase, suggests about 625 B.C. The modification of the date of the later temple given in last year's report from approximately 550 to 600 has already been mentioned. It was then shewn that the later temple was contemporary with the laying down of the sand over the temple and arena area, by which the level of the site was raised; this event was placed in the sixth century, and, mainly on epigraphical evidence, in the middle of the century, a date which allowed the Orientalising pottery then found beneath the sand to be placed in the seventh and early sixth century. But we have already seen that the present discovery of a great mass of early 'Cyrenaic' (Laconian III.) ware immediately above the sand, and so belonging to the earliest years of the later temple, makes it necessary to put the date of this temple back to the beginning rather than to the middle of the century, and this date must be accepted, as it is easier to put the inscriptions to the end of the seventh than to admit that this pottery can be later than the

first half of the sixth century. It is purposed to publish the inscriptions in the next *Annual.*

It is now possible to reconstruct to some extent the form of the hieron at the different periods. As the sections on *E–F* and *G–H* shew, it occupied the bottom of a shallow natural hollow about 25 m. across from east to west. The sherds of Geometric pottery and ashes found beneath the cobble pavement shew that this hollow was the scene of the cult of Orthia even before the building of the archaic altar and the primitive temple. When these were built, the hollow was already slightly filled with the debris of this earliest period, and over this the cobble pavement was laid and the archaic hieron, as we now know it, constructed. After the long accumulation of the debris of offerings had raised the level from half a metre to a metre all over the site, and had stored up for us the rich series of objects of early Spartan art, the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries saw a great change in the appearance of the site. The primitive temple succumbed, probably to a violent flood, and to avoid the recurrence of such an accident, the level was raised again another metre or more, by the layer of sand brought from the bed of the neighbouring river.

The discovery of the primitive temple and the debris associated with it afford an explanation of the irregularity of the distribution of the archaic deposit over the pavement of the hieron noticed last year. Three centres of accumulation now appear, the altar, the primitive temple, and the later building to the north of it, of which the scanty remains have been described above. The lateness of this building in the archaic period explains the poverty of the Geometric deposit near it, for at that time the accumulation was round the altar and the temple. The poverty of the middle of the arena now explains itself by the absence of any centre to gather debris. It was also noticed last year that the Geometric deposit was particularly thick in the southern part of the arena, and the meaning of this will perhaps be found when the part of the hieron to the south still covered by the Roman foundation is excavated.

When the sand was laid down it formed a flat-topped heap, entirely covering and slightly overlapping the edges of the old hieron and making a large artificially levelled space in front of the newly-built temple Underneath this heap the remains of the altar and primitive temple lay concealed and safe from any disturbance until our excavation. The altar of the reconstructed hieron lay exactly over the place occupied by its

predecessor, but the new temple lay a little further north and was orientated a few degrees more south than the little shrine which it replaced.

The artificially made piece of ground with its sloping edges in front of the temple coincided very largely with the space occupied later by the arena of the Roman amphitheatre, and therefore in our excavation of 1907 which was confined to the arena, the whole of the upper surface of the sand appeared level, because we had not then reached the sloping sides of the heap, concealed for the most part under the Roman foundations. The laying down of the sand thus converted the old hieron in the bottom of its natural hollow into a mound, the flat top of which supported on the west a temple and on the east an altar, as before, facing one another from the opposite sides of the sacred area. The report published last year describes the later history of the sanctuary, the Hellenistic rebuilding of the temple, the replacing of the Greek by the Roman altar, and finally the building of the amphitheatre, the centre of which was still the same space between the temple and the altar, though then nearly three metres above the bottom of the hollow, which had witnessed the beginnings of the cult at least twelve hundred years before.

The sides of the original hollow appear north and south of the temple in the section on the line *E–F* (Pl. II.), and the section on *G–H* shews the rise of the ground away from the altar to the east of the boundary wall of the hieron. Any rise towards the north has been carried away by the river. To the south it may safely be said to have risen under the, as yet unremoved, Roman foundation towards the cliff which overlooks the whole site.

The shape of the natural hollow in which it lay probably defined the limits of the hieron itself, at all events in the archaic period. The straight wall which marks the eastern limit has already been described. At the south end this line at present disappears under the Roman foundation, whilst at the north it is broken off by the incursions of the river. About 15·00 m. west of this point the edge of the pavement reappears again higher up the bank of the river; but between this point and the north wall of the temple the limit is not well defined. The edge of the sand is sufficiently clear, but the pavement gradually disappears, and it is probable that the true limit of the hieron is nearer the edge of the sand than the line which marks the edge of the pavement on the plan. West of the temple the limit disappears in a region which is as yet

unexcavated, but is not likely to be of any extent. South of the temple the limit is formed by a perfectly straight row of large cobble-stones set close together running north-west and south-east, and, as usual, somewhat inside the edge of the sand. This line passes under the south-west corner of the later temple, then runs just behind the primitive temple and disappears under the Roman foundation, though at a considerably lower level.

The boundaries thus fixed shew that not much has been lost by the action of the river, and that the part as yet uncovered west of the temple is still smaller. The part, however, to the south still covered by the Roman foundation may be of some extent and importance, and part of the work of the coming season will be to explore this by the removal of still more of the Roman masonry, much of which is already in a very ruined condition. It would be a matter of much interest, and probably lead to further discoveries, if the position of the original entrance of the hieron could be fixed. Pausanias tells us that not far (*οὐ πόρρω*) from this sanctuary lay that of Eileithyia, and the tiles stamped with this name, which have been found on the site, hold out hopes of the discovery of the sanctuary itself.

R. M. DAWKINS.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 3.—THE POTTERY.

(PLATES III., IV.)

THE excavations of 1908 more than fulfilled expectations in the amount of light that was shed on the later history of the Spartan pottery, so that it is now possible to write an account of the development and decline of the Laconian fabric; which account, beginning in the ninth or tenth century, ends with the latter half of the fourth, when the pottery loses its local characteristics in the various styles that appear to have been common to the whole Greek world during the last three centuries before the Christian Era.

On account of the entirely local character of the Spartan pottery, and for the sake of clearness, so as best to present its development, it has been decided to treat of the style subsequent to the Geometric Age in six periods, and to call them Laconian I., II., III., IV., V., and VI.

The distinction thus drawn between the Geometric styles of Sparta and the Laconian style is justifiable because, although the fabric[1] throughout is unbroken, the impulse to which the later style owes its origin is to be looked for, not in the preceding Geometric style, but in that influence from Asia Minor, which apparently modified and broke up the various Geometric styles throughout Greece about the beginning of the seventh century.

Laconian I. (circ. 700–625).

The pottery of the first stage of the Laconian style lay beneath the sand over the whole area covered by it, and immediately above the

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 130.

Geometric pottery. This ware was discussed last year under the title 'Orientalising Style B.' There is little to add to that account, except to note that the shape there given for the typical skyphos[1] should have a more pronounced rim, as is seen in Fig. 1, which gives the true shape. Other sherds of the style are shewn in Fig. 2, of which it may be said that the black cross design with purple circles (*d*) appears almost as regularly on the base as the dot and square pattern (*g*, *h*, *i*) on the rim. In addition to the skyphos and the plates described last year[2] (*a*, *b*, *f*), small bowls (*h*) with an offset lip, two horizontal handles on the belly, and sometimes a

FIG. 1.—LACONIAN I. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

low foot, are not infrequent; while fragments of tiny handleless bowls, and of high wide-brimmed cups with one small circular handle at the brim are met with less often. The lakaina[3] (*d*) is rarely met with in this style, although it is frequent in the ware called last year 'Orientalising Style A.' The neck is not yet very high, and does not spread out, and the belly, not clearly seen in the illustration, is now unpainted, while the base resembles

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 129, Fig. 7, *e*.

[2] *Loc. cit.* Fig. 7, *f*, described misleadingly as bowls.

[3] This name (λάκαινα) I propose to give to the vase-shape illustrated *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 129, Fig. 7, *c*. The name is given by Athenaeus (*Ath.* xi. 484) to a drinking vessel, so-called either because it was made of Laconian clay, or because it had a shape much affected in Laconia. The shape to which I would apply it is very frequent in, if not confined to, the Laconian style, is not suited by any name in use, and may well have been used for drinking.

exactly that of the other bowls (*h*). It may be remarked here that the small vases of style A, of which the decoration consists of purple and white lines applied to a black ground, continued to be made with no discernible development all through the period occupied by Laconian I., II., III., and IV. Later they are not found, though the miniature vases[1] continue, albeit perhaps in lesser quantities, till late in the fifth century.[2]

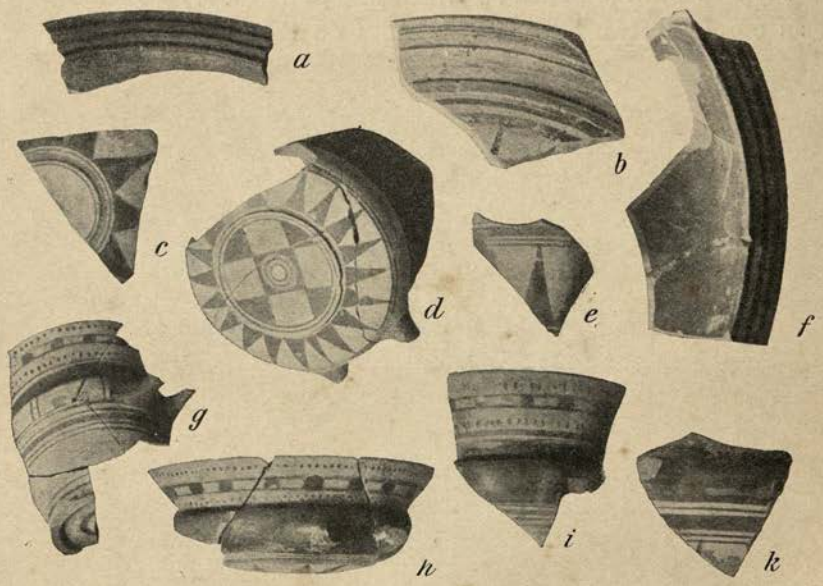


FIG. 2.—LACONIAN I. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

Laconian II. (*circ.* 625–600).

It is unfortunate that it was not until very late in the excavation that the best of the vase fragments, which we are able to class as Laconian II., were found, so that the sufficient illustration here of the style has been prevented. It was felt even earlier that some links must exist between the simplicity of Laconian I. and the full development of Laconian III. It is the discovery in that region, which received the last deposits before the

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 129, note 2.

[2] There are some sherds of Laconian I. in the Pinacothek at Munich. Berlin Antiquarium 1647, and Louvre, E 674, also belong to this style.

laying down of the sand, namely the region which stretches north-east from the earlier temple along the northern edge of the paved area,[1] of pieces likely from their style to fill the gap, that has allowed us to place with them in this category other pieces, about which we had hesitated so long as the evidence of style had not received the support of stratification. To this class, then, we can assign the first appearance of the ornament (Fig. 3, *c*, *d*; Fig. 10, *e*) of black pointed leaves springing from a purple branch, which at this date is as regular as the square and dot pattern round the lip of the

FIG. 3.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

lakaina, a shape that is now fully developed with a spreading rim, and regularly shews a pattern of narrow rays up the belly. Here also the tongue pattern first comes on the scene (Fig. 3, *e*), and the pomegranate, in an early form that recalls an ornament of the Geometric pottery.[2] The exact period of the four sherds (Fig. 3, *a*, *e*, *f*, *g*), which shew birds and animals in silhouette without incisions is a question; for in point of fact they were found in company with a mass of Laconian III. ware, thrown out

[1] Cf. Plan, Plate I.

[2] *B.S.A* xiii. p. 120, Fig. 1, *r*.

at a later date; but there is no proof that they were made at the same period, and indeed they look earlier, so that to class them with Laconian II. seems not unfair. That this is correct at least for *e* is clear from a method used on vases that are certainly of this period (and I think only used on them) of applying the purple pigment very thickly, and, I suspect, of baking it particularly lightly. The resulting colour is very fresh and extremely friable, while both earlier and later the purple is thinner and duller. This process is found in a vase, of which part was published last year,[1] prematurely, as it turned out, for many other pieces of the vase were discovered at the very end of last season in surroundings that date it clearly to the last years of the seventh century. Such a date is confirmed by the style of the new fragments, which shew the so-called lotus pattern and a handle palmette, both characteristic of the next period, but both in very early form. Unfortunately we are obliged to hold over the full publication of this vase (a rather large lakaina), as also of the object, of which the Gorgoneion shewn in Fig. 3, *b*, is a part. This is a round hollow piece of pottery open at both ends, about ·108 m. high, with two pairs of holes pierced in the lower rim. It is not certain if the circle was complete, but in any case its diameter (·090 m.) makes it too small to be an *onos*, which at first it suggests. Besides the row of Gorgon heads separated by a chequer pattern, to which the sherd illustrated belongs, this strange object is decorated gaily with a tongue pattern and band of squares round the upper and lower rims respectively, while between come a strange key pattern and a band of chevrons, purple all through alternating with brown and black.

It is at this time also that the kylix is first found, though it does not seem to have become a favourite shape until the next period. It has always an offset rim, and seems to be a natural development from the bowl of Laconian I. (Fig. 2, *h*). The quite short stem is slipped (Fig. 10, *c*, *d*) and painted with black and purple rings, though black stems (id. *e*) are of course also found.

Through this period probably, and into the next, the early form of plate with a ribbed rim painted black continued (Fig. 2, *a*, *b*, *f*), of which one specimen of this date has a dedicatory inscription in white paint. A step, however, towards the development of the next period is here found in three plates, one of which (a vase that also has a dedicatory inscription

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 131, Fig. 8, *aa*.

painted in white), keeping the channelled rim, has it covered with slip, while the others have smooth rims decorated with a pattern of chevrons and wedges respectively, and are slipped both inside and out.

Two other vases must be mentioned, the inclusion of which in this period is backed by the evidence both of style and stratification. One is a cup with a ring handle and wide spreading lip that recalls the shape found in Laconian I. This cup shews one of the first examples of the lotus pattern, and has also a tongue pattern and a row of zigzags (cf. Fig. 4, *o*), both most characteristic of the next period, but its slightly earlier date may be guessed from the pattern on the base, which is that of Laconian I. (Fig. 2, *d*) in all its simplicity. The other vase, of which only a fragment remains, was probably of similar shape, and shews on the outer rim the usual early dots and squares, but on the inner a row of single purple tongues, that link it to some good kylix rims of the subsequent period.

Laconian III. (*circ.* 600–550).

The bulk of the ware of this period was found in the deposit immediately above the sand to the north and south of the later temple.[1] It is in this period that the style reaches its highest level, embodying a wealth of patterns that is relatively great. Plates, lakainai, oinochoai, and kylikes form the bulk of the material, which it will be best to discuss in order.

In place of the black channelled rim, which probably still partially survived, the majority of plates shew a smooth slipped rim decorated with a tongue pattern (Fig. 4, *r*, *s*), a wedge pattern, or more rarely with a zigzag (Fig. 4, *o*), or a lotus (Fig. 4, *q*). The under side of the broad rim is black, and, as earlier, the outside of the plate has a pattern of rays, either single or double (Fig. 4, *w*), stretching up to the purple band that borders the black of the rim. But the fine plate (Fig. 4, *o*) has a pattern of alternate rays (cf. Fig. 4, *a*), and the inside is not black but slipped, and shews traces of a beast scene. The rule for the central decoration is a rosette surrounded by purple and black circles, while the base has generally a Gorgoneion in a ring of chevrons or dots (Fig. 4, *t*, *u*).

There is little doubt that the simple style of lakaina with a broad

[1] Cf. 'The deposit immediately succeeding the building of the later temple.' Plate II.

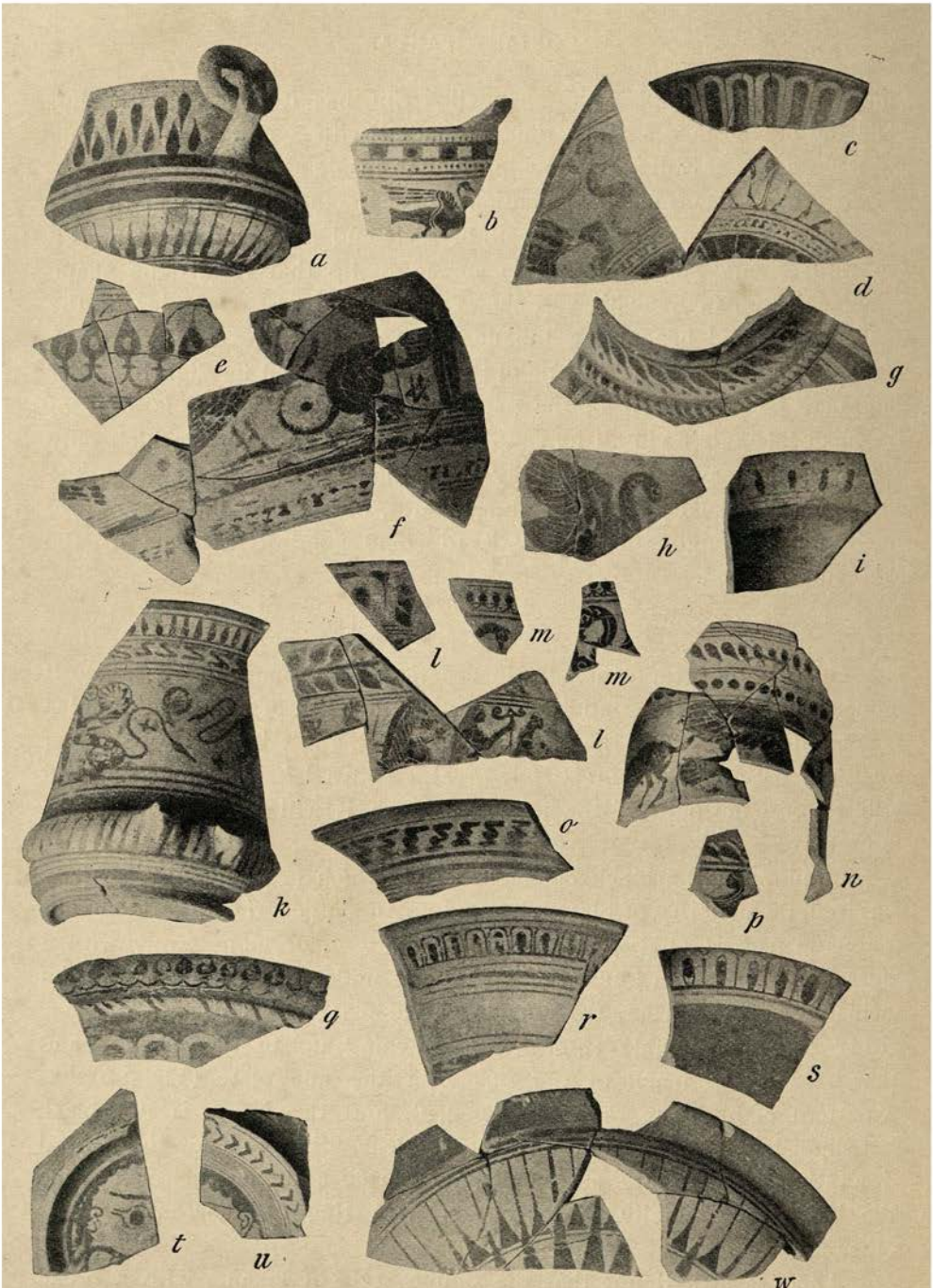


FIG. 4.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

black band on the lower part of the high neck continued, but the typical lakaina of this period is a more ornate affair. Eagles and deer and lions, sirens with an odd headdress (cf. Fig. 8, *g*; *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 134, Fig. 10, *c*), sphinxes, and cocks are found, often arranged heraldically, and sometimes with a lotus or palmette between (cf. Fig. 8, *f*, *h*). Crosses frequently (Fig. 4, *k*, *n*), and rarely rosettes are found in the field, while in one case a lizard separates the figures. Frequently the outer rim is black, though rows of dots and dashes are also found here (Fig. 4, *k*, *n*), but on the inner rim a tongue pattern (Fig. 4, *i*) is the rule, above a purple band, while narrow rays continue to be the stock decoration for the low belly (Fig. 4, *k*); though finer examples sometimes shew here a lotus, or a leaf pattern, and a lotus, a tongue, a leaf (Fig. 4, *l*, *p*), or a pomegranate pattern (Fig. 4, *m*) on the rim. The base is generally ornamented with circles in black and purple, sometimes enclosing a flying eagle. The better specimens of the lakaina have also handle palmettes like those familiar on the kylix (cf. Fig. 7, *g*). A particularly fine example is that shewn in Fig. 4, *l*, of which another fragment makes it clear that the scene was arranged symmetrically. All the figures, as is usual at this period, are incised, and purple is used over black for the hair and the horses' manes.

Of oinochoai[1] we have many fragments, and sufficient of one to allow of its reconstruction (Fig. 5). The height of this vase is ·23 m.

The handles are very obviously imitations of metal work, being oblong in section and channelled on the outside, while on the inner rim, on either side of the handle, several examples shew a button representing the bolt used for its attachment in the metal original. In this position is frequently found a lion's head, and in one case a woman's, modelled in relief, while the relief palmette, usual at the lower attachment of the handle, served in the bronze original a similar purpose. The palmettes are slipped and picked out with black, the buttons are black with dots in white, and the heads at this period are regularly slipped with hair in purple and eyes in black. The trefoil lip is invariably black, while on the neck is a network of pomegranates (Fig. 5), often with a purple cross at the junctures, or else a leaf pattern (Fig. 4, *g*). A ridge painted with slanting lines as a rule separates the neck from the shoulder, which

[1] One fragment was said last year (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 132) to be without slip. This was a mistake, the only odd point about the vase being the grey colour assumed by the clay.

is either rounded or flat, meeting the belly at an angle (Fig. 5), and is decorated most often with a tongue pattern (Fig. 4. *g*), though the lotus (Fig. 5) is also found, and one piece has an elaborate row of lotus palmettes.[1] The frieze invariably presents the same variety of figures as that of the lakaina; the vase shewn in Fig. 5 has on each

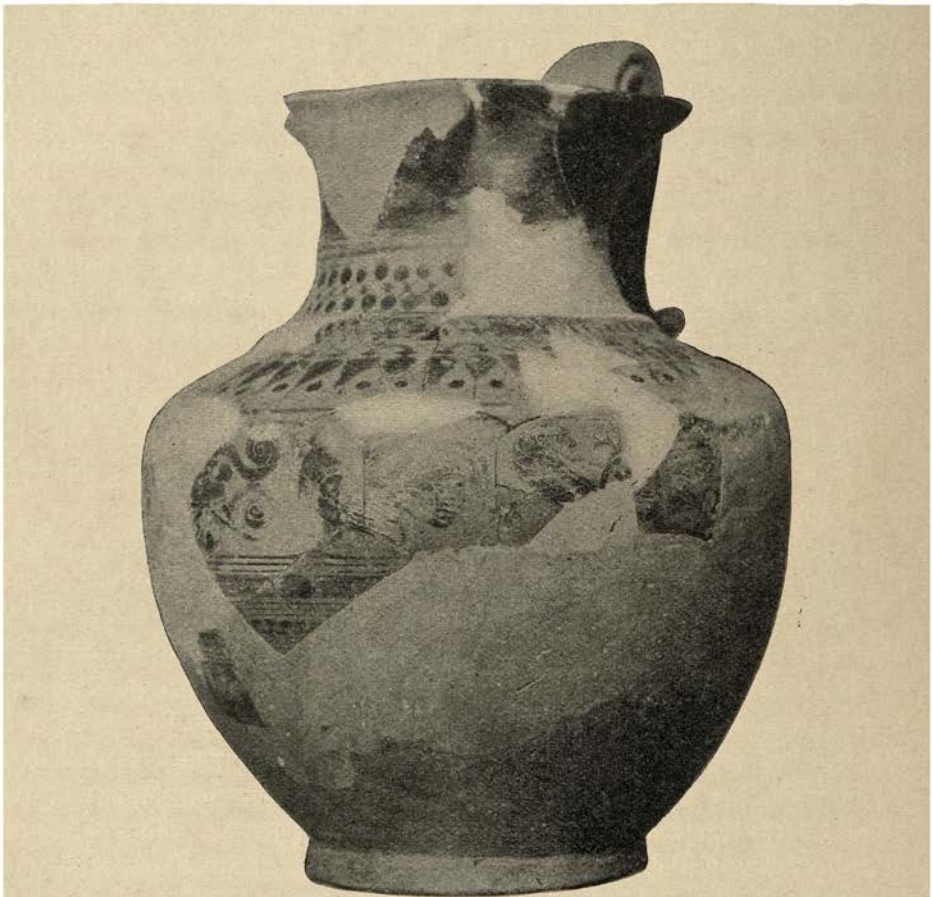


FIG. 5.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

side a cock, a sphinx, and a flying eagle arranged symmetrically with a palmette as centre. Below the frieze and above the rays, single or double, that reach from the base, come lines both black and purple, a

[1] Cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1907, tom. ix. p. 384, Fig. 7, top right-hand corner.

z pattern (Fig. 4, *f*) is frequent, and sometimes a row of lotus (Fig. 4, *e*) is found. The favourite alternation of thick and thin lines (Fig. 4, *f*; Fig. 5) should be noticed as an inheritance from the Geometric style.[1] The base generally has a rosette.

The stem of the kylix, usually but not always short, is now more ornate than during the preceding period, though the black variety is also found. Below rings of black and purple a pattern of tongues[2] stretches down to the sharp edge of the splayed foot. The favourite style of decoration for the interior as well as for the exterior of the kylix was, as numerous fragments attest, not unlike that preferred on other shapes, namely a series of figure friezes with birds and beasts alternating with bands of patterns, among which the lotus and pomegranate predominated. A good example is shewn in Fig. 4, *d*, where, round a black incised rosette (?) picked out with purple, is seen a z pattern, outside which is a scene that must have been oddly unequal. To the left are the hind-quarters of a lion, incised, with purple on the haunch. Behind is an upright bearded snake, also incised, with a series of purple dots representing his scales. To the right are seen the feet of a pair of horses facing, between which is a water-fowl. The scale of the horses is so small as to make it a certainty that they had riders. What is unusual here is not the principle of isocephalism but the disconnection between the two parts of this continuous frieze. A decorative kylix rim is shewn in Fig. 4, *c*, the outside of which has a pattern of single tongues purple and black, but perhaps the best fragment that we have recovered is the small kylix with the cocks (Fig. 6). The skill lavished on the birds is in striking contrast with the careless haste with which the tongue pattern was painted. The combs and middles of the cocks are purple, and dashes of the same colour decorate their tails. The ant and snail

FIG. 6.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 120, Fig. 1, *e*.

[2] Cf. Böhlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Necropolen*, Taf. x. 3.

are black, and a pattern of single pomegranates ornaments the outer rim. The kylix shown in Plates III., IV. belongs probably to the latter end of this period, for it is the earliest vase found at Sparta (since the earlier Geometric Age) to shew the unslipped clay, though to the very small extent of two lines on the inner rim. The vase stands about ·105 m. high, of which the stem accounts for ·054 m., and in diameter the bowl varies from ·168 m. to ·155 m. The four winds are the readiest interpretation of these winged men in rapid motion, but that leaves unexplained the presence of the tree, and the bird-headed monkey seated on a stool. It must be noted that the work both of potter and painter was careless in the extreme; and the latter had no proper appreciation even here of the opportunities afforded by the kylix form for the presentation of a scene, for the interior is treated as one wide frieze. Fragments, however, of another kylix shew two stags facing each other with an exergue above and below, filled with a palmette ornament.

Remains of small bowls of simple decoration are fairly numerous, one of which with an old ring in its handle is shown in Fig. 4, *a*.

Laconian IV. (*circ.* 550–500).

The bulk of the pottery of this and the next period was found to the east of the hieron wall in the region round about the point marked A on the plan.[1] With the middle of the sixth century began the decay of the Laconian style, of which the symptoms are to be looked for in the gradual degeneration of the patterns, the inferior quality of the slip, and in a partial disuse of slip. Comparison, for instance, may be made between the Gorgoneion, the tongue pattern, and the rays that decorate the plates of Laconian III. (Fig. 4, *s*, *t*, *u*, *w*) and the corresponding ornaments of Laconian IV. (Fig. 7 *e*, *f*), but unfortunately the inferior quality of the slip cannot be seen in a photograph. No particular description of this phase is required, for there is no marked change other than is comprised in the word degeneration. Four kylix fragments are shewn (Fig. 7, *b*, *c*, *h*, *i*), which dispense with slip on one side. Parts of a jug, a bowl, and a lakaina of this period are also illustrated (Fig. 7, *a*, *d*, *g*). It should be noticed that the

[1] Plate I.

black paint, which in the earlier periods is very good, with at times almost a blue shade, and hardly gleaming, now often becomes a shiny black when it is not brown through washiness.

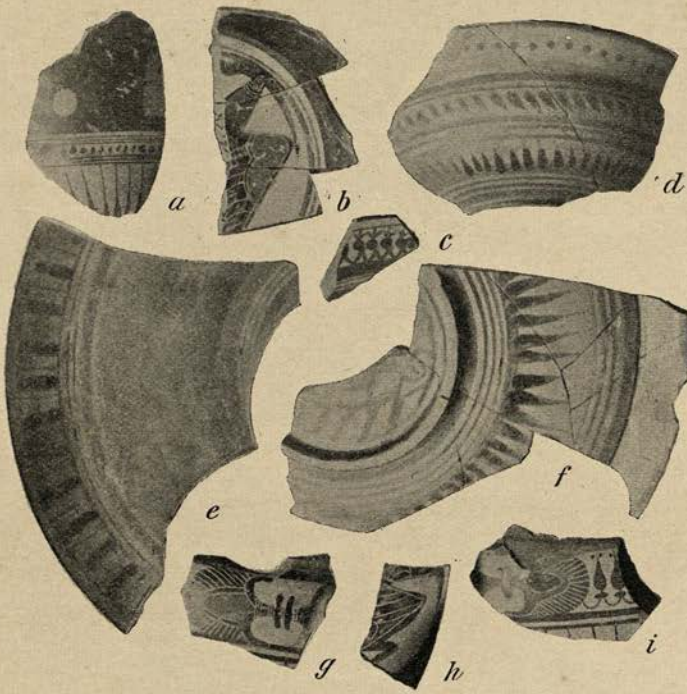


FIG. 7.—LACONIAN IV. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

Laconian V. (*circ.* 500–425).

In this period degeneration has advanced, for the use of slip has been entirely abandoned, and purple, too, has become rare as ornament, though it is still freely used for figure details, for which white paint is also now much employed, an innovation in this connection that may be illustrated by Fig. 8, *l*, where the scales of the snakes are represented by white dots, not purple as in Laconian III. (Fig. 4, *d*). In this period, or at the close perhaps of the foregoing, is introduced a pattern of crescents, which becomes a favourite.[1] The early base pattern is preserved, as also the

[1] Cf. the Cassel kylix (*Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 189) and that in the National Museum at Athens, (*J.H.S.* 1908, p. 177, Fig. 2, *b*). Both these fall, I think, into Laconian IV.

rosette that is common on the base of the oinochoai of Laconian III. and IV. (Fig. 8, *i*, *n*), but the purple circles have been abandoned. Purple, however, is still used on the plate rim, where the tongue pattern has been

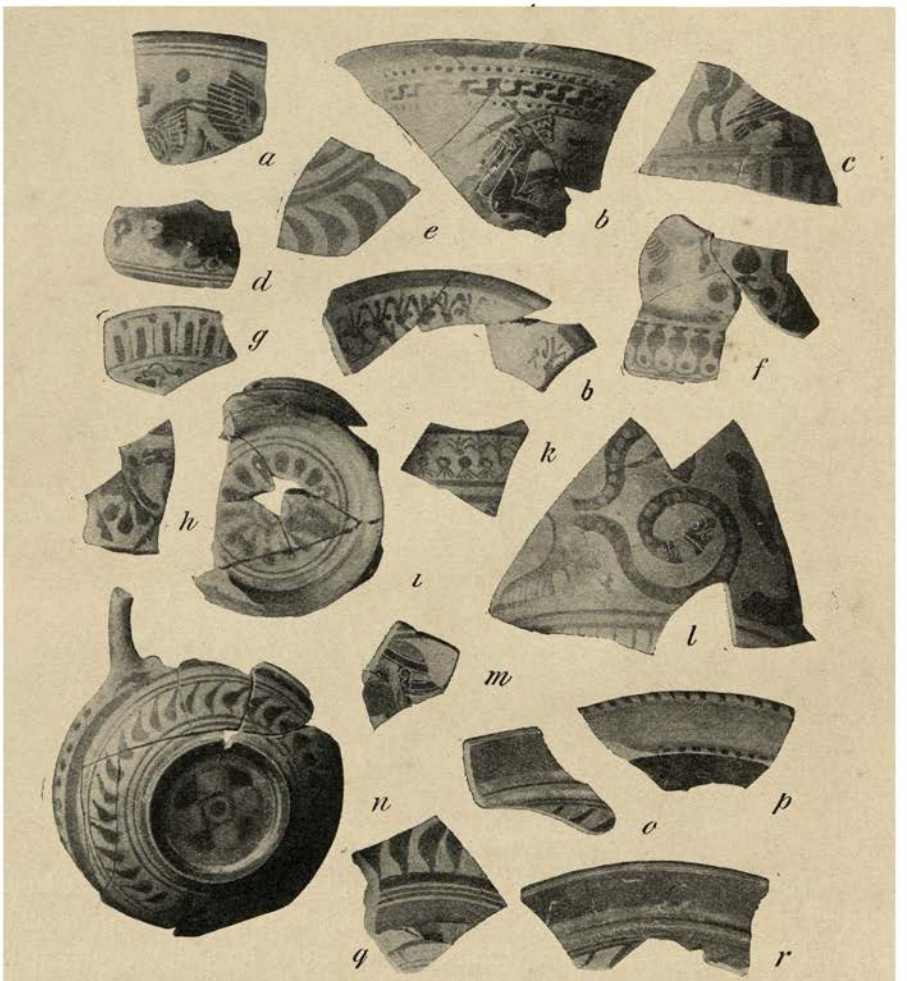


FIG. 8.—LACONIAN V. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

laid aside in favour of two ridges crossed by slanting lines (Fig. 8, *p*), while on the outside, rays are supplanted by the new crescent pattern (Fig. 8, *o*, *q*, *r*). The great degeneration of the lotus and pomegranate can be seen in Fig. 8, *b*, *d*, *f*, *k*, and also on those sherds published last year,

which belong to this period.[1] It will be seen that no change was made in the method of decorating oinochoai, and the same heraldic groups of birds and beasts continue on lakainai (Fig. 8, *a*, *b*, *c*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *l*). It is regrettable that no more is preserved of the kylix shown in Fig. 8, *m*, for it must have been a very good and careful piece of work, to be dated probably to the early part of this period.

The exact date at which the form shown in Fig. 10, *a*, *b* was generally adopted for the stem of the kylix is uncertain. The evidence of the finds leads to the supposition that the introduction of ridges round the stem, and a rounded edge to the foot, belongs to the period covered by Laconian IV., but the number of examples of this form found with the pottery of a later date suggest that it was in general use at least to the close of the fifth century. It is very natural that a degenerated style should continue the tradition of a decorated stem by the substitution of an unglazed band of channelled rings for the black and purple lines of the vigorous period.[2] This later form appears to be a particularly Spartan feature, which, when seen on an Attic kylix, is, I believe, in most cases accompanied by a sufficiency of other signs to make it probable that the vase is an imitation of Laconian ware.[3]

Laconian VI. (*circ.* 425—350).

The bulk of the pottery of this period was found in the region east of the hieron wall, and bordering on the old bed of the mill stream. A complete abandonment of purple colour and of figures marks the latest stage of the Laconian style. The glaze varies now between a washy brown for patterns and a hard shiny black for the plain portions of the ware. A custom was introduced, but sparingly practised, of painting the design in yellow-pink paint on a black ground, in which technique a considerable number of dedicatory inscriptions are found. The original leaf pattern of Laconian II., III., and IV., which is hardly used in V., has a fresh vogue in a form that is just recognisable (Fig. 9, *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*, *m*), while the plates (Fig. 9, *k*, *l*, *n*, *o*), of which the rim is now wider and curved back, have

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 134, Fig. 10.

[2] Cf. *J.H.S.* 1908, p. 179. The suggestion made there is now fully confirmed by the evidence from the excavation of the site of Artemis Orthia.

[3] *E.g.* Munich Pinacothek, *New Cat.* Nos. 2257, 2259; Würzburg University Collection, No. 157; Berlin Antiquarium, Nos. 2038, 2039; Brussels, Musées royaux des arts décoratifs et industriels, No. A 1580 *bis*.

departed even from the standard set up in the preceding period. As much may be said of the crescent pattern (Fig. 9, *l*), and the Gorgoneion (Fig. 9, *p*) is now a very sketchy affair. The tongue pattern is rarely found, and a few debased scroll designs, due perhaps to Attic influence, make their appearance. With this the pottery that is distinctively Laconian reached its last stage.

'Jusqu' à présent rien n'autorise à croire que Sparte ait jamais eu une céramique originale de cette importance. La question (de l'origine des vases dits Cyrénéens) ne sera définitivement tranchée que si l'on trouve

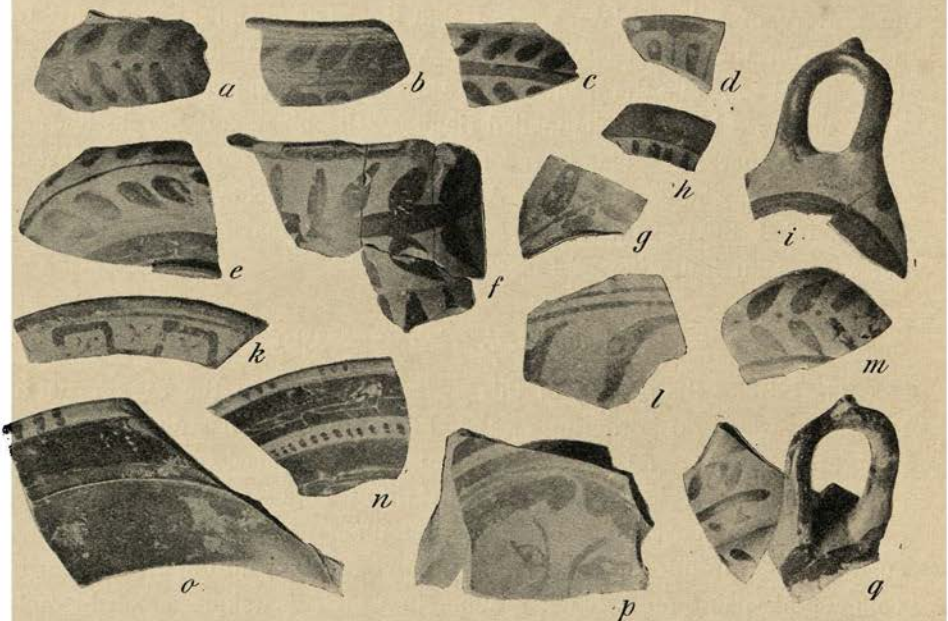


FIG. 9.—LACONIAN VI. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

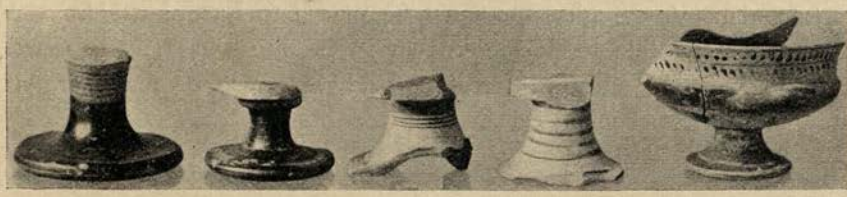
plus tard dans un de ces pays (Sparte, la Crète, Cyrène) une quantité notable de poteries à fond blanc.'[1]

This prophecy is perhaps worthy of recollection now that the nature of the pottery made at Sparta has been ascertained. The convincing proof that that pottery is local to Sparta lies not only in its unbroken

[1] Dumont and Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*, tom. i. p. 294.

development from the Geometric Age, but also in the fact that it is found entirely alone, so that it is not possible to suppose that it was imported. This year also the fuller discovery of the nature of the ware of the sixth century makes it equally certain that the vases, of which the Cyrenaic origin has been till now generally accepted, were really made in Laconia during this period.

With regard to the two vases, which have been thought to make the attribution to Cyrene certain, the Arkesilas kylix in the Bibliothèque Nationale may easily, in the light of our new knowledge, be understood merely as a proof of those very close trade relations between Sparta and Cyrene which it is only natural to suppose existed. As for Studniczka's interpretation[1] of the scene on the British Museum vase (B. 4) as the



a *b* *c* *d* *e*

FIG. 10.—STEMS OF KYLIKES OF LACONIAN II. (*c*, *d*, *e*), AND LACONIAN V. (*a*, *b*). (SCALE 1 : 3.)

nymph Cyrene with the silphion, I submit that the bough which the female figure is carrying is not in the least like the silphion, and can hardly be taken as a conventionalised representation of it, for it is clearly compounded of the three favourite Laconian patterns, namely the lotus, the pomegranate, and the leaf pattern.

To date this mass of pottery comparatively was easy: its actual dating presented more difficulty. The grounds, however, on which the beginning of the Orientalising style (Laconian I.) was fixed last year remain good, but the earlier date now proved for the introduction of the sand, together with the presence of the more developed style of Laconian II. coming immediately before that introduction, makes it clear that the first Laconian style cannot have lasted unmodified for a longer period than fifty or seventy years. The new date for the sand follows

[1] Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 17.

from that arrived at for Laconian III., which, if we accept the general conclusion that the Arkesilas of the vase (which falls easily into the latter part of that period) was the second of the name, must be put to the first half of the sixth century; this date, besides being likely on the mere grounds of style, agrees well with the discovery of a sherd of this style at Daphnai,[1] which, if we may believe the historical evidence, must have been imported thither before 565 B.C. The dating of the later periods is more uncertain; but the Hellenistic ware which finally supplants the Laconian style can be dated by the evidence both of style and inscriptions to the latter half of the fourth century, while there is nothing in the painted inscriptions on vases of Laconian VI., mentioned above, to prevent the assignment of that style to the later fifth and earlier fourth century.

In my opinion, the greater number of the vases hitherto known fall into Laconian IV., though some must be placed to Laconian III. and V.[2] It should be possible to fit the known vases into the Laconian series with some accuracy, and an interesting study may also be made of Attic imitations of the Laconian style.

J. P. DROOP.

THE LACONIAN STYLE.

LACONIAN I. (700–625).

Shapes.—Skyphos, bowl, lakaina, plate, high cup with wide mouth.

Patterns.—Dot and square, rays, cross design on base.

Fabric.—Slip all over. Black and purple paint.

LACONIAN II. (625–600).

Shapes.—Skyphos, lakaina, plate, high cup with wide mouth, kylix, oinochoe.

[1] *Tanis*, ii. Plate XXXII. 3, pp. 52 and 59.

I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for the facilities which I received for the study of 'Cyrenaic' pottery to the authorities of the British Museum, of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, of the Louvre, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, of the Musées royaux des arts décoratifs et industriels at Brussels, of the Königliche Museum at Cassel, of the Antiquarium at Berlin, of the Alte Pinacothek at Munich, of the collections belonging to the Universities of Bonn, Heidelberg, and Würzburg, and of the k. k. Oesterreich. Museum at Vienna.

Patterns.—Leaf and bough, dot and square, rays, chequers, tongues, lotus, pomegranate (these two in early form), chevron, zigzag. Silhouette animals and birds. Rarely figures incised.

Fabric.—Slip all over. Black and purple paint.

LACONIAN III. (600–550).

Shapes.—Plate, lakaina, oinochoe, kylix, bowl.

Patterns.—Rays, dots, lotus, pomegranate, z, zigzags, leaf, bough, chevrons, wedges, dashes, tongues, rosette on base. Birds, beasts, and figures incised.

Fabric.—Slip all over (one example of partial disuse of slip). Black, purple and occasionally, white paint.

LACONIAN IV. (550–500).

Shapes.—As Laconian III.

Patterns.—As Laconian III.

Fabric.—Bad quality of slip, and carelessness of painting. Partial disuse of slip.

LACONIAN V. (500–425).

Shapes.—As Laconian III. and IV.

Patterns.—Crescent added, rays less frequent, pattern of slanting lines on raised ridge adopted for plate rim. Otherwise as Laconian III. and IV., but degenerated. Rosette and cross design on base.

Fabric.—Complete abandonment of slip. Purple paint rare as ornament, but kept for figure details, for which white is now much used. Inferior quality of black.

LACONIAN VI. (425–350).

Shapes.—Plate, bowl, kylix, oinochoe.

Patterns.—Leaf pattern debased, crescents, dots (those on rim of plate replace slanting lines of V.). No figures.

Fabric.—No slip. Black paint.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 4.—Archaic Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Orthia.

During the three seasons of the excavation at the Hieron of Artemis Orthia about a thousand fragments of terracottas have been found. A number of these were discovered in the bank of the Eurotas or in the disturbed upper levels in the sixth-century temple, but the great majority came to light in the systematic digging of the precincts. Wherever possible, approximate dates for each type are given below, calculated in the light of Mr. Droop's analysis of the pottery, and of the relation of the finds to the epoch of the building of the second temple, now fixed at about B.C. 600.

The clay of the terracottas is usually fine and peculiarly soft. The colour, varying perhaps with the time of firing, ranges from pink to a very brilliant red. A harder and darker red, and also a very hard and gritty grey clay with a slatey tinge are less common. All appear to be local, since they are found in the vases now known to be Laconian, or are represented in the ruder hand-made figurines which must have been manufactured on the spot, and in which the clay is easily distinguishable from that of analogous terracottas found at Tegea, the Argive Heraion, and elsewhere.

The paint and slip, which seem originally to have covered many of the figures, have for the most part disappeared, leaving slight traces. This is due largely to the dampness of the soil and the softness of the clay which flakes off under the slip. On a few examples the painted decoration is well preserved, and shows analogies with that of the contemporary vases.

In the absence of certain evidence that other divinities were worshipped in the Hieron during the period to which these terracottas belong, it may be provisionally assumed that all were dedications to Artemis Orthia.[1] They then appear with few exceptions as offerings suited to the probable character of Orthia as a fertility or nature goddess, the chief female deity of an agricultural people.

She is herself represented by a large number of figurines, usually upright, but also enthroned or on horseback. Undraped female figures are comparatively rare, and the most interesting are a few examples showing the attitude of the Cnidian Aphrodite. These are probably representations of Orthia, and in any case are evidence of a close relation between Artemis and Aphrodite. At Boiai[2] the two goddesses appear to have been confused, and at Sparta some connection between them has been suspected by Sam Wide.[3]

The animals are chiefly domestic, the horse predominating.[4] Male figures are very rare, with the exception of a class of rude hand-made and frequently ithyphallic figurines and a number of *Dickbauchdämonen*. If it had been a prevalent custom at Sparta to dedicate figurines representing the act of worship or offering,[5] more male figures might be expected, since the worship of Orthia does not appear to have been confined to women. This supports the opinion that the female figures represent the goddess rather than her votaries.

The artistic level reached by these Spartan terracottas is rarely high. A large number are of the rudest possible kind, resembling some which on other sites have been considered for stylistic reasons to be pre-Mycenaean. At Sparta, however, they are even more common in the Orientalising than in the purely Geometric strata, and exist side by side with moulded terracottas of comparatively advanced types. These latter are generally of very shallow execution, and even where the resemblance to nature shows some command over the material, there is a general flatness and a great absence of detail and ornamentation which creates the impression that they are short-hand reproductions of more carefully executed figures.

[1] From *C.I.G.* 1444 it appears that in Roman times Orthia was not in the undisputed possession of the close.

[2] S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 121 *seq.*

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 117.

[4] *V.* below, p. 54.

[5] For a few possible cases *v.* below, pp. 52, 62.

SMALL HAND-MADE HUMAN FIGURES.

Nearly 300 fragments of hand-made human or quasi-human figures have been found in the different strata. Comparatively few were found in the lowest deposit, but from the first appearance of the Orientalising style of pottery they occur in great numbers down to the end of the sixth century.

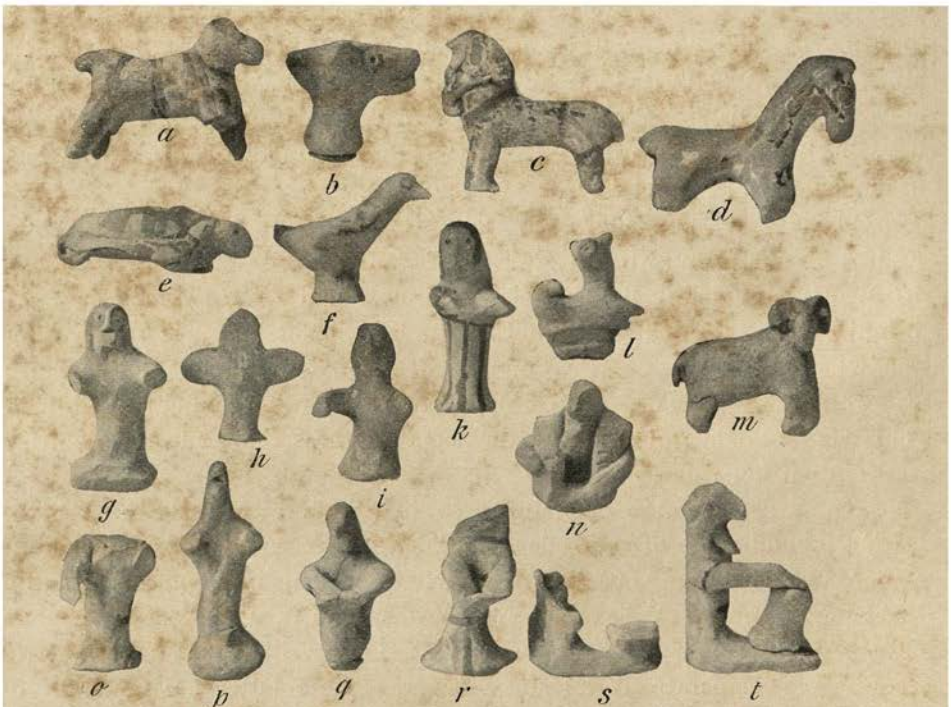


FIG. 1.—SMALL HAND-MADE FIGURES. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

The very great majority of the figurines appear to be intended for bearded males. As, however, one undoubted female figure is rendered with a chin hardly distinguishable from a beard, it is not possible to be certain on this point.[1] A painted beardless figure (Fig. 1, *k*) of unusually lifelike

[1] A columnar figure with spreading base from Tegea now in the National Museum at Athens is represented with shoulder pins and chain.

appearance is probably intended for a female. There are about a dozen bears in human attitudes and one possible monkey.

A hollow male head and neck upon a spreading base, and on a larger scale than usual,[1] so as to admit of more careful treatment, displays in detail the artistic type of which the heads of a majority of these figurines are a degenerate imitation. The head is bullet-shaped, with flat cheeks and prominent, pointed nose and beard. The hair of the beard, whiskers and moustache is indicated by pin-pricks, as in the ivory plaque in *B.S.A.* xiii., Fig. 31, *g*, p. 101. The lower lip is clean shaven. On the head the hair is indicated by sparse, irregular, and shallow impressed lines. The brows project beneath a low forehead, and the eyes and lids are represented by a raised ellipse containing a second one incised.

The heads of the smaller hand-made figurines are roughly treated in various ways, but fall into two distinct divisions, according to whether the head is regarded as in profile or as in full face. The most carefully made of the former have rounded heads with very marked projecting nose and beard. The mouth is sometimes omitted. The sides of the face are flattened, and the eyes represented either by a flat ring or disc, or by a small hole.

A simple method of making this type of head was to take the ball of clay which was to form the head and nip the front of it into a vertical edge from which the nose and beard were then cut (*e.g.* Fig. 2, *d*, *f*, and *m*). In one undoubted female figurine the face is of the same type (*v.* above). In others the head is little more than a continuation of the neck (Fig. 1, *p*), but some attempt at a profile rendering of nose and beard is generally made. The full-face type also represents a man, or more probably a Satyr, with beard and whiskers.[2] In the most summarised version the face is concave. It is made by pressing in the front of a clay ball; a small excrescence is added in the middle to indicate a nose, and three holes are pricked around it for eyes and mouth. This type is clearly traceable to one more carefully rendered, but the evidence is not sufficient to prove any chronological difference between the careful and the degenerate methods, or between the different styles.

A large number of these figurines are nondescript, frequently columnar

[1] The height is ·062 m.

[2] Cf. a terracotta from Lusi in Northern Arcadia (*Jahreshefte*, 1901, Fig. 48). At Lusi many of the Spartan hand-made types are represented, but sometimes with a peculiar and distinctive wooden technique in the features (*op. cit.* figs. 26–31).

(Fig. 1, *g*, *i*, *k*, *o*, *p*, and Fig. 2, *f*), but sometimes showing the legs (Fig. 2, *d*, *e*).[1] Differentiated by various details there are :—

1. A bearded columnar kriophoros (Fig. 2, *m*), probably not a Hermes, but a worshipper bringing an animal to sacrifice.[2]

2. A columnar flute player with the double pipe.

3. Two grotesques, or possibly tumblers with their legs over their shoulders (Fig. 1, *n*).

4. Fragments of about twenty 'bread-bakers' of which one was found with Laconian VI. pottery and none exclusively with Geometric (Fig. 1, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*). In no example does the bread appear.

Cf. the terracotta found at Tiryns[3] and one said to be pre-Mycenaean from the Heraion of Argos, where the cakes are distinctly represented.[4] The *motif* is seen also in figurines of a more artistic character.[5] At Sparta one small fragment of a dish containing cakes has been found with Sub-Geometric and Laconian I. pottery.

5 (Fig. 2, *l*). A curious group consisting of four human figures rising out of a stand. The two in the middle are embracing, or wrestling with one another, and each is held about the waist by one of the lower figures, from which the heads are broken. The exact provenance is uncertain.

6. Between fifty and sixty rude hand-made ithyphallic figurines, of which several appear to be bears and one perhaps a monkey. Of these, two are in ordinary sitting attitude, but no stool or chair is preserved. The majority are standing or squatting.[6]

Of the standing terracottas a few have separated legs; one is in columnar form, with the legs slightly indicated, the remainder are columnar. One hand, as is the case with the forepaw of one of the bears, is sometimes raised to the chin or inserted in the mouth (cf. Fig. 2, *e*). Figurines from the Idaean cave with one hand raised to the head are supposed to be in an attitude of adoration.[7]

[1] Cf. the male and female figurines from under the Heraion at Olympia (*Olympia*, iv. Pl. XVII.). Here details, such as eyes, breasts, and navel, are represented by small incised rings and paint is almost entirely absent.

[2] Cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 285.

[3] Schliemann, *Tiryns* (English trans.), p. 169, Fig. 76, and *Arch. Anz.* 1896, p. 107.

[4] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Fig. 15.

[5] *E.g.* Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, Pl. XII.

[6] Cf. a terracotta from Calauria, *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, p. 315.

[7] *B.S.A.* vi. pp. 107 *seq.*, Pl. X. Cf. a terracotta from Cyprus in the British Museum with the hand to the mouth (*B.M. Cat. Terracottas*, A. 92).

The clay is usually smooth and soft with a tendency to red, but is rarely of the bright red colour of other terracottas. There are a few examples of a fine, light, hard clay, grey in colour and usually splashed with bands or blotches of thin dark blue paint which becomes indelible, apparently owing to the absorbent nature of the clay. In a few cases figurines of this clay are covered with a slightly lustrous glaze (cf. the male figurine in Fig. 7, *f*).

FIG. 2.—HAND-MADE AND MOULDED FIGURES. (SCALE 2 : 3.)

7. Found with Laconian pottery of the first and second styles are a number of standing 'trefoils' or crosses (Fig. 1, *h*). Somewhat similar objects with a nail-hole in the centre were found at the Argive Heraion. At the shrine of Artemis Orthia it appears from the varying shapes of the 'trefoils' that they are merely very degenerate representations of the human form. They may be compared with the terracottas shown on Fig. 1, *i*, and Fig. 2, *f*.

8. Roughly made seated figures.

(i) A nude body and part of a four-legged throne, from an uncertain provenance (Fig. 2, *h*). Cf. the equestrian figure (Fig. 2, *c*).

(ii) The body and head of an apparently nude woman in a sitting position without throne.[1] One appliqué breast remains. The legs, if they ever existed, are lost; on the back are traces of a large herring-bone pattern in black paint.

(iii) A number of very roughly made enthroned female figures. The thrones have a low solid rail at back and sides, and immediately above the back rises the neck and head of the figure. The body and skirt are represented by a flat riband of clay laid in the seat of the throne and now broken off where it falls over the front (Fig. 2, *g*). The heads have sometimes very little resemblance to human form. In the more careful examples the goddess is represented with what may be a *stephanos*, or with a low *polos* and what may be either a veil, side streamers, or flowing hair[2] (Fig. 3, *k*).

These figures do not occur in the earliest Geometric and come to an end before the deposit immediately preceding the building of the second temple.

A further class of seated figures, which are perhaps partially moulded, is treated below, as are all the equestrian figurines (p. 57).

HAND-MADE FIGURES OF ANIMALS.

The horse preponderates over all other animals at the temple of Artemis Orthia and presents no unusual feature in its representation (Fig. 1, *a*, *c*, *d*). The most lifelike examples are two harnessed animals from the same chariot team, found with pottery of the third Laconian style (Fig. 1, *c*).

There is also a large number of cattle of uncertain sex, one cow and one ram (Fig. 1, *m*). In one case a head alone, perhaps that of a bear, appears on a stand (Fig. 1, *l*). Two doves (Fig. 1, *f*), three tortoises (Fig. 1, *e*) and two couchant animals which may be lions, are the only non-domestic creatures found with the exception of the ithyphallic bears (*v.* above p. 52).

[1] Cf. *Jahreshefte*, 1901, Fig. 27.

[2] Cf. terracottas A 90 and A 92 in the British Museum.

The lion is an attribute of the goddess and the tortoise may have been one[1] also, for the same reason as that which connects it with Aphrodite. It cannot be supposed that they represent, or are substituted for, an offering of the real animals.

MORE ADVANCED HAND-MADE SEATED FIGURES.

There are a dozen fragments of seated figures in a style more advanced than the above-mentioned hand-made types, with which they cannot be classed owing to the great difference of technique, shown especially in the treatment of the head, which in some cases may have been moulded. The majority are of a hard grey clay with a bluish tinge, and two are of the ordinary soft red clay.

The nearest analogies are the flat seated figures from the Argive Heraion in which the elaboration of ornament is greater, but the type of face is often more primitive.[2] As at the Heraion and elsewhere the throne is usually imaginary, and the figures are supported on the skirt and a projection at the back.

These figures vary very much in shape, but usually agree in the type of head-dress, which is a high cylindrical *polos* sometimes broken, and probably in many cases spreading at the top, and in the wearing of large shoulder pins or *fibulae* connected by a chain. The dress is *décolleté*.

1 (Fig. 3, *d*). Besides the chain there is, reaching from shoulder to shoulder, an ornament consisting of vandykes cut in the unbaked clay and representing, probably, jewellery of the kind seen in the Argive figures. The head figured in profile (Fig. 3, *g*) is of the type which belongs to this figure; the hair is in a mass on the back of the neck and between the shoulders, to which it has been applied when wet. It is later than the sixth-century temple, and dates probably in the second half of the sixth century.

2 (Fig. 3, *e*). Appears to show both the chain and an *apoptygma*

[1] Clement of Alexandria mentions that the Spartiates worshipped an Artemis Chelytis (*Protrept.* 33 Pott.). *V.* Sam Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 129 *seq.* For ivory tortoises from the shrine of Orthia *v. B.S.A.*, xii. Fig. 5 *a* (p. 328) and xiii. Fig. 31 *i* (p. 101).

[2] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. XLIII., seated figures with beaked faces and appliqué eyes. *Op. cit.* ii., Pl. XLV., similar figures with archaic heads of 'the advanced' Argive type.' Cf. the beaked figurine from Cyrene in Heuzey, *Terrecuites du Louvre*, Pl. XL., Fig. 1.

formed by the application of a riband of clay, and shallower than any other known example. It is later than the sixth-century temple.

3 (Fig. 3, *i*). In this also the *apoptygma* may be indicated. It is of soft red clay. It was found with Proto-Corinthian and early Laconian pottery.

4 (Fig. 3, *c*). Thin neck, no hair visible, very large *fibulae*, hands in lap. It is of about the same date as No. 2.

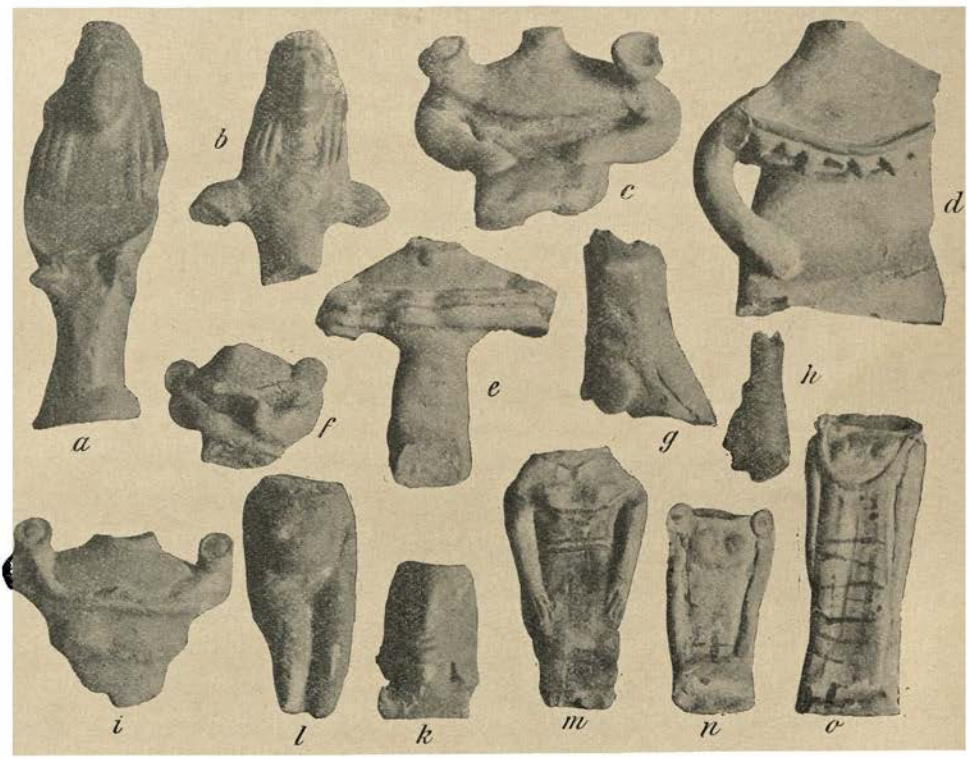


FIG. 3.—HAND-MADE AND MOULDED FIGURES. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

5 (Fig. 3, *f*). A smaller and ruder version of No. 4. It was found with Proto-Corinthian pottery and, unless it has strayed, dates from before the middle of the seventh century.

6. A number of heads belonging to similar figures (*e.g.* Fig. 3, *g*, *h*). The latest dates from the end of the sixth century. The fact that the

eyes are less wide and staring than in the majority of figurines may show Ionian influence.

7. A figure completely preserved except for the top of the head, which is broken, and seated on a throne (Fig. 2, *i*). It is from the latest deposit preceding the building of the second temple.

8. A narrow figure (Fig. 3, *n*) covered with a white slip and with exposed breasts, corresponding to the standing type (Fig. 3, *o*).

MOULDED FIGURES OF ENTHRONED GODDESSES.

1 (Fig. 3, *l*). Nude seated female on a separate throne, which has been lost.

2 (Fig. 2, *k*). The throne is not distinguished, and a curious attempt is made at foreshortening the upper part of the legs. It is slightly earlier than the following.

3 (Fig. 3, *m*). The throne, which appears to have existed, is lost. The figure is modelled both in front and at the back. The breasts are exposed and the flesh is covered with a cream slip. The chiton is supported, not by pins, but by bands round the upper arm just below the shoulder; as frequently on vases, there is an embroidered band down the front of the chiton containing a black maeander pattern on a cream ground. In date it is immediately previous to the building of the second temple.

FIGURES OF EQUESTRIAN GODDESSES.

These are partially or entirely hand-made.

I. Completely hand-made (Fig. 2, *c*). Two examples of a nude goddess on horse-back, both found with Orientalising pottery (Laconian I. II.). What is left of the body may be compared with the enthroned figure shown in Fig. 2, *k*. In no case is the head preserved.

II. 1 (Fig. 2, *a*). The goddess is represented with outstretched arms, seated on a saddle which resembles the modern wooden *samari*. The head appears to have been moulded in a separate piece, and is out of proportion to the rest of the body and the horse, which are of the same artistic demerit as the other hand-made terracottas. This is

clearly the case with a head found in a lower level which, when compared with Fig. 3, *b* from the same stratum and the figure under discussion, appears to have come from an equestrian goddess. There are traces of white paint on the face, and of black stripes on the horse. The figurine was found with Orientalising and Proto-Corinthian pottery near the S.E. corner of the sixth-century temple, to which it is anterior by perhaps twenty-five years.

2 (Fig. 2, *b*). Several fragmentary examples found in the top levels of the arena and the northern region, and thus dating from the latter part of the seventh century. Here, too, the head and the upper part of the body appear to have been moulded after a type exactly resembling that of the standing figure shown in Fig. 3, *a* (*v.* below, p. 56).

UPRIGHT AND DRAPED REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GODDESS AND *Protomai.*

A. Fragments have been found of forty *sanides* or *xoana*-like figurines resembling the statue of Artemis dedicated by Nikandra at Delos. All are thin, flat or slightly hollowed at the back, and moulded only in front. One shows at the back the grain of the board used to flatten it while in the mould. Traces of a white slip are frequent, especially on the face and hair. The paint has mostly disappeared.

No *polos* is worn: the hair descends in two plaits or waved tresses over each shoulder, dividing above the breasts, which are indicated beneath the drapery. The arms adhere to the sides, the waist is slightly indicated, and the columnar lower part of the body is disproportionately long. The feet are not shown, and the figure stands upon a low, very slightly projecting rectangular base (Fig. 4, *n*). A similar figure on a small scale appears in Fig. 6, *d*. The drapery consists of a long chiton, without *apoptygma*. In one completely painted example (Fig. 4, *p*) the face, neck, and girdle are white, the hair black, and the dress purple. Five of these are merely *protomai*, differing in no respect, except in two cases in extreme thinness of fabric, from the complete 'Xoana' (*v.* below, p. 60).

In one example, possibly male (Fig. 7, *h*), the hair is longer and covers the breasts.

The terracotta figured in *B.S.A.* xiii. Fig. 33, *a* (p. 107), resembles this

type, but is not so completely conventional and shows some attempt at rendering the folds of the drapery.

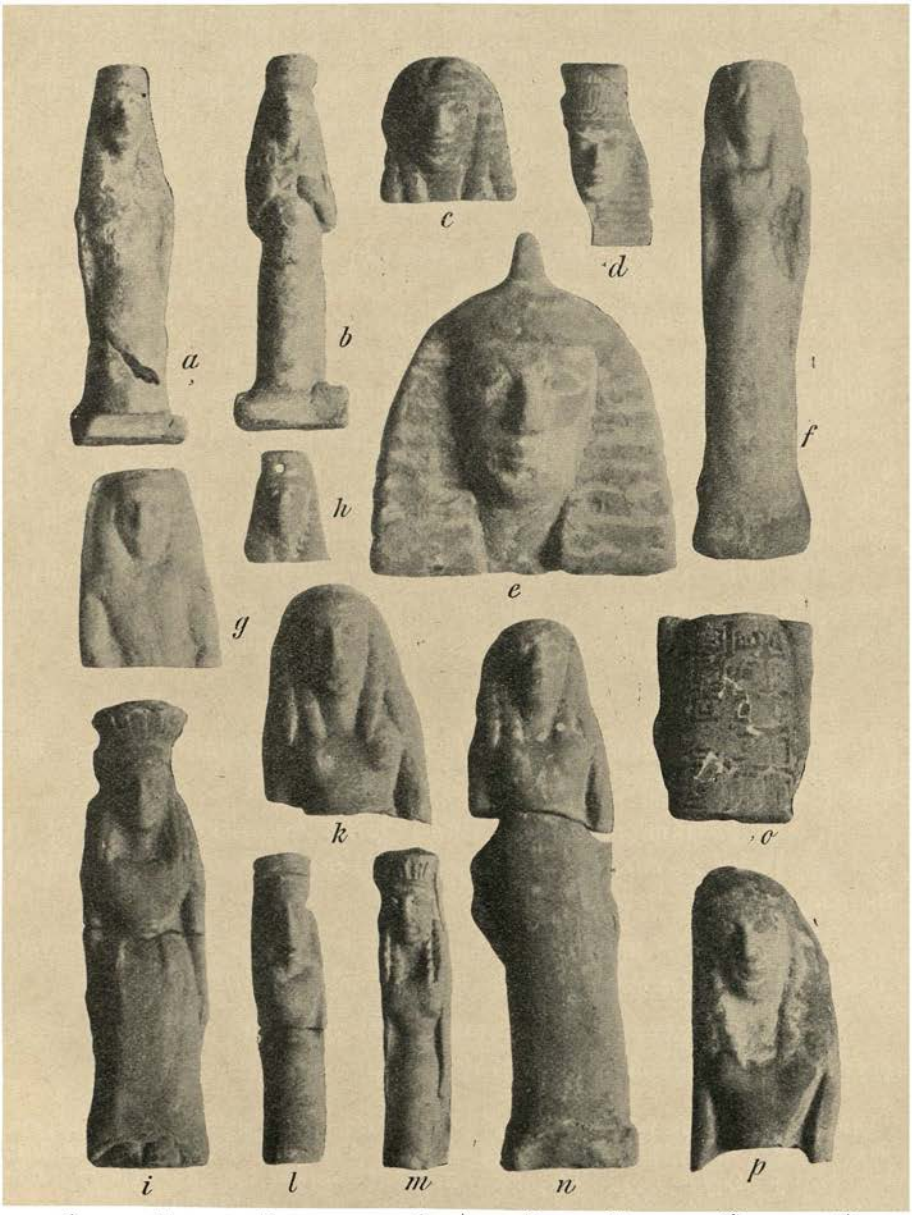


FIG. 4.—MOULDED PROTOMAI AND STANDING FEMALE FIGURES. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

A few fragments were found in purely Geometric strata and two with Laconian III. in a deposit of a period subsequent to the building of the sixth-century temple. Between these two limits the type remains unchanged, but the painted decoration seems to have varied with the fashions in pottery. The skirt fragment shown in Fig. 4, *o* appears to belong to this type. It is ornamented with a characteristic Geometric pattern and was found with Geometric pottery. The purple-painted figure, on the other hand, was found with pottery of the first Laconian style (Fig. 4, *p*).

B. Contemporary with these *sanides* are a few *Xoana* distinguished by less regular moulding and different treatment of the side masses of hair, which are marked only by horizontal divisions (Fig. 4, *a*, *b*, *g*). In one case the lower edge of each mass is vandyked (Fig. 4, *b*). This figurine and two others show the low *polos* and in two the hands are raised to the breasts. Usually, however, the goddess wears no head-dress and the arms are close to the sides. The lower part of the body is quite shapeless (Fig. 4, *f*). The only garment is a long chiton with girdle and without *apoptygma*. One figure carries a wreath, a common attribute in votive offerings.[1]

The earliest examples were found with late Geometric pottery and the latest (Fig. 4, *g*) belongs to the early part of the sixth century, in the period immediately subsequent to the rebuilding of the temple.

C. Protomai.

I. There is a class of *protomai* with hair rendered in the manner just described, but otherwise resembling the *sanides*.

1. A large Janiform *protome* with loop for suspension (Fig. 4, *e*). It was found with Geometric and a little Proto-Corinthian pottery in front of the temple.

2 (Fig. 4, *h*). A number of small figures wearing the low *polos*. They belong to the late Geometric and early Orientalising period.

3. A large *protome* which has retained much colour. It has no head-dress and closely resembles the *sanides*.

[1] Cf. many of the lead figurines and an enormous number of separate lead wreaths; also Winter, *Typen*, i. p. 57, Fig. 3, and p. 104, Fig. 4, and an Acropolis Kore, Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. Gr.* i. p. 353, Fig. 178 and Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, Pl. XI. Because wreaths are offered it does not follow that the figures holding them are necessarily worshippers, rather than the goddess herself in possession of an object habitually associated with her.

4 (Fig. 4, *d*). With high and decorated *polos* and hair, very thin and flat in fabric. There are the remains of a white slip on face and hair. It was found with Corinthian pottery. In all but the hair it resembles a *protome* with three plaits on either side of the head, found with Orientalising and Geometric pottery, and, considering the provenance, unexpectedly late in style (*v.* below, II.).

5. *Protomai* moulded on late Geometric vases and without head-dress (*v. B.S.A.* xiii. Fig. 6, *c*, p. 126).

II. There is a second class of *protomai* with the usual plaited hair and no head-dress, except in one instance where a high decorated *polos* is worn, and there are curls over the forehead (*v.* above, I. 4). These, too, occur on vases, probably late Geometric. A similar bronze *protome* with curls was found at Olympia,[1] and a mould from Rhodes is in the British Museum (B 157).

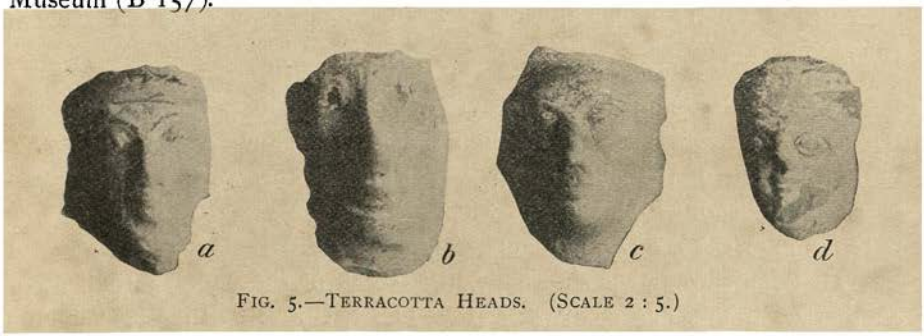


FIG. 5.—TERRACOTTA HEADS. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

III. A distinct class of large heads, broken all round or on three sides, and still retaining much paint. Some are flat at the back, and appear to have been surrounded by a flat rim, probably with suspension or nail holes (Fig. 5, *a*, *b*).

Contemporary with these are some vase *protomai*; very little of the pot remains, but from the paint on the back they appear for the most part to be fragments of Sub-Geometric or late Geometric vases. The type of face varies a little. Two examples show the spare oval countenance of the *sanides* (Fig. 5, *c*); other have broader and fuller features (Fig. 5, *d*). Two examples of a late type, one of which was found with Cyrenaic (Laconian III. and IV.) pottery, and the other of which is slightly earlier, have a horizontal row of curls moulded over the forehead.

[1] *Olympia*, iv. 88, Pl. VII.

D. There are two further types of small and primitive *xoana.*

1. A type of small figurines (Fig. 4, *l*), moulded as usual only in front, and with no detail except in the face and the feet, which are indicated. The neck and waist are narrow, but the arms are not undercut, and the head-dress is of a peculiar type, resembling two low superimposed cylinders, of which the upper has the greater diameter. The hair hangs in a mass over either shoulder. The type occurs from the late Geometric period and ends with the building of the second temple.

2. A similar and contemporary type (Fig. 4, *m*) shows a decorated *kalathos* and some detail in the painted locks; it recalls the bone *Xoana* (Fig. 8, p. 23) in the shortness of the figure.

E. A more artistic, but not later, type is shown in Fig. 4, *i.* In contrast with the *sanides* the figure is stumpy, the feet are indicated, and the hair has a more human appearance. The head is covered by a spreading *kalathos.*

F. A series of small figurines (Fig. 6, *c*) in which the goddess is represented in *polos* and Doric chiton, sometimes with shoulder *fibulae,* belongs to the first half of the sixth century. The hair is arranged in spiral curls over the forehead. Fragments of what appear to be exactly similar figures were found at the Argive Heraion.[1]

The single fragment shown in Fig. 6, *g* is of the same period, as is another complete figure wearing the Doric chiton with a selvage or embroidered edge indicated in the *apoptygma.* It is noticeable that this detail of a garment which is supposed to be distinctly Dorian in character, is hardly represented in the terracottas till a comparatively late period. It usually occurs in figures whose date is further marked by the curling hair over the forehead, a form of coiffure which at first appears commonly about the time of the building of the second temple.[2]

G. A large solid figure found in the sand (Fig. 6, *h*), and a smaller but similar terracotta belonging to the period immediately previous to the building of the temple, also show this arrangement of the hair surmounted by a low and probably spreading cap. The features of both are unfor-

[1] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum,* ii., Nos. 140 (Fig. 59), etc.

[2] Cf. the standing figure (Fig. 3, *k*), p. 54, and the heads mentioned with it. For an exception, perhaps strayed, *v.* above, p. 56.

tunately much defaced. The eyes of the larger figure are round and wide but not prominent, and the general appearance of the face pleasing. The hair is parted over the shoulders and hangs in three locks upon each side in front and in a mass upon the back of the neck.

H. Orthia as Πότνια Θηρῶν.[1]

Ten complete or fragmentary examples of this type have been found at the temple (Fig. 6, *a*, *b*, *e*). The goddess wears a high *polos* with moulded decorations in very low relief, except in the example shown in

FIG. 6.—FIGURES OF ORTHIA AS Πότνια Θηρῶν, ETC. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

Fig. 6, *b*. The face shows perhaps some trace of Ionic influence in the comparative narrowness of the eyes. The hair, as usual in the female figures from the site, covers the front of the shoulders in long plaits. The left hand holds the near forepaw of the lion which stands upon its hind legs in relief against the skirt of the goddess, and the right hand rests upon the animal's head. The dress is richly embroidered, and the decoration is indicated in the moulding of the figure and by traces of paint on the

[1] *V. B.S.A.* xiii. p. 105, and Fig. 33*b*, p. 107. Sam Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 131 *seq.*

ground. The feet are not shown. The fabric is moderately thick and the back is entirely unworked.

Two fragments were found with Geometric pottery, but, owing to the disturbance of the deposit at the building of the second temple, in circumstances which make it impossible to attach much importance to the stratification. The remaining examples are distributed throughout the Orientalising stratum. None are later than the end of the seventh century.

No exactly similar terracotta type of the goddess has been found elsewhere, but the Πότνια Θηρῶν appears in a number of figurines from Corcyra in the Karapános Collection in the National Museum at Athens. In these the goddess wears a *stephanos*: the accompanying animal is usually a rampant deer, and though she still wears the long chiton, the Hellenic conception of the huntress goddess is indicated by the bow carried as an attribute in one hand. The execution of many of the figurines, which are on a very large scale, is altogether less summarised than in those from Sparta.[1] Several broken examples were found of a type nearly resembling the Spartan type. In this a lion is seated in front of the goddess upon its hind quarters.[2]

J. With the doubtful exception of the Lion goddesses and some of the more advanced seated figures mentioned above, the only trace of Ionian influence appears in some fragments of draped female figures with vase rims, one holding a dove in the left hand.

One fragment is of a pale soft clay possibly local, the other two appear, from the clay, to be importations,[3] and one of them which shows the head is more markedly Ionic in style, with narrow almond eyes and somewhat full cheeks. It was found in a deposit belonging to the time of the destruction of the primitive temple, while the companion fragment is of a slightly later date, being found with Laconian III.

[1] *B.C.H.* xv. Pl. VI., etc.

[2] *B.C.H.* xv. Pl. II. 2. Examples in other materials of a goddess, usually winged, and in rapid motion and accompanied by lions or other *felidae*, are common. Her dominion over the animal is often naïvely indicated by the manner in which she throttles it or carries it by mane or tail; *e.g.* the figures on the handles of the François vase. Cf. also *B.C.H.* xv. Pl. V. 2, and a gem said to be from Persia and figured in Micali, *Monumenti Inediti ad Illustrazione della Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*, Pl. I. 23.

[3] Fr. Winter (*Jahrbuch*, 1899, pp. 73 *seq.*) suggests Samos as the place of origin of this type, and compares the archaic marble statue in the Louvre.

K. A figure of a very curious type appears in Fig. 3, *a*: several examples of the head occur, and one belongs certainly to a riding goddess in which, as here, the clay is cut away beneath the bust and hair, leaving a flat semicircle (Fig. 2, *b*): immediately below this are two projections in the standing figure. In the riding figure one projection apparently representing a breast, the other being lost, appears on the flat surface below the side hair. Both are from the deposit immediately preceding the building of the second temple.

From the analogy of similar heads, also probably belonging to riding goddesses, of the same period, it is clear that they were moulded and applied to figurines otherwise hand-made. This appears also to be the case in the riding goddess of a slightly different type figured in Fig. 2, *a*. Thus it appears probable that both in this standing figure and in the first mentioned equestrian terracotta, the peculiar flat half-moon surface is intended to indicate a *décolleté* dress, but the effect is spoilt by the imposition of an unsuitable moulded head and bust and the consequent duplication of the upper part of the body. In one riding figure (Fig. 2, *b*) the join is even less neat than it is here. It is not clear that either figure ever had arms unless these are represented in a rudimentary manner by the projections mentioned above.

L. A rare type with shoulder pins, exposed breasts, no girdle, and a rough painted pattern on the chiton corresponds to the seated figure (figured on p. 56, Fig. 3, *m*) and, according to the scanty evidence, belongs to the period immediately preceding the building of the second temple.

NUDE FEMALE FIGURES.

1. A figurine (Fig. 7, *b*) which is a partial example of the Cnidian attitude, shows finer technique than any early terracotta at the shrine of Artemis Orthia, and is complete except for the lower part of each leg. The figure and limbs are slim, the hair is in spiral curls over the forehead and descends upon each shoulder in a heavy mass divided by horizontal waves. The texture of the hair is indicated by fine engraved perpendicular lines. The head is covered with an unusually low *polos* resembling that worn by Hera on coins of Argos. The arms are undercut but the back is only roughly modelled.

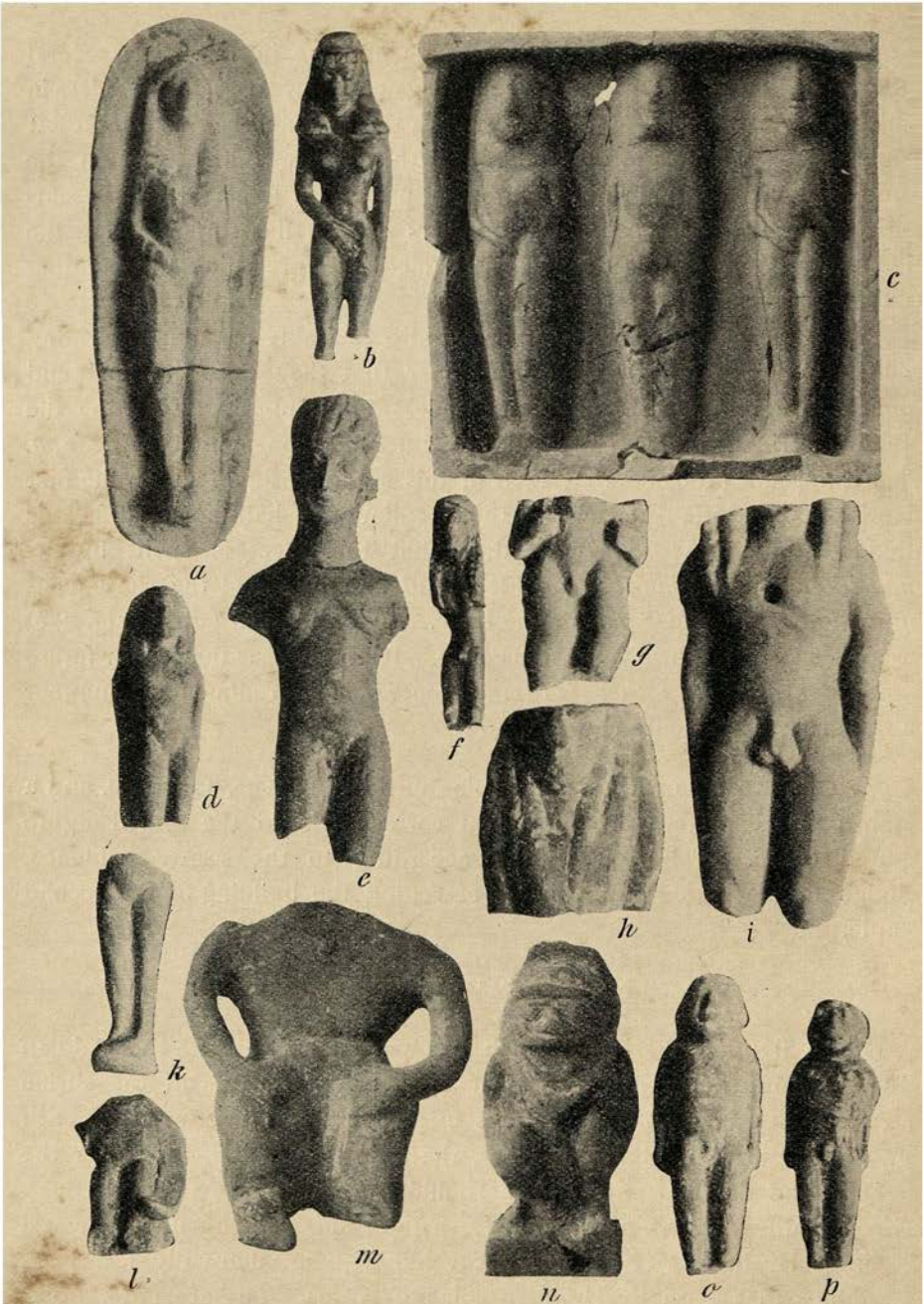


FIG. 7.—NUDE MALE AND FEMALE FIGURES. (SCALE 2 : 5, EXCEPT *c* = 1 : 3.)

The clay is hard and presents a smooth, slightly lustrous surface. It is not painted with any medium ordinarily used for terracottas, but apparently owing either to faults in the firing or to the partial disappearance of a very thin and tenacious coating of paint, is mottled red and black. It was found in the deposit immediately preceding the building of the sixth-century temple.

2. The plaque shown in Fig. 7, *a* belongs perhaps to the same period, but may be a little earlier. Here the double gesture appears. The hair is represented in the usual flat, conventional 'Egyptian' fashion with horizontal divisions. The head is uncovered. Owing to the washy nature of the execution very few details are visible. The clay is of the usual local red covered with a whitish slip.

3. A few examples of another type, in which a nude figure with the arms by the sides is represented, often against a thick background formed by the overflow of the mould (Fig. 7, *d*, *k*). They were found in the last deposit before the building of the second temple. One exactly similar figure appears to be a male.

4. To the same period belongs the large figure, Fig. 7, *e*.

5. The most important terracotta found on the site is a plaque representing a male divinity flanked by goddesses in the Cnidian attitude (Fig. 7, *c*).[1] It cannot be later than the building of the sixth-century temple, as it was found in the sand then laid down, and is probably earlier, since it would no doubt be considered worthy of preservation in the temple longer than most terracottas.

The figures are in high relief upon a thin ground surrounded by a deep rim. The heads are large and the eyes open and staring. The hair is in the 'Egyptian' style, in large masses on each side of the head and distinguished only by broad horizontal divisions, as in the janiform protome and other figurines (Fig. 4, *e*, etc). The bodies and limbs are slight and the general execution somewhat rude and washy. The clay is of a bright red, but harder than that of most Spartan figurines. There are traces of a thin and very adhesive yellow slip or paint.

It has already been noted that a few of the completely draped figures have their hands raised to the breasts, but in such cases the

[1] A male figure between two draped females appears on an ivory plaque found this year.

attitude may be merely a variation of technique and may not symbolise the functions of a fertility goddess. The nude figures, however, present a more acute problem, and it is not certain that either variety can be referred to an Oriental original rather than derived from prehistoric types native to Greece and the islands.

It has been pointed out[1] that the position of the arms in the early Island idols is due to technical difficulties and is not influenced by Oriental religious ideas. The same is probably true of Mycenaean figurines[2] which might be supposed to represent the double gesture of the Cnidian Aphrodite and also of the figurines with folded arms[3] and of the *κουροτρόφοι* from Cyprus. The attitude is of doubtful significance even in Asiatic figurines of a later date, as is the case in a so-called 'Astarte' from Judaea.[4] Here, too, the arms are merely folded. But in a number of figurines chiefly from Cyprus and Phoenicia the symbolism is clearly indicated;[5] in the majority of examples both hands are pressing the breasts. Figurines and statues showing the double gesture of the Aphrodite of Cnidus are rare, and, as far as I know, cannot be certainly dated as earlier than the Spartan terracottas. The bronze found at Phylakopi is probably male, and the arms are not in the original position.[6]

Thus there is not at present sufficient evidence to decide with certainty whether the Cnidian type is an indigenous development from the pre-Hellenic figurines, in which case the attitude may be without religious significance, or whether it is derived from the Phoenician Astarte. A reasonable provisional hypothesis is that the type came to Sparta in the seventh century, immediately, perhaps, from Cnidus, and ultimately from Cyprus and Phoenicia. It was not a direct early importation from Phoenicia to Cythera, where the original *xoanon* was armed.[7] In any

[1] Cecil Smith in *B.S.A.* iii. p. 28 and *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 187.

[2] *E.g.* some terracottas now in the National Museum at Athens and said to be from the Argive Heraeum, but not figured or mentioned in the publication.

[3] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. XXV.

[4] Perrot and Chipiez, vol. iv. p. 434, Fig. 223.

[5] *E.g.* Perrot and Chipiez, vol. iii. p. 409, Fig. 281; p. 555, Figs. 379 and 380; p. 450, Fig. 321; also Winter, *Typen*, i. p. 19 (from Sardinia), p. 419, Fig. 291 (*B.M. Catalogue*, B 377); *A.J.A.* vol. v. Pl. X. 6, a figurine of uncertain provenance from Crete; Heuzey, *T. C. du L.*, Pl. X. 7, from near Larnaka (P. and C. iii., Fig. 382); *op. cit.* Pl. IV. 7, supposed to be late Parthian (P. and C. iii., Fig. 381). Cf. G. Körte, 'Ueber eine altgriechische Statuette der Aphrodite aus der Necropole von Volsinii,' in *Arch. Studien H. Brunn dargebracht* and several archaic statues and statuettes mentioned in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. 408.

[6] *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 187.

[7] Paus. iii. 23. 1.

case, it is not necessary to suppose that at Sparta Aphrodite is represented.[1] The figurine and the plaque of the single goddess may indeed be dedications to Aphrodite,[2] or Aphrodites dedicated to Artemis Orthia. On the other hand, the attitude is appropriate to any fertility or nature goddess, such as was in all probability Orthia herself.

Assuming that one of the females in the triple plaque is the goddess of the shrine, it is not easy to assign names to the other two figures. Artemis in Laconia was a lonely divinity,[3] and it would be rash to connect this group with any of the few works of art where she appears in company, such as the statues of unknown date in the Agora at Sparta representing the Pythian Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.[4] The most that can be said with probability is that we have here the only instance in Laconia of a complete nature triad, the *disiecta membra* of which appear in numerous cults of Artemis, Kore, Hyakinthos, Polyboea, and others.

MALE FIGURES.

Apart from the hand-made terracottas and the grotesques the number of single male figurines is very small.

A. Two fragmentary examples of a type corresponding to the female *sanides* have been found. They are of the same soft, fine red clay, and are thin in section, moulded only in front and flat at the back. Both bear a general resemblance to the archaic 'Apollo' statues.

1. (Fig. 7, *i*). Found in the temple in the earliest stratum of Laconian I. pottery. Preserved from chin to knees; the arms are straight and closely attached to the sides. The hair, unlike that of the majority of archaic male statues, comes down in two plaits or waved locks upon the front of each shoulder. The arrangement is the same as that seen in the female *sanides*, except that the ends of the plaits do not divide above the breasts. The face was probably indistinguishable from the female type. There is a large hole for a nail in the middle of the breast.

2. (Fig. 7, *g*). Preserved from breast to knee only. The elbows are close to the sides, the forearm is raised and the fists are clenched in

[1] F. Poulsen, *Jahrbuch*, 1906, p. 194, shows from the wide distribution of the type that it was not confined to Aphrodite. His denial of the significance of the attitude is not so convincing.

[2] *V.* above, p. 49, note 1.

[3] *V.* S. Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 132 *seq.*

[4] Paus. iii. 11. 9.

front of the body. A fragment of doubtful sex with longer hair has been noticed above.

B. Another male type (Fig. 7, *f*) also exists in two examples, of which one was found with Laconian II. pottery. The clay is hard and black. The figure is completely moulded but somewhat flat. The head is large and the body and limbs slight in proportion. The hair hangs in front of the shoulder in two plaits with very marked horizontal divisions, like those seen in some of the female figures, *e.g.* Fig. 4, *m*. The elbows are close to the sides, the forearms doubled up and hidden by the hair, so that the figure has almost the appearance of being armless.

Cf. also above under 'Nude Female Figures,' 3.

GROTESQUE FIGURES.

The different types found at Sparta may all be derived from, or at least influenced by, the Egyptian Bês, a god apparently of Arabian origin,[1] whose popularity increased with the intercourse of Greek and native in Egypt. He is represented as stooping or squatting on his heels. Sometimes he has a lion's ears, face, and mane[2]; sometimes he is represented in conjunction with lions, as in a terracotta plaque in the British Museum, (C 615).

I. Eight examples, differing from each other only in size, have been found at Sparta, of a type sometimes known as the *Dickbauchdämon* (Fig. 7, *o*, *p*). Elsewhere they are usually represented as standing with more or less bent knees. The abdomen, which is held in both hands, is protuberant and deeply wrinkled, the head is beardless and bullet like, and the eyes round and staring[3]: an example found at the temple of Aphaia was supported on a stool.

The Spartan figurines are represented in a somewhat summarised fashion, except for the head and the creased abdomen, which are the essential features of the type. The attitude of the knees is not very marked and only appears when the figure is seen in profile. The hands

[1] He is called 'lord of the land of Punt,' *v.* Paully-Wissowa, *s.n.* Besas.

[2] Perrot and Chipiez, vol. i. pp. 802 *seq.*, in a section on caricature in Egyptian art, Figs. 535, 536, 549.

[3] Cf. Orsi in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. ii. p. 838, note 1, and Pl. VI. 3, 4, 6. Also Furtwängler, *Aegina*, ii. p. 380, Fig. 66, Pl. 110, 14; *Argive Heraeum*, vol. ii. p. 28, Fig. 45.

are by the side, the back is flat and unmodelled, and the arms are by the sides, not on the stomach. The clay is always bright red and soft. Traces of paint remain.

The earliest occurrence of these figurines at Sparta is at the beginning of the Orientalising period and the latest example was found in the houses east of the great altar, with pottery of the fifth Laconian style. The rest are distributed throughout the deposit.

II. Of the squatting 'Silenus' type one example has been found (cf. figurines B 51, B 52 in the British Museum, from Thebes). It is very widely distributed, especially in Sicily, South Italy, Rhodes, and Asia Minor.[1] Variations occur in the representation of the type, though the general similarity is great. The head is usually bearded, and the feet either human or equine. Ithyphallic examples and flute players with a double pipe are frequent. Over a hundred of the figures have been found at the Boeotian Kabeirion,[2] where most of the variants were represented. The excavators of the site date them as not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

Two similar horse-footed sileni found at Delphi are dated by the pottery finds, at the end of the sixth century.[3] The example from Sparta is of local red clay. It is bearded and ithyphallic; the feet are indistinguishable.

III. A large grotesque (Fig. 7, *n*) is more closely connected with the Bês. It represents a squatting bearded figure upon a rectangular stand, with large head, staring eyes, broad, flat nose and wide, open mouth. It was found with pottery of the first and second Laconian styles.

IV. Another large but hand-made terracotta (Fig. 7, *m*) has lost the head, and cannot with certainty be described either as a grotesque or as an ordinary seated figure.

As has been seen above (p. 52) rude ithyphallic figurines were of frequent occurrence at Sparta and required no encouragement from abroad. They supply the *motif* but not the artistic type for more advanced figures, and are probably derived from a prehistoric type such as the large figure found at Zerélia and another large unpublished terracotta from near

[1] Winter, *Typen*, i. p. 215, Figs. 5, 6, and 7. [2] *Ath. Mitt.* xv. p. 359 and Winter, *loc. cit.*
[3] *Les Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. v. (fasc. 2), p. 162.

Larissa, now in the National Museum at Athens. At Sparta they may be simply *προβασκάνια*,[1] or may more probably indicate that there were phallic elements in the worship of Artemis Orthia, as has already been suggested for other reasons by Th. Schreiber in Roscher's *Lexikon*.[2] The animal element in the squatting Sileni may also be, in part, a native development in Greek art, but the other grotesque figures and the *Dickbauchdämonen* obviously owe something to the type of the Egyptian Bês.

MINIATURE MASKS.

A number of hollow-backed heads, sometimes with the eyes pierced, and apparently more or less complete, may represent a late stage of the *protomai*. They bear no relation to the grotesque masks.

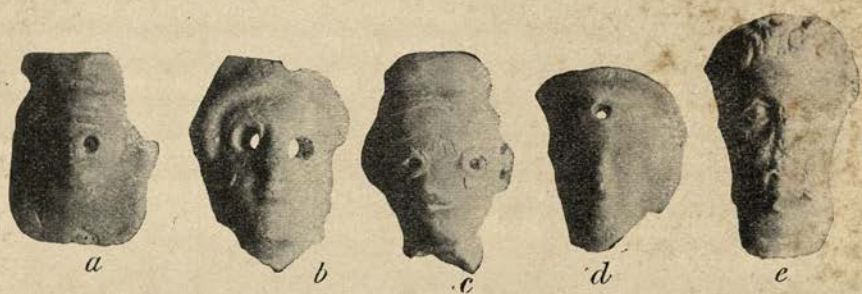


FIG. 8.—MINIATURE MASKS. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

One of these (Fig. 8, *a*) retains a surrounding border of clay, and, with the other examples showing pierced eyes (Fig. 8, *b*, *c*), may be a little earlier than the rest, which were found with Laconian VI. pottery (cf. p. 15). These faces show a great advance upon the other terracottas, especially in the treatment of the eyes.

The majority wear a wide spreading *stephanos* (Fig. 8, *d*), and one (Fig. 8, *e*) has the hair treated with rough incisions in an impressionist manner. The clay is often of a deep dull red, and very friable, perhaps owing to over baking.

[1] W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 393, explains such offerings as 'pretty things which had some value for the givers.' The hand-made grotesques at Sparta could have no value except as charms, but there seems to be no evidence for the dedication, as such, of *προβασκάνια*.

[2] Roscher, ii. 586.

MISCELLANEOUS TERRACOTTAS.

1. Terracotta ornaments. They represent a female head modelled in full face, with flat masses of hair, from which springs on either side a horse's head seen in profile. The fabric is thin and quite flat, except for the human face, and there are various holes for attachment. Some connection between Orthia and the horse is apparently hinted at.[1] The majority are found with pottery of the second and third Laconian styles, and date from the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century.

Similar ornaments have been found among the lead figurines of the seventh and sixth centuries, and one example in bone was also found, which seems to date from the end of the seventh century.

2. Small Double Axe. Cf. similar axes in bronze,[2] silver, and gold.

3. Pomegranates (Fig. 6, *f*). One, doubtless strayed, was found with Geometric pottery, another with Laconian V., the rest with Laconian II., III., IV.

4. Dice, numbered in the modern fashion. A lead die has also been found.

JEROME FARRELL.

[1] Artemis Aeginaea is mentioned in conjunction with Poseidon at Sparta (Paus. iii. 14. 2) and there may have been some myth in which she played the *rôle* of the equine Demeter at Phigaleia. For the equestrian goddesses, the limestone reliefs and the terracotta horses *v.* above, pp. 25, 54, 57. One of many lead horses is figured in *B.S.A.* xii. Fig. 3, *d* (p. 323).

[2] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 116, Fig. 6, *e*.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 5.—Inscriptions.[1]

Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Orthia.

The removal of the substructure of the Roman circus on the side facing the Eurotas led, as was expected, to the discovery of a large number of inscriptions built into the masonry, most of which relate to the παιδικὸς ἀγών. A few more of various classes were found under similar circumstances in the neighbourhood of the temple. They range in size from an inscribed statue-base, nearly two metres high, and a marble bench, down to the merest splinters of marble bearing two or three letters. Of the inscriptions found this season which relate to the boys' contests about two-thirds of the total number are new, while the remainder join, and in some cases complete, previously published inscriptions. The arrangement of the subject-matter of this section is as follows: (*a*) New παιδικὸς ἀγών inscriptions;[2] (*b*) New fragments of previously published παιδικὸς ἀγών inscriptions; (*c*) Other inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Orthia; (*d*) Notes on the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus.

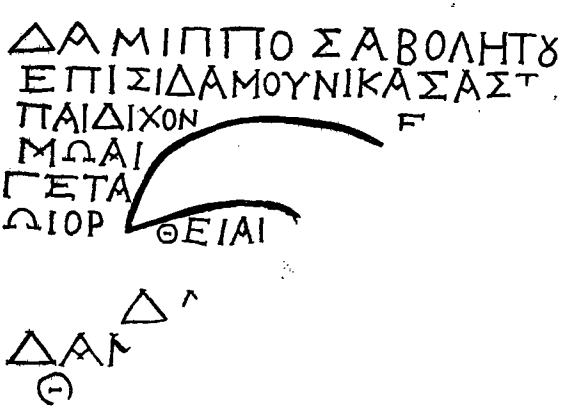
Fresh Inscriptions.

66[3] (2571). Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, complete above and on l. ·32×·31×·045. Letters ·015–·02 high. Socket for sickle in centre.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. M. N. Tod for his constant and ready help throughout this paper.

[2] Except where it is stated to the contrary, the inscriptions commemorating the παιδικὸς ἀγών were all found in the substructure of the Roman circus on the side towards the Eurotas.

[3] The numbering is carried on from *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 199.



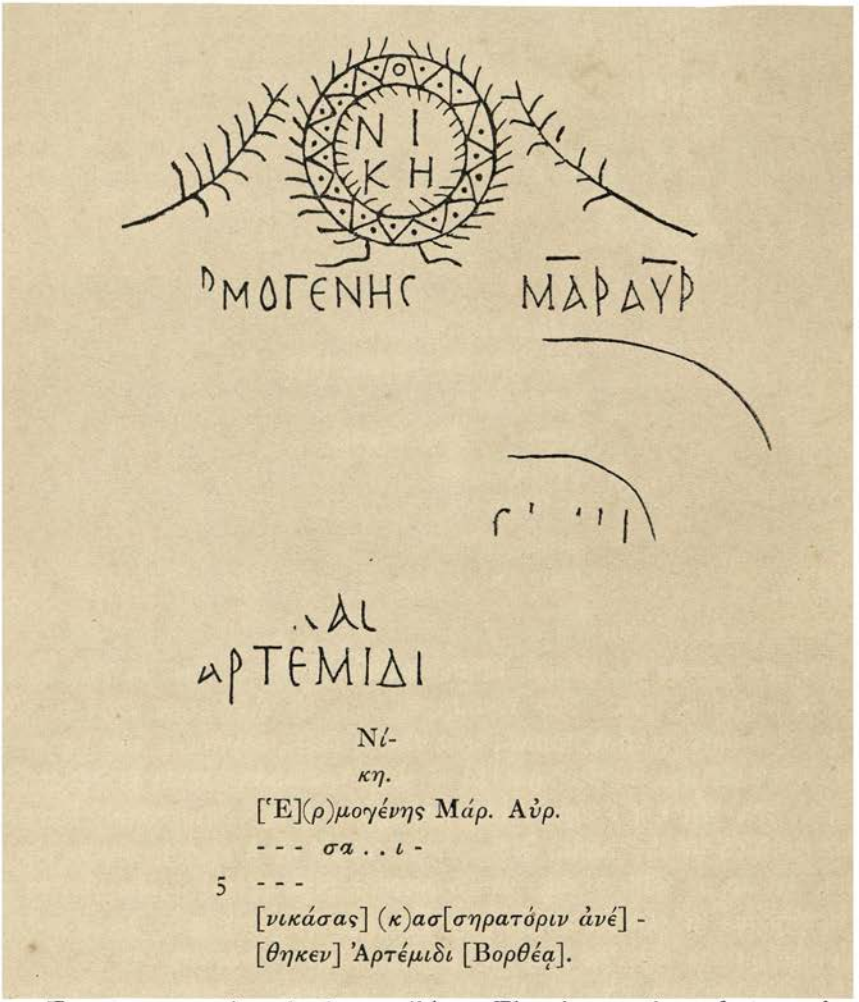
Δάμιππος Ἀβολήτου
ἐπὶ Σιδάμου νικάσας τ[ὸ]
παιδιχὸν ε - - -
μώαι - - - [ἐπὶ Κυνα]-
γέτα [παρθέν]-
ωι Ὀρθείαι.
Δ(ά)[μιππος ?]
Δαμ - -
θ - -

For the use of the dative in the name of the contest in this series see *B.S.A.* xii. p. 381. For Damippus, son of Aboletus, *ibid.* p. 360, No. 3. Sidamus is not known elsewhere as Eponymus: the name = Σείδαμος = Θεόδαμος, on the analogy of such Laconian names as Σίπομπος, Σιδέκτας, etc. In l. 5 - - γετα is puzzling: it is not improbably the end of the genitive of the name Κυναγέτας, which is, however, unknown at Sparta. If so, it will enable us to restore Κυναγ[έτα] as the name of the Eponymus in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 373, No. 35, l. 8, and *infra*, No. 78, both which inscriptions, like the present, belong to the first century B.C.

Ll. 7–9 perhaps contain the allusion to another subsequent victory, but the stone is too mutilated for us to be certain. In l. 6 we may have the end of [παρθέν]ωι: it is only found once as a title of the goddess in these inscriptions (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 361, No. 5), and there in a metrical dedication, but it is hard to see what else could have stood here.

67 (2576). Four fragments of a gable-topped stele of grey marble,

three of which join to form the upper part, measuring ·29 × ·43 × ·05. The other contains part of the last two lines, and does not join the remainder. Letters ·017 high, painted red. Socket for sickle.



Νί-
κη.
['Ε](ρ)μογένης Μάρ. Αὐρ.
- - - σα . . ι -
- - -
[νικάσας] (κ)ασ[σηρατόριν ἀνέ] -
[θηκεν] Ἀρτέμιδι [Βορθέᾳ].

Exact restoration is impossible. The interesting feature is the heading **Νίκη**, which is unknown elsewhere in this series. The wreath and branches which adorn the gable-top are also a striking feature. From the style of the writing, apart from the use of the name **Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος**, we should expect it to belong to the end of the second century **A.D.**, at the earliest: note especially the form of the letter **A**.

68 (2579). Top of stele of *rosso antico* with elaborately carved pediment, complete on l.: socket for sickle on r. Letters ·015 high, with large *apices*.

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	Φίλιππος - -

69 (2581). Lower half of stele of white marble, broken through, ·25 × ·30 × ·08. Letters ·02 high.

			- - -
	ΒΟΥ/		βου(α)[γὸρ ἐπὶ]
	ΠΑΤΓ		πατ(ρ)[ονόμω]
	ΓΟΡΓι	ϩϕ	Γοργ(ί)[ππ](ω)
	ΤΩ<Λ	\ΑΑΡ	τῶ (Γοργίππω) (ν)[ει](κ)άαρ
5	ΚΑΤΘΗΡΑΤΟΡΙΝ	5	κατθηρατόριν
	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙΒΩΡΣΕΑ		Ἀρτέμιτι Βωρσέᾳ
	ΑΝΕΣΗΚΕ		ἀνέσηκε.

Unfortunately the victor's name is lost. We now possess three records of victories in the year of Gorgippus, as *S.M.C.* 219+501 records the victory of Philetus in the *κελῦα*, and *B.S.A.* xii. p. 368, No. 21 that of Cleander in the *μῶα* in this year. We may notice the similarity of both language- and letter-forms in all three cases; almost the only difference in orthography between the two previously known stones is *νεικάαρ* in the former and *νικάαρ* in the latter. In the present inscription I restore *νεικάαρ*, as there seems ample room for *ει* on the missing fragment of stone. It seems extremely likely that the same man engraved all the three stelai. The sign at the end of l. 3 is of course an ornament. The date is probably late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

70 (2583). Stele of white marble with gable-top, broken across. ·46 × ·25, back roughly rounded. Letters ·02 high, with large *apices*. Surface ruled with horizontal lines to guide the engraver. Cutting for sickle below.

Ἐπὶ πατρονόμου
Εὐκλείδα, Φιλοκρά-
της Φιλοκλέους
Ἀγεσιλάῳ(?) τῷ Νεόλα
κάσεν ἀτροπάν-
παις νικάσας τὸ
παιδιχὸν καθθη-
ρατορίῳ ἀνέθηκε
Ἀρτέμι-
τι
Ὀρθείᾳ.

The photograph shows the careless writing plainly: in l. 2 the engraver forgot altogether the first syllable of Εὐκλείδα and crowded it in later; and in l. 4 we apparently have the result of his attempting to spell Ἀγησιλάῳ with no η and a round σ, though elsewhere he uses the 4-stroke one: having noticed his omission he seems to have added the second horizontal stroke to the Ϝ, with the result that it looks like a *digamma*.

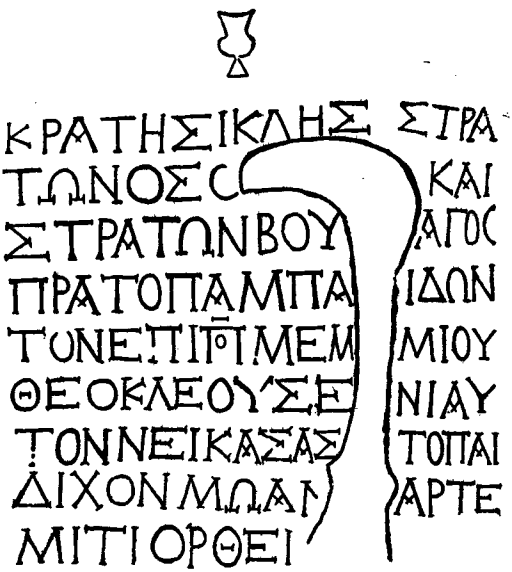
None of these persons can be certainly identified elsewhere. This is the first mention of an Eponymus of the name of Euclidas: Νεόλας occurs also in *S.M.C.* 206, and *C.I.G.* 1292 as a Spartan name, and Ἀγησίλαος is often found.[1] Ἀτροπάνπαις in l. 5 confirms the correctness of the reading

[1] He cannot be identified for certain: the name is found also in *C.I.G.* 1249, 1298 b, 1424, 1470. The first of these instances cannot refer to the same man, as his father's name there is also Ἀγησίλαος.

πρατοπαμπαίδων ἀτροπαμπαίδων κ.τ.λ. in the inscription of this class published in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 366, No. 15.

L. 8. *καθθηρατορίῳ* should be compared with *μώαι* in No. 66, above, for the use of the dative case.

71 (2585). Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, broken into five pieces, complete except for unimportant fragments. ·65 × ·41 × ·048. Letters ·03 high. Socket for sickle.



Κρατησικλῆς (Σ)τρά-
τωνος (ὁ) καὶ
Στράτων βουαγὸς
πρατοπαμπαίδων
τὸν ἐπὶ Πο(πλίου) Μεμμίου
Θεοκλέους ἐνιαυ-
τὸν νεικάσας τὸ παι-
διχὸν μῶα(ν) Ἀρτέ-
μιτι Ὀρθεί(ᾳ).

The crowded position of the letters at the right-hand edge of the stone suggests the probability that the engraver sketched out his lines without allowing for the insertion of the sickle, and thus had to compress the last few letters of each line into half the space they would have occupied had he left no cutting for the sickle.

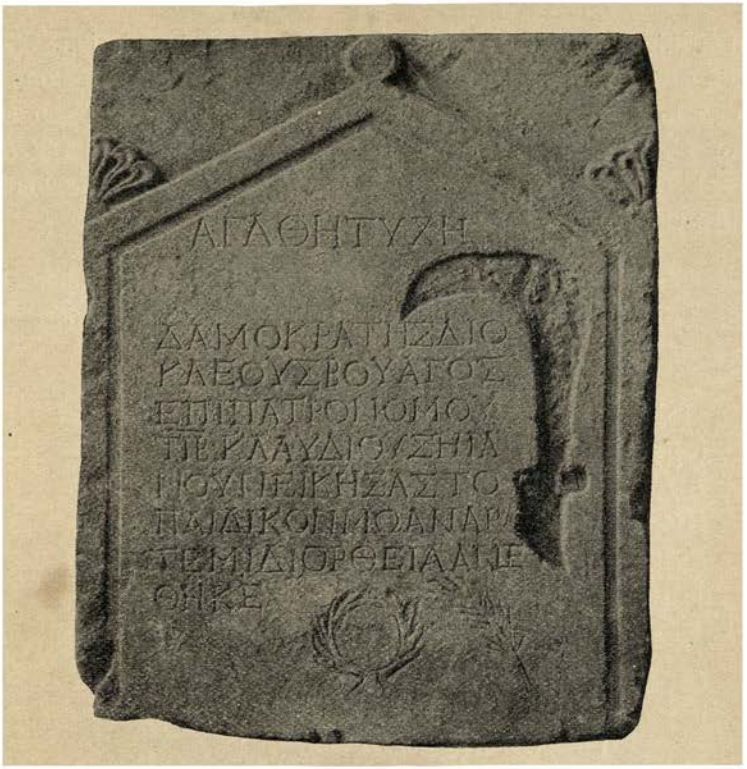
Πόπλιος Μέμμιος Θεοκλῆς may very well be the same as the Θεοκλῆς who is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1254 (*ca.* 150–170 A.D.), but it is not a rare name at Sparta. Κρατησικλῆς is not identifiable; indeed the name does not occur elsewhere at Sparta: he can hardly be the Στράτων Στράτωνος of *S.M.C.* 205. Βουαγὸς πρατοπαμπαίδων is a new phrase in these inscriptions. It clearly shows that the πρατοπάμπαιδες were a class of boys of a certain age, though of what age is at present unknown.

72 (2586). Left-hand half of stele of grey marble, broken across, with plain moulding above. ·41 × ·20 × ·07. Letters ·025 high.

	ΑΛΚΙΜϹ		Ἄλκιμ(ο)[ς - - -]
	ΔΑΕΠΙΝ		δα ἐπὶ Ν - - -
	ΚΑΙΓΠΙΣ,		καὶ (ἐπὶ) Σ - - -
	ΟΣΝΙΚΑΣ		ος νικάσ[ας τὸ παι]-
5	ΔΙΧΟΝΚΕ	5	διχὸν κε[λῆαν].

From l. 4 we may see that there were about 14 letters in each line, but we have nothing else to guide us to a certain restoration of the names. In l. 3 the letter after Σ seems to have been Α, which is not the beginning of any known Eponymus' name. There is nothing in the letter-forms to help us to fix the date precisely. There was apparently no dedicatory formula at all, as there was hardly room on the stone for Ὀρθείᾳ after κε[λῆαν]. Ἄλκιμος is also found in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 469, No. 23, where his father's name begins with Σ, the rest being illegible: if he is the man who was victor in this inscription, it would lead us to restore Σωκλείδας or Σικλείδας or some such name as his father's.

73 (2587). Stele of greyish marble with gable-top in relief but not cut to shape. ·655 × ·51 × ·055. Letters ·025 high. Socket for sickle; below, a wreath and branch.

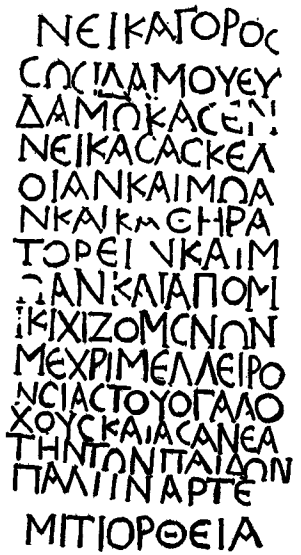


Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
Δαμοκράτης Διο-
κλέους βουαγὸς
ἐπὶ πατρονόμου
Τιβ. Κλαυδίου Σεια-
νοῦ νεικήσας τὸ
παιδικὸν μῶαν Ἀρ-
τέμιδι Ὀρθείᾳ ἀνέ-
θηκε.

The winner is probably the man whose name is found in the Le Bas-Foucart 167, where he is honoured by his *συνέφηβοι* in a metrical dedication. The Eponymus is no doubt the Sejanus whose name occurs in *C.I.G.* 1249, and also in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 364, No. 11, where he appears as Κλαύδιος Σειανός. The latter records the victory of Philocharinus, son of Lysippus, in the *κατθηρατόριν* in this year, and its archaistic formulae

contrast strikingly with the language of the present inscription. The date is probably early in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which is based on the view (expressed in a note, *B.S.A. loc. cit.*) that Philocharinus is son and not father of Lysippus Philocharini f., who was Eponymus in the reign of Hadrian:[1] this suits the probable date of *C.I.G.* 1249, whereas the alternative view does not.

74 (2590). Gable-topped stele of yellowish marble, broken through. ·58 × ·285 × ·05. Letters ·015 high. Sockets for four sickles. Surface worn and discoloured.



Νεικάγορος
Σωσιδάμου Εὐ-
δάμῳ κάσεν
νεικάσας κελ-
οῖαν καὶ μῶα-
ν καὶ καθηρα-
τόρειν καὶ μ-
ῶαν καὶ ἀπὸ μ-
ικιχιζομ(έ)νων
μέχρι μελλειρο-
ν(ε)ίας τοὺ(ς) Γα(α)ο-
χους καὶ Ἀσάνεα
τὴν τῶν παιδῶν
πάλ(η)ν Ἀρτέ-
μιτι Ὀρθείᾳ.

This stone has several points of considerable interest. The victor is not known elsewhere, but his father is perhaps to be identified with the Sosidamus in *S.M.C.* 208. Eudamus to whom Nicagorus is *κάσεν* may very likely be the Eponymus of *C.I.G.* 1241 (=*S.M.C.* 204) [Hadrianic Age]: that he may also be identified with the Eudamus of *B.S.A.* xii. p. 377, No. 40 is unlikely.

He apparently won at least four sickles, as we can see from the traces on the stone: whether these represent all that he won is hard to say. If we take his words literally *νεικάσας κελοῖαν καὶ μῶαν καὶ καθηρατόρειν καὶ μῶαν*, we gather that he won the *μῶα* twice and the other contests once

[1] See also a note on his date, *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 200 foll.

each. Then the phrase *καὶ ἀπὸ μικιχιζομένων μέχρι μελλειρονείας*, which has no parallel in this series, will give the years in which he won in the other contests mentioned below. This allusion to other games on an Orthia dedication is also unique. The carelessness of the writing[1] adds to the difficulty of interpreting the last few lines: in l. 11 the second letter is written C instead of Є, and apparently the ninth letter is O instead of C: in l. 14 we have II instead of H. *τοὺς Γααόχους καὶ Ἀσάνεα* are apparently cognate accusatives, and the sense is this: from the time when he was *μικιχιζόμενος* till he was *μελλείρην* he won the boys' wrestling match at the *Γααόχοι* and the *Ἀσάνεα*. We know that in the fifth century the amphitheatre in the temenos of Poseidon Gaiaochos was used for chariot- and foot-races (see the Damonon inscription *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 176): then the name was spelt *γαιαϝόχος*; it is hardly possible that any other can be alluded to here, though we should perhaps have expected the word to be spelt *γαιαόχος*, but the difference is after all trifling.

Ἀσάνεα also offers some difficulties: it may be an instance of the frequent use of *σ* for *θ* in late Laconian inscriptions (cf. *ἀνέσηκε* for *ἀνέθηκε*, etc.) and thus = *Ἀθάνεα*, a possible spelling of *Ἀθάναια* (=*Ἀθήναια*). We know from the Damonon inscription *ibid.* that there were games in honour of Athena in Sparta, including events for boys; for Damonon's son, Enymakratidas, won the boys' foot-races there, and very probably, like the games in honour of Poseidon Gaiaochos, they survived into, or were revived in, Imperial times. For this spelling of *Ἀθάναια* we have no exact parallel, but in Attic inscriptions of the Imperial age *αι* is sometimes found as *ε*.[2] It is very hard to see what other explanation can be given for the word.

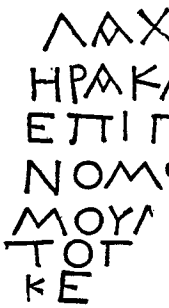
We gather that he won the boys' wrestling match for four years in succession from his tenth to his thirteenth year,[3] *i.e.* as *μικιχιζόμενος*, *πρόπαις*, *παῖς*, and *μελλείρην*.

[1] *καθηρατόρειν* spelt with one *θ* and *ειν* for *ιν* (which is, of course, a contraction for *-ιον*) can, I think, only be due to ignorance; and *μελλειρονείας* is an impossible form for a noun derived from *μελλείρην*.

[2] See Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3], p. 34, note 185, who quotes four instances of *Ἀθήνεα* for *Ἀθήναια*, and numerous others of the use of *ε* for *αι* in Attic inscriptions of the Roman Age.

[3] Compare the famous gloss on Herodotus, quoted most recently by Mr. Tillyard, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 386, note 2. This inscription would lead us to emend *μελλείρην* for *μελείρην* there, which is probably a mistake, as the word is compounded of *μέλλω* and *εἴρην*. The word is spelt with two *lambdas* in Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. 17.

75 (2557). Slab of bluish marble, complete above and on l. ·32 × ·22 × ·06. Letters ·025 high, with no *apices*. Socket for sickle on l.

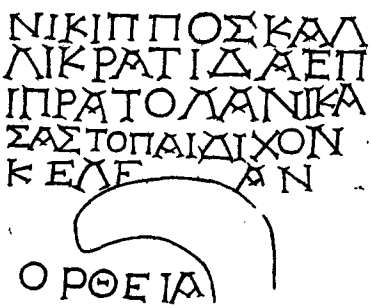


Λαχ[άρης
Ἡρακ(λ)[ανοῦ
ἐπὶ (π)[ατρο-
νόμ[ου Σιδά-
μου [νικήσας
τὸ (π)[αιδιχὸν
κε[λῆαν - -

Restoration of the first two lines is practically certain in the light of *S.M.C.* 612 where we have Λαχάρης Ἡ(ρα)κλ - - , which we may complete as Ἡρακλανοῦ. There can be no doubt that it is the same person, who is presumably a member of the family of Caius Julius Eurycles, though his precise relationship to the other members of it is uncertain. We find apparently the last surviving descendant to possess the name of C. Julius Eurycles Herclanus, the last being only another spelling of Heraclanus.

The date is probably in the first half of the first century B.C. I restore the patronomus's name as [Σιδά]μου from No. 66 above, where Damippus, son of Aboletus, wins the μῶα. This is not of course certain, but Sidamus is the only known Eponymus of this date whose name suits the conditions, namely, that it should consist of about seven letters and end in -μος.

76 (2607). Gable-topped stele of white marble, broken below, but inscription probably complete. ·37 × ·295 × ·05. Letters ·024 high, with large *apices*. Cutting for sickle. Found in masonry south of temple.



Νίκιππος Καλ-
λικρατίδα ἐπ-
ὶ Πρατόλα νικά-
σας τὸ παιδιχὸν
κελέαν

Ὀρθείᾳ.

None of these persons can be identified for certain. Πρατόλας may be the man who appears in *S.M.C.* 206, but he is not known elsewhere as Eponymus. Καλλικρατίδας is not a rare name at Sparta; Νίκιππος seems to occur there only twice, namely, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 453, No. 2 B, and Le Bas-Foucart, 173*b*.

77 (2611). Fragment of a stele of grey marble complete on r. with a small portion of the pediment. ·16 × ·13 × ·04. Letters ·027 high, well cut with large *apices*.

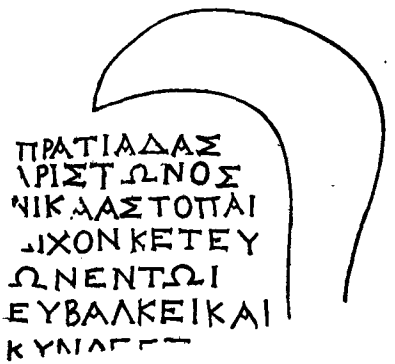
ΥΕΡΜΟ	Ἐπὶ πατρονόμο](υ) Ἑρμο-
⌐ΨΝΟΣ	γένους τοῦ Γλύ](κ)ωνος
ΙΚΟΥ	Βρασίδας Ἁρμον](ί)κου
⁻Λ⌐	- - - (ελ) . .

The restoration of ll. 1–3 is speculative, but far from impossible, as is seen from the fact that it gives us the same number of letters in each line. If we do not adopt πατρονόμο]υ in l. 1, it is hard to account for the *υ* before the beginning of the name Ἑρμο[γένης] (a certain restoration in conjunction with -(κ)ωνος, as Ἑρμογένης Γλύκωνος is a known person at Sparta).[1] The victor's name is less certain: the most likely names for his father are Ἁρμόνικος and Σπαρτιάτικος, and I prefer the former as being shorter, and thus leaving us more space for the victor's name. There is not room in the line, if the suggested restoration is followed, for more than seventeen letters, whereas Εὔδαμος Σπαρτιατίκου gives us nineteen, and his brothers' names were longer still. Βρασίδας Ἁρμονίκου is not known for certain, but his existence has been conjectured by J. M. Paton[2] (see genealogical table facing p. 123). Hermogenes' date is about 130 and Brasidas might well have been born about 120, and thus be victor when ten years old. We do not know, owing to the fragmentary state of the stone, whether it was as μικιχιζόμενος or in what year of his age he was victorious.

78 (2623). Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, broken below: surface damaged in several places. ·30 × ·225 × ·065. Letters ·01 high.

[1] *C.I.G.* 1242, Hermogenes is Eponymus: *B.S.A.* xii. p. 366, No. 14, Γλύκων Ἑρμογένους wins the μῶα. For his date see *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 203.

[2] *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxvi. (1895), p. 35.



Πρατιά(δ)ας
(Ἀ)ρίστωνος
(ν)ικάας τὸ παι-
[δ]ιχὸν κετεύ-
ων ἐν τῶι
Εὐβάλκει καὶ
(Κυναγέτ)[αι] - - -

The reading as far as it goes is certain, but the formulae are distinctly unusual. *κετεύων* is unintelligible unless we suppose it to be a slip for *κελεύων*, and even so is not easy to explain. It might possibly be a participle of a verb *κελεύω*, to compete in the *κελῆα*, supposing that such a verb existed, or it might more likely be a genitive plural depending on *παιδιχόν*, meaning 'the boys' part of the *κελῆα* (*κελεῦα*) contests.' In the latter case it should be compared with *τὸ παιδιχὸν καθθηρατορίων* in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 186, No. 58 (though possibly this may be a mistake of *-ιων* for *-ιον*).

Ἐν *τῶι Εὐβάλκει* must be a way of expressing the date, but it is unparalleled in these inscriptions. He is apparently Eponymus in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 373, No. 35, where Lachares, son of Lachares, wins *τὸ παιδιχὸν κελέαν*, and *ibid.* p. 370, No. 26. In the latter case the reading is uncertain. If *κετεύων* contains an allusion to a victory in the *κελῆα*, we have two dedications by victors in the same contest in the same year (for it is hardly likely that there were two Eponymi of the rare name of Eubalkes). The most reasonable explanation is that of Mr. Tillyard (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 377), that occasionally more than one member of the winning team dedicated a sickle after a victory. But the whole question is far from certain.

(Κυναγέτ)[αι] seems to be the correct restoration, and strengthens the case for restoring his name both in No. 66 above and in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 373, No. 35. Thus this inscription would belong like them to the first century B.C. The winner is not known elsewhere, but may be a brother of Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀρίστωνος, the victor in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 360, No. 3.

79 (2624). Gable-topped stele of greyish marble, broken through on

r. and incomplete below, where there are traces of the sickle-socket. ·26×·40×·05. Letters ·01–·02 high, neatly cut with *apices*.

ΣΙΩΝΔΑΜΙΠΠΟΥΝΙΚΑΣΑΣ	*Σίων Δαμίππου νικάσας*
ΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΧΟΝΜΩΙΑΙΕΠΙΤΙ	*τὸ παιδιχὸν μώιαι ἐπὶ Τι-*
ΜΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΛΥΛ	*μάρχου καὶ Πολυ(δ)[άμαν]-*
ΤΟΣ ΟΡΘ⁻	*τος Ὀρθ(ε)[ίᾳ]*.

Neither *Τίμαρχος* nor *Πολυδάμας* (a certain restoration) is previously found as the name of an Eponymus. The names are found at Sparta more than once, the former in *S.M.C.* 525, *C.I.G.* 1262 and 1418, the latter in *S.M.C.* 207, but none of these can be dated exactly. *Σίων Δαμίππου* is not known elsewhere, though both names are common at Sparta: if he were son of *Δάμιππος Ἀβολήτου* in No. 66 above, this would date our inscription roughly a generation later than No. 66. The rare form *μῶια* is also found in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 361, No. 4, where, as in the present instance, the case used is the dative (see also Nos. 66 and 70 above).

80 (2632). Slab of *rosso antico* with plain moulding above, broken on l. and below, and surface damaged in several places. ·17×·21×·035. Letters ·015 high. Cutting for sickle below.

ΙΗΣΤΙΜΩΝ	- - -(*τ*)*ης Τίμων*[*ος*]?
//// ΛΑΚΑΙΚΕΛΕΑ	[*νικήσας μ*](*ώ*)*ᾳ καὶ κελεᾷ*.
	- - -

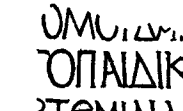
We have no means of restoring the victor's name with any certainty, but on the evidence of l. 2 we should expect a line of about eighteen letters. [*Καλλικρά*](*τ*)*ης* would suit the space.

81 (2633). Fragment of greyish marble, complete below only. ·14×·17×·095. Letters ·016 high, with *apices*.

	ΙΟΙ		- - *ιοι*? - -
	ΩΛΟΕ`		? *μ*]*ώᾳ ὁ ϵ*(*υ*)?- - - [*ἐπὶ*?
	ΑΓΙΠΠΙΔΑ		*Ἀγιππίδ*(*α*) - [*νικήσας*
	ΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΧ		*τὸ παιδιχ*[*ὸν* - -
5	ΟΡΘΕΙΑ	5	*Ὀρθείᾳ*.

I can make nothing of the first two lines, though in l. 2 we may have the end of the word *μ]ώᾳ*, separated by a long interval from the word *παιδιχόν* in l. 4. Agippidas is probably the Eponymus, though he is not mentioned elsewhere.

82 (2635). Fragment of greyish marble, broken through, complete below only. ·17 × ·24 × ·06. Letters ·025 high. Traces of sickle-socket.



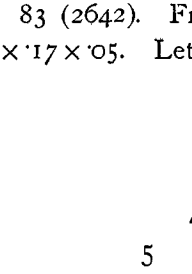
- - -
ἐπὶ πατρον](ό)*μ*(*ο*)[*υ*] (Δ*α*) - -
νικήσας τ]ὸ παιδικὸ(*ν*) *κ* (*vacat*)
Ὀρθείᾳ Ἀ](*ρ*)*τέμιδι ἀνέθηκε.*

The Eponymus' name is quite uncertain. Damocles, Damonicidas, Damocratidas, and Damares are all possible, and all held office in the second century A.D. Judging by the lettering this inscription cannot be earlier, and it might even be later, than 200 A.D., though we have a similar *epsilon* in No. 95 below, the date of which is *ca.* 135 A.D.

The engraver never completed the name of the contest in l. 3: it is not improbable that at the last moment he forgot whether he was recording a victory in the *κελῆα* or the *καθθηρατόριν*. Or possibly he was in doubt which of the numerous ways of spelling the former word to employ.

We must assume that the engraver wrote [*Ὀρθείᾳ Ἀ*](*ρ*)*τέμιδι* as in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 358, No. 1, for we have no certain instance of the omission of *Ὀρθείᾳ*, though *Ἀρτέμιδι* is often omitted.[1]

83 (2642). Fragment of grey marble, complete below only. ·22 × ·17 × ·05. Letters ·03 high.



- - *βοαγ]*(*ὸς*) [*πρατο-*
παμ](*π*)*αίδ*[*ων?*
νικ](*ά*)*σας τὸ*
παι]διχὸν
μ]ῶαν [*Ὀρθείᾳ?*

The use of two shapes of *σ* in the same word is noteworthy: some such restoration as that suggested above will alone account for (*π*)*αι*(*δ*) in

[1] This was pointed out by Mr. Tillyard, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 391.

l. 2 and *παι*]*διχόν* in l. 4: the former can hardly have been part of a proper name. For the phrase *βοαγὸς πρατοπαμπαίδων* see No. 71 above.

84 (2649). Blue marble, complete on l. and below. ·17×·115×·04. Letters ·016 high, well cut with small *apices*. Found in earth south of temple.

			- - -
			- - -[*ἐπὶ* - - *τ*
	ΩϟΝΕΙΚ/		*ὦ*(- -) *ν*(*ε*)*ικ*(*ά*)[*σας πρα-*
	ΤΟΠΑΜΠΑ		*τοπαμπα*[*ίδων*
	ΚΕΛΟΙΑΑΝ		*κελοίᾳ ἀ*(*ν*)[*έθηκεν*
	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙ		*Ἀρτέμιτι* [Βωρ-
5	ΘΕΑ	5	*θέᾳ*.

We can see that the Eponymus had the same name as his father, from the use of the sign ϟ. The restoration as far as it goes offers no difficulty. For the word *πρατοπαμπαίδων* see Nos. 71 and 83. *Κελοίᾳ* is another instance of the dative being used for the name of the contest, as in 66, 70, and 79 above.

85. Stele of grey marble with plain gable-top and cutting for sickle. ·71×·33. Letters ·025 high, surface worn away in places. Built into the wall of a private house in Sparta.[1]

	ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ		*Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*.
	ΠΟΠΛΙΡ ΜΕΜΙΙ		*Πόπληρ Μέμ*(*μ*).
	ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟΡ		*Σπαρτιάτικορ*
	ΔΑΜΑΡΟΥ ΒΟΑΓ◦Ρ		*Δαμάρου*(*ς*) *βοαγὸρ*
5	ΜΙΚΚΙΧΙΔΟΜΕ	5	*μικκιχιδομέ-*
	ΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΤΡΟ		*νων ἐπὶ πατρο-*
	ΝΟΜΩ ΘΕΩ ΛΥ		*νόμω θεῶ Λυ-*
	Κ ϒΡΓΩ ΤΟ ΙΑ		*κ*[*ο*](*ύ*)*ργω τὸ ΙᾶΙ*
	ΕΠΙΛ ΓΛΩΜΕΝΩΤΑΡ		(*ἐ*)*πι*(*μ*)*ελωμένω τᾶρ*
10	ΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΡ ΤΙΚΛΑ	10	*πατρονομίαρ Τι. Κλα.*
	ΒΡΑΣΙΔΑ ΤΩ ΒΡΑΣΙΔΑ		*Βρασίδ*(*α*) *τῶ Βρασίδα*
	ΝΕΙΚΑΑΡ ΚΑΣΣΗΡΑΑΤΟΡΙΝ		*νεικάαρ κασσηρατόριν*
	ΜΩΑΝ ΚΕΛΟΙΑΝ ΑΡΤΕ		*μῶαν κελοῖαν Ἀρτέ-*
	ΜΙΔΙ ΩΡΘΕΑ ΑΝΕΣΗ		*μιδι Ὠρθέᾳ ἀνέση-*
15	ΚΕΝ	15	*κεν*.

[1] The owner preferred that his name and address should not be made known.

The archaistic language is noteworthy: Πόπληρ no doubt = Πόπλιορ = Πόπλιος, though the use of η as = ιο is not at all common. We should perhaps compare Ἀριστοτέληρ[1] (= Ἀριστοτέλεορ = Ἀριστοτέλεος = Ἀριστοτέλους) in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 365, No. 12. The victor is not certainly known elsewhere: he is hardly likely to be identical with the (Μέμμιος) Σπαρτιάτικος who is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1240–1249 [about 150 A.D.]. He comes of a well-known family, and is probably younger brother of Π. Μέμμιος Πρατόλαος ὁ καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς Δαμάρους, whose name is found frequently at Sparta[2] (see below p. 108): Δαμάρου here is probably a slip of the engraver's for Δαμάρους.

The patronomate of θεὸς Λυκοῦργος raises an interesting problem, which is shortly discussed below; we see that he is Eponymus for the eleventh time, and, as in the other instances of his patronomate, we find mention of an ἐπιμελώμενος. Τι. Κλ. Βρασίδας is also a member of a well-known Spartan family, and we can see his connexions in the genealogical table facing p. 123: he is son of the man whose name I have restored as victor in No. 77 above. The date of this inscription is probably in the last quarter of the second century A.D.

86 (2580). Fragment of white marble broken on all sides. ·15 × ·08 × ·03. Letters ·025 high.

	- - - [? νικήσας
—ΙΙ	? κασ](ση)[ρατόριν
ΝΑΡΤ	καὶ μῶα]ν Ἀρτ[έμιδι
ΚΕ	Ὀρθείᾳ ἀνέθη](κ)ε.

Exact restoration is impossible, as we have no clue to the length of each line.

87 (2592). Fragment of bluish marble, complete below, with remains of cutting for sickle on l. ·11 × ·185 × ·015. Letters ·013 high, very badly cut: no *apices*.

	- - - [Ἀρ-
ΓΕΛΙΤΙЬ	(τ)έμιτι (Β)[ορθείᾳ ἀν-
ΕΘΗ	έθη[κε.

[1] There can be no doubt, I think, that this is a genitive, as it makes the construction far simpler: see a note in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 199, where this is pointed out.

[2] His grandfather was Publius Memmius Sidectas, who was Eponymus when Hadrian first visited Sparta, 125 A.D. See *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 207, 8.

88 (2595). Fragment of gable from a similar votive slab, complete on l. ·16 × ·08 × ·04. Letters ·025 high.

A	Ἀ[γα]-
ΘI	θ(ῆ)
TYY	τύ(χ)[η]

89 (2610). Fragment of *rosso antico*, complete on l. and below. ·08 × ·17 × ·032. Letters about ·015 high, poorly cut. Found in masonry south of temple.

	- - - [νικήσας]
ΚΑΘΗΡΑΤΟΡ	κ(α)θηρατόρ[ιν]
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙΟΡΘL/	Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθ(έᾳ).

The spelling of *καθηρατόρ[ιν]* with one *θ* is only found once elsewhere (No. 74 above) and may be a mistake of the engraver's.

90 (2612). Fragment of grey marble, complete below, cutting for sickle on r. ·20 × ·14 × ·045. Letters ·013 high.

	- - -
ΙLΘΗΚΕ	ἀ](νέθ)ηκε
ΡΘΕΙΑ	Ὀ]ρθείᾳ.

91 (2634). Greyish marble, complete on l. and above. ·25 × ·21 × ·05. Letters about ·025 high. Sickle-socket on r.

ΑΛΕΞΙΚΡΑΤΗ	Ἀλεξικράτ(η)[ς]
ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ	Πολυξένου
	- - -

The winner is not known: he may possibly be the son or brother of Πολύξενος Πολυξένου of *C.I.G.* 1245. But neither name is sufficiently rare to make this certain.

92 (2639). Fragment of gable-topped stele, complete on l. ·09 × ·09 × ·062. Letters ·01 high.

CΘΙΓ	Σεί(π)[ομπος]

The winner's name is probably to be restored thus: Σείπομπος = Θεόπομπος on the analogy of other Laconian names beginning in the same

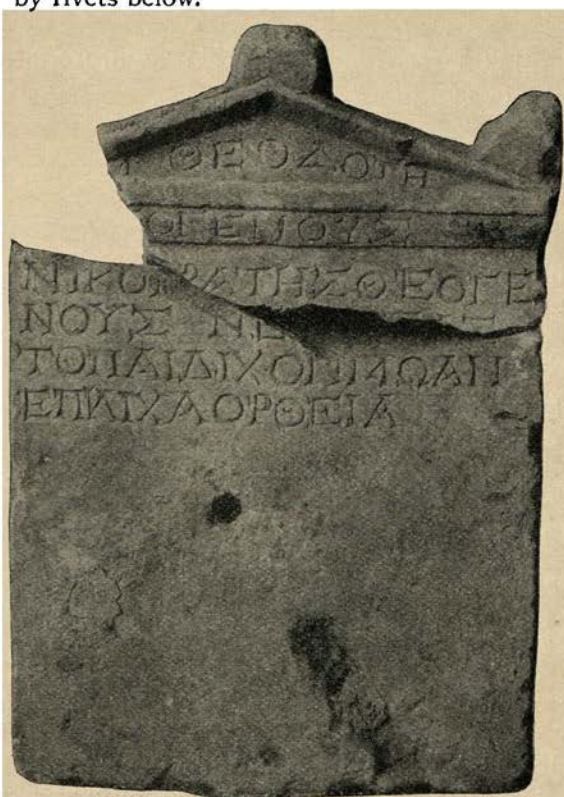
way. A man of this name is Eponymus in *S.M.C.* 204, but it need not be the same man.

93 (2651). Fragment of grey marble, complete on l. and below. ·06 × ·07 × ·025. Letters ·015 high, showing traces of red paint. Found in earth north of temple.

ιιϕ — - - *ιϕ* - -
ΝΕΙΚ — *νεικ*[*ήσας*? - -

This probably belongs to the same series, but it is not quite certain: perhaps we should restore *ἐ*](*π*)*ὶ* Φ[*ιλωνίδα*] or some such name.

94 (2143). Gable-topped stele of grey marble, broken through, with one or two small fragments missing. The smaller piece was found 1906, the larger in 1908. ·50 × ·35 × ·09. Letters ·02 high. Sickle was attached by rivets below.



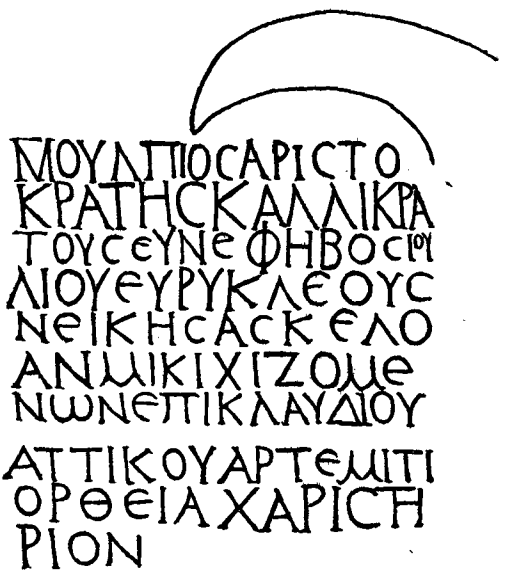
Θεοδότη

[Θ](*ε*)*ογένους*

Ν(*ι*)*κ*(*οκρ*)*άτης* Θεογέ-
νους ν(*ε*)[*ική*](*σας*)
τὸ παιδιχὸν μῶαν
ἐπὶ Λίχα Ὀρθείᾳ.

The names in lines 1 and 2 are not easy to account for. There can be no doubt that Νικοκράτης was the victor and apparently also the dedicator of the stele. Whether Θεοδότη was the name of his sister, who possibly shared or provided the cost of the dedication, or whether we should read Θεοδότη[ς], assuming the ς to be missing from the beginning of l. 2, is hard to say. In the latter case it would no doubt be the name of the victor's brother, who also wished to be commemorated for some reason: possibly he was a member of the winning team, if it is assumed that the μῶα was contested by teams. None of these names except Nicocrates and Lichas are previously known at Sparta, and neither of their bearers can be identified for certain.

95 (2662). Stele of *rosso antico*, apparently without gable-top. ·42 × ·30 × ·05. Letters ·025 high, with *apices*. Found in masonry south of temple.



Μ. Οὔλπιος Ἀριστοκράτης Καλλικράτους, συνέφηβος Ἰουλίου Εὐρυκλέους
νεικήσας κελό-

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

αν μικιχιζομέ-
νων ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου
Ἀττικοῦ Ἀρτέμιτι
Ὀρθείᾳ *χαριστή-*
ριον.

The word *χαριστήριον* is unique in this series of inscriptions: the nearest parallel is *νίκαθρον* in No. 35 (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 373). Another record belonging to the year of (Tib.) Claudius Atticus is in existence, commemorating a victory in the *καθθηρατόριν* in the same year, namely *S.M.C.* 783 (=*B.S.A.* xii. p. 357, *h*). The date of the patronomate of Atticus was *ca.* 134 A.D.: Eurycles, to whom the victor is *συνέφηβος*, was Eponymus *ca.* 124 A.D.[1] Consequently if he chose the boy Aristocrates as *συνέφηβος* while he himself was Eponymus, the latter cannot at the time have been more than twelve months old, and perhaps this estimate is excessive. Here at any rate, if we assume with Boeckh that *συνέφηβος* meant a boy-orderly to the Eponymus, the office must have been honorary. The inference which is inevitable, as the chronological evidence seems convincing, is that *συνέφηβος*, in this case at least, means something like adopted son or 'god-son.'

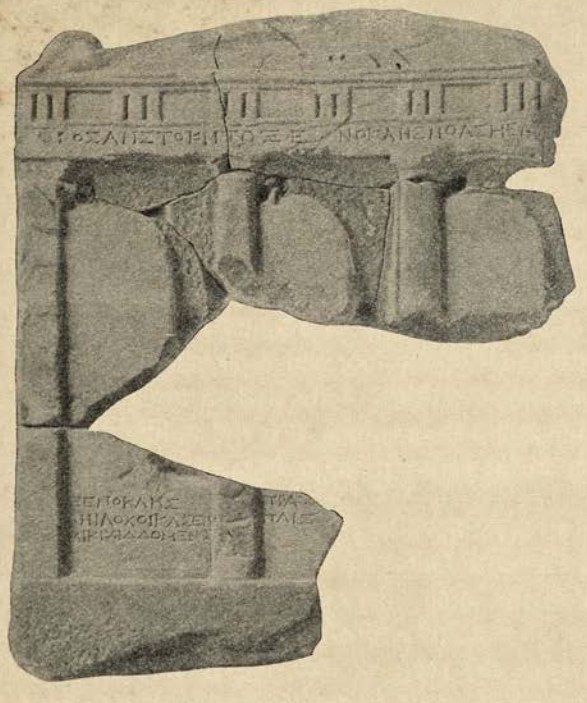
Eurycles is already known as holding the patronomate from *S.M.C.* 204 (=*C.I.G.* 1241). Other epigraphical evidence for his career is collected in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[2] 392 (note 1), where his full name is given: C. Julius Eurycles Herclanus Lucius Vibullius Pius. See also the genealogical table of the family constructed by J. M. Paton (*Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1895, p. 38). The victor is not known elsewhere.

Fragments which join or complete Inscriptions already published.

47*[2] (2161). Six fragments of an elaborate stele representing a Doric temple (*distyle in antis*), with the spaces between the columns occupied by cuttings for three sickles (*v.s.* p. 6). Incomplete on r. ·60×·51×·03–·045. Letters ·01 high.

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 207, 8.

[2] These are the numbers (followed here by an asterisk for the sake of clearness) under which they were published previously.



Τίὸς Ἀριστοκρίτω Ξενοκλῆς μώας με ἀ[νέθηκε]

Ξενοκλῆς πρα(τ)[οπάμ]-
Λῃλόχοι κάσεν παις
μικιχιδδόμενος

The bottom left-hand corner alone was found in 1906 and is published in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 380, No. 47. The photograph shows that between the two central columns there was room for at least four letters after the τ of ΠΡΑΤ, so we may restore πρα(τ)[οπάμ]παις and thus avoid the necessity of inventing the form πρατόπαις which was conjectured here before (*B.S.A. loc. cit.*).

The hexameter line on the architrave of the temple tells us that the winner was son of Aristocritus and that he won the μῶα, and the inscriptions below the sickles tell us in which years of his age he won. It is unfortunate that the lower right-hand corner is missing, as it would give us his standing on the occasion of his third victory: it may have

been as *ἀτροπάμπαις*, as we find that in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 366, No. 15 this is the name of one of the years later than *πρατοπάμπαις*. *Μώας* is hard to account for grammatically, and indeed cannot be explained under any ordinary rule governing the use of genitives.[1] As we may notice in almost all the metrical dedications of this series, their standard from the point of view of either poetry or grammar is not very high: one is led to suppose that they were composed by the victors themselves. If this was the case one may be pardoned the suggestion that Xenocles, like most of the other dedicators who essayed verse, was more likely to win prizes in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* than in Greek grammar or composition. The winner cannot be identified elsewhere, nor can *Λητίλοχος*.

The wedge-shaped strokes of the letters are noticeable; as no other inscription in the series shows them, it is not unlikely that this inscription dates very early in the series, perhaps from the second century B.C.

24* ($2168^{a}+2327^{b}+2572^{c}+2582^{d}$). Four fragments of whitish marble, of which the first two were found in 1906, the other two in 1908. There is still quite half of the stele missing, but *a* and *b* and *c* and *d* join, though there is no join between *ab* and *cd*; but from the nature and thickness of the stone, and from the style of lettering, there can be little doubt that they belong together. *a*+*b* measure ·25×·20×·04, *c*+*d* ·19×·23×·04. Letters ·015–·012 high. *c* is complete on l.

a+*b*	ΓΑΘΗΤ		Ἀ]*γαθῇ τ*[*ύχῃ.*]
	ΣΙΛΛΝ		*Σιλ*(*α*)*ν*[*ὸς - - ἐπὶ*]
	ΤΡΟΝ		*πα*]*τρονό*(*μω*) [Μ. Αὐ*ρηλίω* Κλ]-
	ΛΝΔΡΩΙΩΚΛΙΜ		*ε*](*ά*)*νδρω* (*τ*)*ῶ καὶ* Μ[*ηνίω νι*]-
	ΜΩΛΝΚΕ	5	*κάαρ*] (*μ*)*ῶαν κε*[*λῆαν καὶ καασ*]-
c+*d*	⊿ΙΙΙΛ		(*σηρα*)[*τό*]-
	ΡΙΝΑΡΤ		*ριν* Ἀ*ρτ*[*έ*]-
	ΜΙΤΙΒΩΡΣ		*μιτι* Βω*ρσ*[*έᾳ*]
	ΑΝΕΣΗΚΕ		*ἀνέσηκε.*

The difference in length between the first five and the last four lines is to be explained by the fact that there was probably a groove for a sickle on the right-hand lower corner of the stone. The restoration adopted

[1] It might equally well be the accusative plural, though this would not simplify the construction.

involves the loss of the lower part of l. 5 and the upper part of l. 6, at the left-hand side of the stone, and much more on the right.

The winner's name is not known elsewhere: it must have been Σιλανός, though the *a* lacks the horizontal stroke. The Patronomus' name is, I think, certain in the light of No. 29* and 30* below, and *B.S.A.* xii. p. 368, No. 21, where he wins the μῶα in the year of Gorgippus. It is true that in neither place is his name found with the *praenomen* and *nomen* Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος, but in the former inscription his son is named M. Αὐρ. Εὔπορος, so very likely the same names were borne by Cleander. And it is hard to see what else would give us the requisite number of letters in l. 3. I give the restorations in the archaistic style which we should expect from the remains of l. 4, and also ll. 8 and 9. The date of this inscription would, roughly, be a generation later than that in *B.S.A.* xii. *loc. cit.*, *i.e.* about 200 A.D. (but see note on following inscription).

18*+23*+29*+30* (2159+2167+2174+2175+2631). Fragment of blue marble, complete on r. and below. ·26×·21×·048. Letters ·02 high. Bottom of socket for sickle on r. Joins *B.S.A.* xii. p. 371, No. 30 on r. The upper half of this inscription was published separately in two pieces in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 367, No. 18, and p. 369, No. 23.

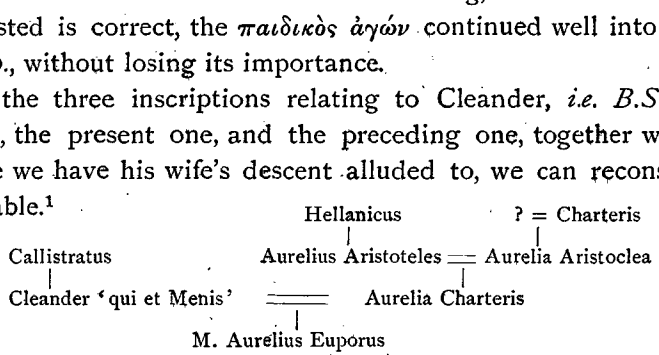
(2631)
ΙΙΟΥ
ΟΥΕΥ
ΚΛΕΑΝ
ΑΙΜΗΝΙΟΥ
ΟΡΘΕΙΑ

Putting the five fragments together we get the following text.

Μᾶρκος
[Α](ὐ)ρήλιος
[Πρ](α)τέας Τυράν[νου]
[βοα]γὸς μικκιχιζομέ-
[νω]ν ν(ει)-
[κά](σ)ας
[κ](α)σση-
(ρ)ατόριν
ἐπὶ (πατρ)[ονό](μ)ου
(Μ)ά[ρ]. Αὐρη[λί]ου Εὐ-
πόρου το[ῦ] Κλεάν-
δρου τοῦ καὶ Μηνίου
Ἀρτέμιτ[ι] Ὀρθείᾳ
ἀνέθη(κ)[ε].

The shortness of the lines in the upper part is due to the sickle-blade curving round in that direction, the handle being in the lower right-hand corner. This is one of the latest dedications, perhaps the latest, that we possess: there can hardly be any doubt that the Eponymus here is son of the one in the previous inscription, and thus, allowing a generation to elapse between the dates of father and son holding the same office, we should arrive at about 230 A.D. for the date of this stone. We may notice the absence of archaisms and the careful lettering, which show that, if the date suggested is correct, the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* continued well into the third century A.D., without losing its importance.

From the three inscriptions relating to Cleander, *i.e.* *B.S.A.* xii. p. 368, No. 21, the present one, and the preceding one, together with *C.I.G.* 1453, where we have his wife's descent alluded to, we can reconstruct the following table.[1]



Boeckh would identify Aurelius Aristoteles with M. Aurelius Aristoteles Hellanici f., whose name appears in *C.I.G.* 1321 as Ephor in a dedication to Caracalla at Caenepolis in Southern Maina, which he dates to A.D. 214. This would make him out to be very old indeed, if we assume that he was holding office about fifteen years after his son-in-law Cleander had been Patronomus at Sparta.

If we adopt this identification, which is not indeed certain, but far from unlikely, it will lead us to believe that my suggested dates for the patronomate of Cleander and his son, and possibly also for his victory in the boys' games at the temple of Artemis Orthia, are rather too early. In fact we can hardly expect Cleander to have held the patronomate before his father-in-law was Ephor. If we suggest 215 A.D. as a *terminus post quem* for the former's tenure (when he might be about 35), it will date his victory in the *μῶα* to 190 or so, and his son's tenure of the patronomate to *ca.* 245. But the weakness of the evidence makes the matter uncertain.

2* (2574). Fragment of white marble, complete on l., where it is bordered by a plain raised moulding. ·24 × ·15 × ·04. Letters ·02 high.

[1] This discovery was kindly communicated to me by Mr. Wace while this paper was passing through the press.

BO/
ΔOM
NΩN
ΕΠΙΓ
ΓΑΙ
ΔΡΙ

This joins *B.S.A.* xii. p. 359, No. 2, giving total breadth of ·38 (inscribed face is ·28 broad). Putting the two together we get

- - -
βο(α)[γ](ὸρ μ)[ικκιχι-
δομέ-
νων
ἐπὶ πατρονό(μου)
Πο(πλίου) Αἰλ(ίου) Ἀλκαν-
δρί[δ]α ἀρχιερέ-
ορ τ](ῶ)ν Σεβαστῶν
φιλο]καίσαρορ
καὶ φιλ](ο)πάτ(ρι)[δορ - - -

This confirms the conjectured reading of the previously published fragment, but beyond explaining the doubtful letters ϽΡΙ in the first two lines gives us no fresh information. Ε

45* (2698). Fragment of grey marble, complete on l., with cutting for sickle on r. ·19 × ·18 × ·075. Found in masonry south of temple.

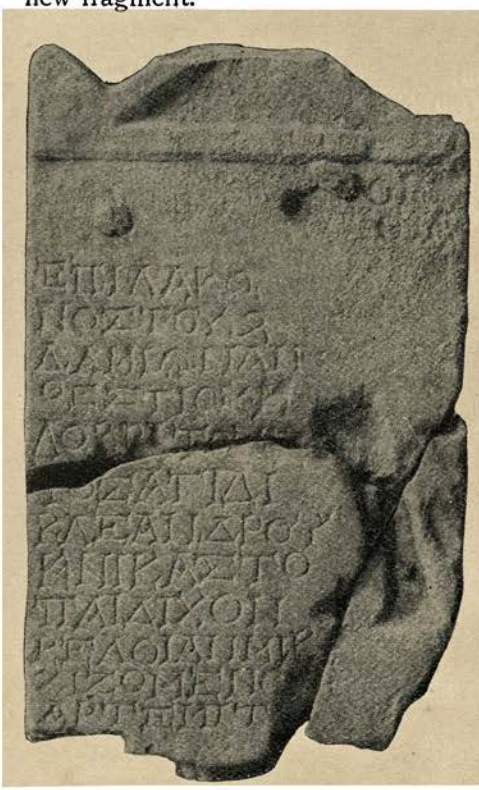
ΤΡ∪Ν∟
ΚΗΦΟΡΩΨ
ΝΕΙΚΑΑ
ΣΗΡΑ
ΡΙΝΜ

This joins *B.S.A.* xii. p. 379, No. 45. We thus get the following:

- - - (ε)ίδαρ
βοαγὸρ μι](κ)κιχιτ-
τομέν](ω)ν ἐπὶ πα-
τρ(ο)ν(όμω) Μάρ. Αὐρ. Νει-
κηφόρω Φιλωνίδα
μεικάα(ρ) κασ-
σηρα[τό-
ριν, μ[ῶαν
[καὶ κελέαν]
- - -

This gives us very little fresh information, except that the winner was successful in all three contests: *καὶ κελέαν* is a safe restoration, as there is no *καί* connecting *κασσηρα[τό]ριν* with *μ[ῶαν]*. There is no doubt that the Eponymus is Nicephorus, son of Philonidas, although the absence of *τοῦ* is striking.

60* (2622+2519). Gable-topped stele of *rosso antico*, with rivet-mark from sickle, *i.e.* there was no cutting for the blade. This joins *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 187, No. 60. ·21×·22×·06. Letters ·013 high. The upper half is the new fragment.



'Ορθία.

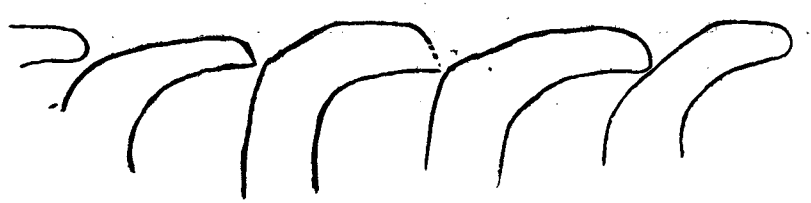
'Επὶ Λάκωνος τοῦ (Λάκωνος)
Δαμίωι 'Ανθεστίου Φιλοκράτους
(υ)ὸς Ἄγιδι Κλεάνδρου
κά(σεν) νικ(άσ)ας τὸ παιδιχὸν
κελοῖαν μ(ικ)[ι]χιζόμενο(ς)
'Αρτέμιτι

It will be seen that the restoration *Ἄλκα](σ|τ)ος Ἀγιδι κ.τ.λ.*, *B.S.A. loc. cit.*, is wrong: there can be no doubt that the ι at the beginning of line 6 is the bottom of Υ not of Τ. *'Ανθέστιος* is the Greek form of the Roman *nomen* Antistius. The name of Damion's father was, in full, *Γάιος* (?) *'Ανθέστιος Φιλοκράτης*.

Lacon son of Lacon is no doubt the man whose second patronomate is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 1347, and who appears as vice-gerent for his father in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 371, No. 31. His present tenure of the office is probably a distinct occasion from either of these: (a) he is not, as in the former case, described as *πατρονόμος τὸ β'*: (b) if he were only deputy Patronomus here, he would be described as he is in the latter inscription. The date of this inscription would fall about the middle of the first century A.D., for Lacon the younger was born probably not later than about 30 A.D., and perhaps as much as twenty years before that date: the earlier date is more likely, seeing that he had a brother, who was married by 33 A.D. (see *B.S.A.* xii. p. 372, note 1). Nothing is known of the other persons mentioned here. *Ἀνθέστιος Φιλοκράτης* is not found elsewhere at Sparta, though he may be brother or son of *Ἀνθεστία*, whose tombstone is in the Sparta Museum (*S.M.C.* 255).

The engraver had no room for *Ὀρθία* at the bottom of the stone, and as the photograph shows, had to crowd it in to the upper right-hand corner.

48* (2157 *a*+*b*+2160). Upper part of plain gable-topped stele of grey marble, of which *B.S.A.* xii. p. 380, No. 48 is the right-hand end. An uninscribed fragment (2160) joins this below, and contains part of five cuttings for sickles. ·38 × ·46 × ·06. Letters ·01 high.



Fωρθείαι τάδ' Ἀρ[ή]ξιππος
νικῶν ἀνέσηκε,
Ἐν συνόδοις πα[ι]δῶν
πâhιν hορῆν *φανερά.*

82905

The orthography of this inscription distinguishes it from the others in the series: the use of the *digamma* and of the intervocalic h for σ suggests an early date, perhaps in the fourth century, or early in the third: the shapes of ν and π seem to confirm this view, but the almost horizontal upper and lower strokes of the σ warn us not to date it too early. The spelling of hορῆν = ὁρᾶν is a typical Laconian use; we find it also in the speech of the Laconians in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* l. 1077. Ἀνέσηκε is interesting as showing an early example in actual use of the σ for θ, which was so frequently imitated in the archaizing inscriptions of the second century A.D.[1]

Arexippus is not found elsewhere at Sparta: we see from the number of sickles that he won at least five victories, but we cannot tell in what contests they were gained: συνόδοις παιδῶν may be taken as meaning 'in the boys' contests,' or simply 'in the places where the boys gather together' (at the festival of Orthia).

20* (2163 *a*). Fragment of *rosso antico*, complete on l. Joins *B.S.A.* xii. p. 368, No. 20.

		- - -['Αλκά-
	⌞TΩ	(σ)τῳ [κ](ά)σεν ἐπὶ π-
	ATPON	ατρονόμου Δεξι-
	MAX	μάχου νικάσας τὸ-
	ITA	(ν) τᾶς καρτερίας ἀ(γ)ῶ-
5	IAC	5 (ν)α Ὀρθείᾳ.

This shows the correctness of the restoration of the previously published fragment, with the exception that we must read τᾶς for τῆς in l. 4. Also we see that it was complete on the right, though this was not previously mentioned. ['Αλκά](σ)τῳ seems a certain restoration, but even now we have no exact evidence for the dating of the inscription.

19* (2162+2573+2573 *a*). Three fragments of bluish marble, of which 2573 joins 2162 (which was published in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 367, No. 19). 2573 *a*

[1] For instances of this use in inscriptions and in literature, particularly in the *Lysistrata*, see Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*, i. pp. 24 foll.

certainly belongs to the same inscription, near the bottom, but there is a great deal missing. 2573 measures ·19 × ·305 ; 2573 *a*, ·09 × ·17.

(2573+2162)	⊃ΑΤΗΣ≺	? Καλλικ](ρ)άτης (Καλλικράτους)
	ΓΠΟΥ	ἐπὶ ? Λυσί](π)που
(2573*a*)	_ι	-[νικήσας τὸ]
	ΔΙΚ∪Λ	παι]δικ(ὸν) [κε-
	ΙΑΝ	λο]ῖαν - -
	ΙΤΙ	Ἀρτέμ](ιτι) [Ὀρθείᾳ.

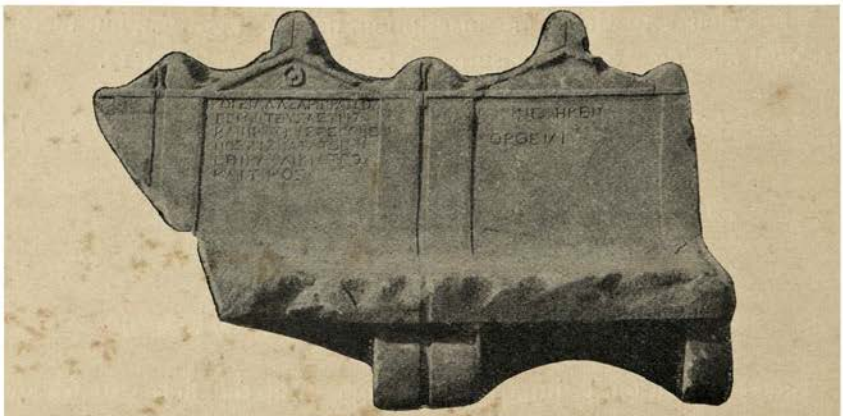
Exact restoration is impossible, though from the first two fragments we may see that some name like Καλλικράτης stood in l. 1 ; this contains about the number of letters we should expect from the fact that the apex of the pediment of the stele comes immediately over the ρ : it can therefore hardly have been a longer name, and might have been one letter shorter, such as Πασικ](ρ)άτης. Καλλικράτης is, however, a common Spartan name, and a man of this name, whose father also bore it, is known from several inscriptions[1] : further, he seems to have lived in the Hadrianic period, which would suit the date of Λύσιππος, if we restore his name as Eponymus in l. 2. We know that there were two Eponymi of this name in Hadrian's reign (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 205).

Other Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

The following inscriptions are those which do not belong to the series relating to victories in the παιδικὸς ἀγών : they include an inscribed marble bench and the remains of a few statue-bases, of which unfortunately only one is complete.

1 (2656). Marble bench to hold three persons : the left-hand seat, as the photograph shows, is almost entirely missing, but the rest is complete. The three back-panels are inscribed. Present length 1·155 ; height of back ·45 ; middle panel ·335 wide, right-hand panel ·36 wide. Letters ·018 high. Found in the substructure of the Roman circus on the S.E. side.

[1] *C.I.G.* 1249, *S.M.C.* 204 i. 378.



- - - (α)τίδα | Σοιξιάδας Ἀρικράτεος | (ἀν)έ(θ)ηκεν
- - - ς | γεροντεύσας τρὶς | Ὀρθείαι.
- - - υς | καὶ πρέσβυς γενόμε-
νος δὶς κατὰ τὸ ἐξ(ῆς)
ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος
καὶ Τιμοσ(τ)ρ[ά](του),

Beyond the fact that the first line contains the remains of the genitive singular of some name ending in *-ατίδας* we cannot tell what the left-hand panel had inscribed on it. Soixiadas, who dedicated this bench, is not known for certain elsewhere, but considering the rarity of the name we may very plausibly identify him with the father of Στράτιος Σοιξιάδα in *S.M.C.* 206, l. 33, and perhaps also with the Σοιξιάδας who appears in Le Bas-Foucart 165, l. 2 as Eponymus. His date is uncertain, and the lettering, which is neat and free from any peculiarities or affectations, does not help us much towards a date. It could hardly be earlier than the middle of the first century B.C., and Soixiadas, if we identify him with the other persons of the same name, could not have lived later than 100 A.D. He was three times *γέρων* and on two successive occasions *πρέσβυς* (*sc.* *γερουσίας*), though it is hard to say whether this means that he held office five times altogether or only three. The verb *γεροντεύω* is also found at Sparta in *C.I.G.* 1261. The name Callicrates is common, and there seem to have been two and perhaps three Patronomi of this name, but it is uncertain which one is in question here; Timostratus, however, is not known before at Sparta. Another *terminus ante quem* for this inscription is furnished by the shape of the seat, for it presumably cannot belong structurally to the

Roman circus, being straight and not on a curve; so we may conclude that it was provided for distinguished spectators of the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* before the circus was built, and this would be consistent with the fact of its being found low down in the substructure.

2 (2636). Block of greyish marble, complete on right and below, broken on left; probably nothing is missing from above. ·43 × ·20 × ·10. Letters ·03 high. Found in the masonry of the N. side of the Roman Building.

ΝΙΕΛΕΥ	Ζα](ν)ὶ ἐλευ-
ΡΙΟΙΑΝ	θε]ρίοι Ἀν-
⁻ΙΝΟΙ	τωνε]ίνοι
ΗΡΙ	Σωτ]ῆρι.

The ordinary form of dedication to Antoninus Pius, of which there are numerous examples in the Museum already (*S.M.C.* Introd. p. 24).

3 (2637). Slab of grey marble broken into four pieces, of which the right-hand half bears a rough relief representing a bearded man: he stands *en face* and wears a short *chiton* and top-boots: the remainder of the slab is inscribed. ·24 × ·27 × ·035. Letters roughly cut, ·025–·0375 high. Found in 'east region' of Roman Building.

ΘΕΟΚΛΗ	Θεοκλῆ
ΘΕΟΚΛΕ	Θεοκλ(έ)-
ϽΥϹ	(ο)υς
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε
5 ΕΤΗΒΙΩ	5 ἔτη βιώ-
ϹΛϹ ΚϽ	σ(α)ς κς'.

Theocles is not known elsewhere: it is not likely that he is to be identified with the Eponymus Publius Memmius Theocles in No. 71 above, as he died at the age of twenty-six, when he could hardly have begun a civic career: of course he might be this man's son, but it is quite uncertain. The poor style of the relief does not warrant a date before 150 A.D.

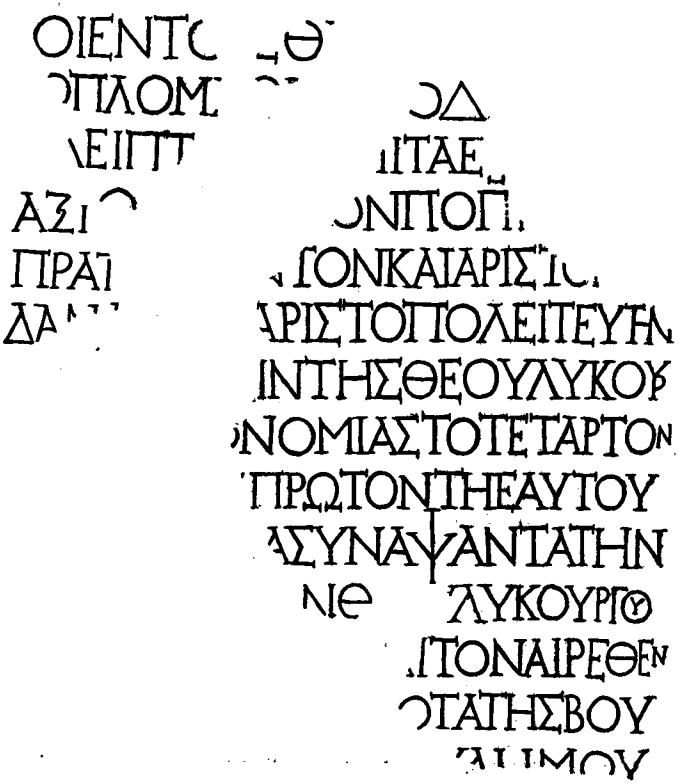
4 (2638). Fragment of *rosso antico* with plain raised moulding above. ·17 × ·10 × ·042. Letters ·01 high. Found *ibid.*

⁻ΟΣ	- - - (π)ος
ΞΜΩ	ἐν πολ](έ)μω[ι].

There can be little doubt that the above is the correct restoration.

The stone is damaged to the right of the Ω and probably Ι is lost. For similar plain but noble epitaphs cf. *S.M.C.* Introd. p. 25. The date of this is roughly, on the evidence of the ΠΠ and Ξ, the third, or early second century B.C. Any of the countless names ending in *-ιππος* or some name like *Σίπομπος* are possible restorations.

5 (2305, 2481, 2596, 2640 *a*, *b*). Five fragments of a large statue-base of greyish marble, of which two were found in 1906 and the rest in 1908 in the substructure of the eastern side of the Roman circus. The largest (2640 *a*) measures ·88 × ·55 × at least ·50, and is complete on r.: 2640 *b* is complete above and on l. for a few cmm. only. 2305 joins 2640 *a* at the bottom right-hand corner, and 2481 joins 2640 *b* below, and is complete on l. 2596 has no joining surface, but is clearly part of l. 1, for its surface shows the same beginning of the curve from the plain surface of the inscription up to the moulding above, as we see in 2640 *b*. Letters ·03 high.



Οἱ ἐν τ(ο)[ῖ](ς) θ[εματικοῖς ἀγῶσιν]
(ὁ)πλομ(ά)[χ](οι) . . . . . ο(δ) - -
[ἀ](λ)εῖπτ[αι . . . . . ? ἐ](π)ὶ τὰ ε . . . . [τὸν]
ἀξι(ο)[λογώτατ](ο)ν Πόπ. (M)[έμμιον]
Πρατ[όλαο](ν) τὸν καὶ Ἀρισ(το)[κλέα]
Δα(μ)[άρους] ἀριστοπολιτευτήν,
[ἐπιμελητ](ὴ)ν τῆς θεοῦ Λυκούρ-
[γου πατρο]νομίας τὸ τέταρτον,
[καὶ μόνον καὶ] πρῶτον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
[πατρονομί](ᾳ) συνάψαντα τὴν
[ἐπιμελίαν τὴ]ν θ[εο](ῦ) Λυκούργου
[πατρονομίας κα]ὶ τὸν αἱρεθέν-
[τα ὑπό τε τῆς λαμπρ]οτάτης βου-
[λῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτο](υ δήμου)
- - -

Fortunately we have an almost exact duplicate of this inscription, except for the first three lines, in *C.I.G.* 1341: we are thus enabled to restore not only the original breadth of the inscription, as I have done in my squeeze, but all the contents as far as they go. There are still some gaps in ll. 2 and 3, but I think we may claim to have recovered their general purport. The restoration of l. 1 was based on the word (ὁ)πλομ(ά)-[χ](οι), which seems certain in l. 2. They seem to have been trainers of competitors for games; they are not mentioned elsewhere in Spartan inscriptions, but are well known in the Attic Ephebe-Inscriptions,[1] where they occur quite fifty times. On this ground we might well expect some allusion to games in l. 1, and the word θεματικοῖς just fills the space

[1] In *I.G.* ii. Nos. 338 (where the ὁπλομάχος is called ὁπλομάχης), 465, 466, 467 (= Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 521), 468, 469, 470, 471, 478, 480. In *I.G.* iii. about forty different instances. For the institution in other Greek towns see *A.J.A.* xi. (1896), p. 173, No. 1 (= Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 935), at Eretria; *B.C.H.* iv. (1880), pp. 110 foll. (= Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 523), at Teos. See also Dumont, *Essai sur l'Ephébie Attique*, pp. 165, 185 foll. For ὁπλομάχος as a contestant in battle, see references to Plato, collected by Dumont, *loc. cit.* In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Sparta did not approve of ὁπλομαχία (Plato, *Laches*, 183 B, where the pleasant story of Stesilaus' unfortunate appearance with his δορυδρέπανον is told by Laches); but we do not know whether the exercises in which the ὁπλομάχος was instructor were exactly of the same type in the second century A.D., to which our inscription belongs, as they were five centuries or so earlier.

For ὁπλομαχία as a contest see Dittenb. *T.A.M.* 339, l. 82 (at Sestos): the object of the *hoplomachus*, at any rate when he appeared in Rome, seems to have been to poke his opponent's eye out, if we may believe Martial (viii. 74). 'Hoplomachus nunc es: fueras ophthalmicus ante: Fecisti medicus quod facis hoplomachus.'

between *οἱ ἐν τ(ο)[ῖ](ς)* and *ἀγῶσιν*, if we adopt this for the end of the first line. It is made certain by the identification of the fragment 2596, which gives us part of a sigma and *θ(ε)- - :* its place in the line is beyond doubt, when we see that it contains in l. 2 *ο* and an apex of another letter, probably *iota*, which seem to be the termination of the word *ὁπλομάχοι*; the *ι* would naturally come almost exactly under the *θ* in the line above, as they are the ninth letters of their respective lines. That *θεματικοὶ ἀγῶνες* were held at Sparta is known already from an inscription (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 466, No. 19); they were contests in which a money-prize and not merely a wreath was offered, as we know on the authority of Pollux.[1]

In l. 3 the restoration *[ἀ](λ)εἱπτ[αι]* seems safe, especially in the light of *ὁπλομάχοι* in the previous line: the *ἀλείπτης*, unless the word had entirely lost its old sense of 'anointer,' was probably the trainer who looked after the physical condition of the athletes as opposed to their special practising, which was no doubt in the hands of experts like the *ὁπλομάχοι*. Thus probably the *ἀλείπτης* did not as a rule rank so high as the various 'specialists.' The restoration of ll. 4–11 is beyond doubt, and gives us on an average 23 letters to the line: it need not surprise us to find 24 in the restored first line, as the inscription is not of course *στοιχηδόν*, nor are the lines of exactly the same length: the remains of l. 3 between *[ἀ](λ)εἱπτ[αι]* and *[τὸν]* which may be restored from *C.I.G.* 1341 are quite uncertain, but the first letter seems to be plainly *π*, followed by *ιταε*, and the division of the words suggested in the transcript seems the only possible one. Publius Memmius Pratolaus, qui et Aristocles, Damaris f. is well known in Spartan inscriptions; we find him, besides, in the inscription in his honour already mentioned (*C.I.G.* 1341), *ibid.* 1342, *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 184, No. 53 (where also he is deputy-patronomus for Lycurgus[2]) and *infra* No. 6. His family-tree is reconstructed by J. M. Paton (*Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1895, p. 34), and is re-published below, with a few additions (see *stemma* facing p. 123).

Ll. 7, 8. The restoration is certain, in the light of the sickle-inscription

[1] *Onomasticon*, iii. 153: we find an allusion to such games in Athens in *I.G.* iii. 128, l. 30.

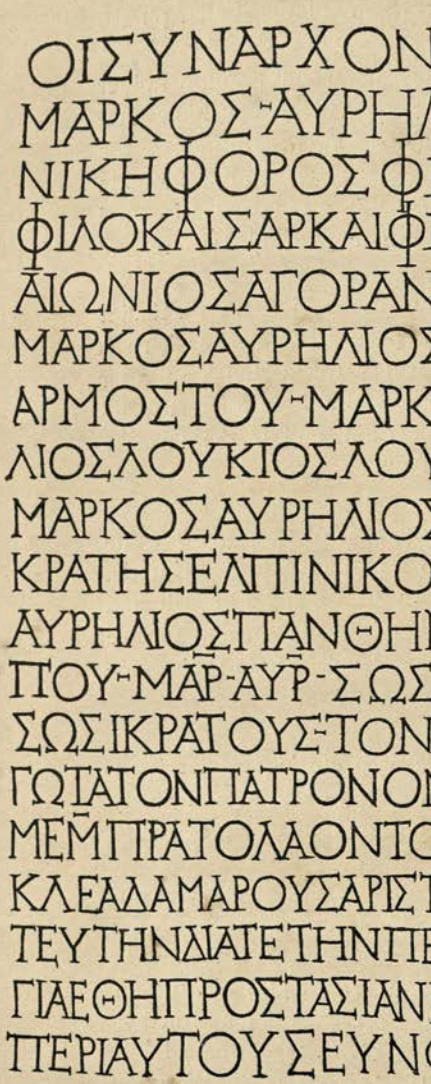
[2] This new inscription proves that my suggestion that Σεῶ was a Grecized form of Seius is clearly wrong: there was indeed no parallel for it, as it seems to have always been written Σήιος (*C.I.G. add.* 2322 *b*, 2520, 3902 *i*, 3932, 4366 *w*). It is, of course, an example of the archaizing use of *σ* for *θ*: we may note that it occurs in one of the series of sickle-inscriptions, where such archaisms are rife, whereas in all the other cases of the tenure of the same office we have *θεοῦ* or *θεῶ*.

No. 85 above, where Ti. Claud. Brasidas is *ἐπιμελώμενος* of the patronomate of *θεὸς Λυκοῦργος*. Fourmont's faulty copy of the similar phrase in *C.I.G.* 1341 was taken by Boeckh as reading *ἐπιμελητὴν θεοῦ Λυκούργου, πατρονόμον τὸ δ'*. This involved the existence of an office whose holder was called *ἐπιμελητὴς θεοῦ Λυκούργου*, and also the supposition that Pratolaus was Patronomus four times. By our present inscription we see that he was *ἐπιμελητής* not of the divine Lycurgus, but of the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus. Further evidence for this arrangement is cited below (p. 115), and we shall see that we are now enabled to restore correctly the corresponding passage in *C.I.G.* 1341.

The remainder of the restoration seems to involve no particular difficulty, and will be seen to fit the vacant space satisfactorily: l. 12 is perhaps doubtful, as [*κα*]*ὶ*, which alone seems to fit the gap after [*πατρονομίας*] seems redundant, if we suppose the inscription to end at the word *δήμου*. But this is not at all certain, and if there was a long sentence after *δήμου* explaining for what purpose he was elected by the 'most distinguished council and most sacred people,' *καί* would be necessary as a conjunction. Here, unfortunately, *C.I.G.* 1341 gives us no help. Pratolaus can only have combined his own patronomate with the '*ἐπιμέλεια* of the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus,' if he himself had held the *πατρονομία* earlier. This supposition is made certain, for we have, by a fortunate coincidence, the list of his six colleagues in this office in the inscription printed below (No. 6).

6 (2650). Large base of greyish marble with cuttings to receive a statue in upper surface. 1·85 × ·565 × ·50. Letters ·03—·042 high, not very regularly cut. Found lying loose in substructure of Roman circus south-east of temple. (For inscription see next page.)

These six names are evidently those of the colleagues of Pratolaus in his patronomate in which he was Eponymus and not merely *ἐπιμελητής* for the divine Lycurgus. The only man who is known elsewhere is the first of these: *Νικηφόρος Φιλωνίδα* is found also in *B.C.H.* ix. 515, No. 6, and *B.S.A.* xii. p. 379, No. 45 (cf. above, p. 99 of the present vol. for a further fragment of the same stone): he is also found in *C.I.G.* 1379, where he is *αἰώνιος ἀγορανόμος, αἰώνιος γυμνασίαρχος*, as in *B.C.H., loc. cit.* We may, if we like, infer from this that at the date of the erection of our present inscription he had not yet received the latter title, but the point is



Οἱ συνάρχοντες
Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος
Νικηφόρος Φιλωνίδα
φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις
αἰώνιος ἀγορανόμος,
Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Εὔπορος
Ἁρμόστου, Μᾶρκος Αὐρή-
λιος Λούκιος Λουκίου,
Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Φιλο-
κράτης Ἐλπινίκου, Μᾶρκος
Αὐρήλιος Πανθήρας Ὀλύμ-
που, Μᾶρ. Αὐρ. Σωσικράτης
Σωσικράτους τὸν ἀξιολο-
γώτατον πατρονόμον Πόπ.
Μέμ. Πρατόλαον τὸν καὶ Ἀρισ
κλέα Δαμάρους ἀριστοπολει-
τευτὴν διά τε τὴν περὶ τὰ Λυκοῦ
για ἔθη προστασίαν καὶ τὴν
περὶ αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν.

unimportant. It is interesting to note that he is Eponymus in the sickle-inscription just quoted, so that also is nearly contemporary with the present stone. None of the other men are known; indeed, some of the names are not previously known at Sparta, such as Ἁρμόστης, Λούκιος, and Ὄλυμπος. The phrase προστασία περὶ τὰ Λυκούργια ἔθη is found also in *C.I.G.* 1342, another honorary inscription to the same Pratolaus (a discussion of its meaning will be found below).

7 (2485). Five fragments of a large limestone base, of which three are inscribed: found in Roman masonry north-east of arena. Much damaged by burning as well as by breakage. Max. height, ·44; max. breadth ·32; thickness at least ·19. Letters ·02 high.

	ΑΠΟ		Ἁ πό[λις]
	ΑΥΡΙΙΣ		Αὐρ . . (σ) - -
	ΣΥ		συ - - -
	ΚΙ⅃		κ(ιδ) - - -
5	⌐ Ω	5	(σ) . ω - - -
	Τ'		. τ - - -
	⊢		- - -

Sense quite irrecoverable: the first line can hardly have been anything but Ἁ πόλις, and in l. 2 we have Αὐρ. (Μᾶρκος being omitted) followed by the beginning of a name: the break in the stone makes it impossible to say whether the name began with ΗΣ, or possibly ΠΙΣ; the space between the vertical strokes seems too great for the former, whereas there is quite room for the second stroke of Π to be lost where the stone is broken; in l. 4 we have perhaps the end of some such name as Μεναλκίδας. Date probably late in second century A.D. The material, a rough reddish-grey limestone, is not often found in use for inscriptions at Sparta.

8 (2575). Two adjoining fragments of the rim of a large marble bowl or περιρραντήριον, of which the original diameter was probably a metre or more. Letters ·035 high, running from right to left. Surface rather scratched in places. Found built into masonry of Roman circus on north side.

ΛΙΟΓΙΑ⋊ΣΙΔΙΟΛΙΟ ? - - οἴ(ν)οι δὶς καὶ (τῶι) - -

It is not quite certain that the third letter from the right is Ν, owing to scratches on the stone: if the inscription were not retrograde one might think it was Λ with a scratch on the stone above it to the left, but as it is, *digamma* is impossible with the short stroke on the left side and not on the right; so (*ν*) seems probably correct. The inscription may have some allusion to the procedure at the sacrifice to the goddess, in which case the word = *οἴνωι*, and the instructions on the rim would run somehow thus: 'fill (or sprinkle) twice with wine and with the - -?' This cannot be regarded as more than a tentative conjecture. From the letter forms we should date it earlier than the fifth century.

The Patronomate of the Divine Lycurgus.

The discovery of the inscriptions published above (Nos. 85 and 5) give us for the first time definite information of an interesting, but still obscure, episode in the history of the administration of Imperial Sparta, namely the election of the divine (*θεός*) Lycurgus to the post of the eponymous patronomate. The former inscription is worth quoting again, as it is the clearest recorded instance of this occurrence. *Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.* | *Πόπληρ Μέμ(μ).* | *Σπαρτιάτικορ* | *Δαμάρου(ς) βοαγὸρ* || *μικκιχιδομέ* | *νων ἐπὶ πατρο|νόμω θεῶ Λυ|κ[ο](ύ)ργω τὸ ἰά,* | *(ἐ)πι(μ)ελωμένω τᾶρ* || *πατρονομίαρ Τι. Κλα.* | *Βρασίδ(α) τῶ Βρασίδα* | *νεικάαρ κασσηρατόριν* | *μῶαν κελοῖαν Ἀρτέ|μιδι Ὠρθέᾳ ἀνέση* || *κεν.* From this we see that Lycurgus was elected at least eleven times to this post, and that, not unnaturally, it was necessary to elect a mortal vice-gerent. This, it will be seen, is the normal formula found in inscriptions from the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* at the Sanctuary of Orthia and elsewhere which relate to the tenure of the patronomate by Lycurgus. We may now without hesitation restore No. 53 of the same series (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 184) on these lines: *ἐπὶ πα]τρονόμω σεῶ Λυκούργω* | *[τὸ δ'], ἐπιμελουμένω τᾶρ πατρον|[ομίαρ]* (II.) *Μεμ. Πρ(ατολ)[άω], κ.τ.λ.* The letters *τὸ δ'* are restored from the inscription found this year (No. 5), which is in honour of the very P. Memmius Pratolaus himself who appears here as *ἐπιμελούμενος* of the patronomate, and will be discussed below. We must first consider two more inscriptions, of which one certainly, and the other probably, belongs also to this class, which are dated by one of the years of the patronomate of Lycurgus. The first is a fragment, now entirely lost, which was copied first by Ross, before the fire which destroyed most of the

contents of the Sparta Museum in 1842.[1] It is usually transcribed as follows: *Ἀγαθεῖ Τύχ[ει].| Νίκη Νεο[πο]λειτῶ[ν.]| Ἐπὶ πατρονό(μου) Θεολύκου | τοῦ τὸ ε', ἐπιμελουμένου || πατρονό(μρυ)* M. *Αὐρ. Ἀλκισθένου[ς] | τοῦ Εὐελπίστου προστάτ[ου πό]λεως, βιδέου δὲ* M. *Αὐρ. Ῥο[ύφου] | (τοῦ) - - -.*[2] But in ll. 3 and 4 the phrase for expressing the date is unusual, in that it gives us *τοῦ* after the presumable name of the Eponymus, but before the phrase *τὸ ε'*, signifying that the office was held for the fifth time. Another but a minor objection is the presence of the name Theolycus, which seems to be used nowhere in Greek literature or inscriptions, and in the third place we may note that there is no other evidence for an *ἐπιμελητής* of the Eponymus, if that is the sense here, the formula being always *ἐπὶ πατρονόμου τοῦ δεῖνος, πατρονομοῦντος δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τοῦ δεῖνος*, if a deputy is referred to; nor, if we suppose him to be an *ἐπιμελητής* of the *σφαιρεῖς*, have we any certain parallel. But a simple alteration disposes of every difficulty: the stone was supposed by Ross to read (ll. 3–5)

ΕΠΙΠΑΤΡΟΝΘΕΟΛΥΚΟ////
ΤΟΥΤΟΕΕΠΙΜΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΟΝΜΑΥΡΑΛΚΙΣΘΕΝΟ////

bearing in mind the fact that there is at least one letter missing at the right-hand end of every line on the stone, except possibly l. 4, the following simple correction gives what I believe to be the original and only possible reading:

ΕΠΙΠΑΤΡΟΝΘΕΘΛΥΚΟΥΡ
ΓΟΥΤΟΕΕΠΙΜΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
κ.τ.λ.

Very likely the real reading in l. 4 *ad fin.* was ΘΤΗΣ, but this is hardly worth restoring, as it makes the line rather longer than the others; it would, however, bring still closer the resemblance of this inscription to the other two quoted, where we have *ἐπιμελωμένω τᾶρ πατρονομίαρ* in each case. Here we may notice the absence of archaistic usages, and the

[1] Published by him in *Archäol. Aufsätze*, ii. p. 659, No. 21.

[2] See Foucart's note in Le Bas-Foucart, p. 100, No. 180, which describes his identification of a copy of the only surviving fragment of this stone made by Le Bas in 1844 after the fire. It is republished by Tod as part of a *σφαιρεῖς* inscription (*B.S.A.* x. p. 69, No. 9), and, in facsimile, by Dressel-Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitt.* ii. (1877), p. 383, No. 200.

contraction ΠΑΤΡΟΝ̄ for *πατρονομίας* in l. 5, as well as for *πατρονόμου* in l. 3. The corrections involved are (*a*) ⊙ for Ο, such a monogram being frequent in Spartan inscriptions of the late second century A.D., to which we may provisionally date this, and the more likely to occur where we have such orthographical peculiarities as Ν̄; (*b*) ΥΡ supplied at the end of l. 3, and (*c*) Γ for Τ at the beginning of l. 4. If we adopt *τῆς* for the end of this line we should suppose either that the reading was ⊙ΤΗΣ, for which Ross read ΟΥ, the ΗΣ having vanished, or that possibly there was some ligature employed such as ΗΣ, to avoid giving us an exceptionally long line, but it is not necessary to postulate exact identity of formula with the other two stones. This inscription, then, relates to the victory in the ball-game in the 5th year of the patronomate of Lycurgus, and so far we have evidence of the 4th, 5th, and 11th years of his tenure of this office.

A less certain piece of evidence is furnished by the fragmentary inscription *C.I.G.* 1362, of which the sense is very hard to restore, as neither are we certain that Fourmont's copy is right in every detail, nor can we tell how much is missing. It is apparently a statue-base erected to some Spartan citizen named Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Κλεάρε[τος] Τειμοκλέο[υς], and in ll. 6–8, which are complete on the left, if the copy is trustworthy, we have

ΜΟΥΘΕΟΥΛΥΚΟΥΡ
ΧΟΙ . ΑΥΡΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔ
ϹΤΟϹΑΒΙΦΛΕΓΩΝ

It is tempting to restore here [*ἐπὶ πατρονό*]|*μου θεοῦ Λυκούρ*[*γου οἱ σύναρ*]|*χοι*. The remainder of the lower part of the inscription consists of names only, and evidently, if the restoration in ll. 6 and 7 is correct, there is no mention of an *ἐπιμελητής* of the patronomate of Lycurgus; but this would not be necessary, as the inscription is not definitely dated by the year in which Lycurgus was Eponymus; it only happens to mention incidentally that he was Eponymus, in recording the names of Clearetus' colleagues in that year. If then we are right in supposing that this contains an allusion to his patronomate, can we say which year of his tenure is alluded to? Unfortunately there is no evidence whatsoever: we do not know what office Clearetus and his colleagues held, and we can only say that a possible restoration of the names in ll. 7 and 8 seems to

point to there having been room on the stone for three or four letters indicating the year; for if we restore thus [*οἱ ἐπὶ πατρονό*]|*μου θεοῦ Λυκούρ*[*γου . . . σύναρ*]|*χοι Αὐρ. Ἡρακλείδ*[*ας, Αὐρ. Εὐέλπι*]|*στος, Ἀβι. Φλέγων* . . . we find that we get lines of almost identical length, and remembering that Ἡ*ρ* is written in ligature we find we have twenty-four letters in l. 6 and twenty-five in l. 7. This leaves us room for three letters to indicate the year of Lycurgus' tenure of office and may very well be correct, but what letter followed *τό* we cannot at all tell.

It is just possible, but not in my opinion likely, that the two inscriptions *S.M.C.* 215 and *C.I.G.* 1244 which give us fragmentary lists of Ephors *ἐπὶ Λυκούργου* also relate to one of the times when 'divine Lycurgus' was Eponymus; but we see that (1) he is not called *θεός*, (2) none of the Ephors has the *nomen* and *praenomen* Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος, which we rather expect to find prominent Spartan citizens in possession of at the time to which the other inscriptions of this class belong (see below), (3) Lycurgus is not a rare name, and may have been borne by some Spartan citizen: thus it is not wise to class these two inscriptions with those that give definite evidence of the 'divine Lycurgus' acting as Eponymus.

There remain to be considered the inscriptions which relate to the *ἐπιμέλεια* of his patronomate. The most important of these is No. 5 above which, though incomplete, enables us to clear up some difficulties in the interpretation of *C.I.G.* 1341, of which it is in part a duplicate. In ll. 4–12 we have - - *ἀξι*(*ο*)[*λογώτατ*](*ο*)*ν Πόπ.* (Μ)[*έμμιον*]| Π*ρα*[*τόλαο*](*ν*) *τὸν καὶ Ἀρισ*(*το*)[*κλέα*] | Δ*αμ*[*άρους*] *ἀριστοπολιτευτήν*, | [*ἐπιμελητ*](*ὴ*)*ν τῆς θεοῦ Λυκούρ*|[*γου πατρο*](*ν*)*ομίας τὸ τέταρτον*, | [*καὶ μόνον καὶ*] *πρῶτον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ* | [*πατρονομί*](*ᾳ*) *συνάψαντα τὴν* | [*ἐπιμελίαν τὴ*]*ν θ*[*εο*]*ῦ Λυκούργου* [*πατρονομίας κα*](*ι*) - - -. As the Pratolaus of this inscription is clearly the same as in No. 53 quoted above, there can be little doubt that the expression '*ἐπιμελητής* of the patronomate of Lycurgus for the fourth time' means '*ἐπιμελητής* of the fourth patronomate,' and not that Pratolaus acted four times as *ἐπιμελητής*; his other glory consists, as is pointed out in a note on this inscription, in having on some previous occasion been Eponymus himself, and thus being the only ex-Eponymus who had acted as *ἐπιμελητής* in this connexion. The restoration is sufficiently certain to enable us to correct some points in *C.I.G.* 1341, as follows:

	FOURMONT.	BOECKH.	A. M. W.
l. 12	- - - ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΗΝΕΙ	- - - *ἐπιμελητὴν* . . .	- - - *ἐπιμελητὴν* [*τῆς*]
l. 13	- - - ΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΝ	- - - *πατρονόμ*[*ον*]	- - - *πατρονο*(*μ*)[*ίας*]
l. 14	- - - ΠΡΩΤΟΝΗ	- - - *πρῶτον* .	- - - *πρῶτον* [*τῇ ἑαυ-*]
l. 15	ΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΜΙΔΣΣΥΝΑΨΑΝ	···*πατρονομίας συνάψαν*[*τα*]	*τοῦ πατρονομίᾳ συνάψαν*[*τα*]

It will be seen that the text is now almost identical with that of the new inscription, the chief difference being in l. 16 where the former omits *πατρονομίας*, the genitive depending on *ἐπιμελίαν*, which after all is not necessary to the sense.

Pratolaus in this inscription can no longer be supposed, as Boeckh thought, to have been Eponymus four times; but in what office he was supported by the six colleagues who set up the base bearing *C.I.G.* 1341 in his honour we cannot tell.

This concludes the evidence for the fact that on at least eleven occasions the Spartan people nominated *θεὸς Λυκοῦργος* as Eponymus: why and when they did so is not so easy to say with great precision. We know that the Lycurgan *régime* was in force at Sparta in Imperial times; Dio Cassius tells us that Nero on his visit to Achaia did not go to Sparta as he disapproved of the system in vogue there.[1] It is needless to repeat all the epigraphical evidence for its details, particularly in the matter of the organization of the Spartan boys,[2] but we may allude briefly to some inscriptions which mention the interpretation of the system. In *C.I.G.* 1342, which is a mutilated inscription to the same Pratolaus whom we have in *C.I.G.* 1341 and the other inscriptions quoted above, he is honoured among other things, for his *προστασία περὶ τὰ Λυκούργεια ἔθη*, a phrase repeated of him in No. 6 (p. 109 above): in *C.I.G.* 1350 a man is honoured *τῆς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις Λυκουργείοις ἔθεσιν εὐψυχίας καὶ πειθαρχίας χάριν*: *ibid.* 1364 *b* commemorates an *ἐξηγητὴς τῶν Λυκουργείων*, *i.e.* an interpreter of the Lycurgan code: and a fragmentary inscription, Le Bas-Foucart 176, is restored by the latter with considerable probability as reading *οἱ διδά*[*σκαλοι* [*ἀμφὶ τὰ Λυκούργει*]*α ἔθη*, which seems to allude to professors of the theory and practice of the Lycurgan system in general.

A possible reason for this activity in expounding and upholding

[1] lxiii. 14: *διὰ τοὺς Λυκούργου νόμους ὡς ἐναντίους τῇ προαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ὄντας.* His own upbringing was singularly un-Lycurgan in every way.

[2] Most of it is collected in Gilbert, *Griechischen Staatsalterthümer*[2], pp. 29, 30; English Transl. p. 28.

the prevailing system at this particular time, which seems to fall, roughly speaking, in the last quarter of the second century A.D., may be found in a consideration of the position of Sparta at the time. During the first two centuries A.D., Sparta evidently was in a state of continually increasing wealth and prosperity: more and more of her citizens obtained the Roman *civitas* and felt themselves more Roman than Greek. They could no doubt afford to travel, and saw that in other states the education of the young was conducted on less antiquated lines than at Sparta. Again, as one of the conditions of the ideal Lycurgan system was the prevalence of strict communism, there was, now that wealth was accumulating in private hands, less reason on the face of things for the common education and organization of the youth of Sparta, and no doubt this position was represented, from the point of view of personal comfort, by the boys to their parents. It is a very natural inference, then, that the conservative party among the citizens was alarmed at the growing distaste for the Lycurgan *régime* and instituted special officers to enforce the recognition of the old system: there would have been no need for the existence of an ἐξηγητὴς τῶν Λυκουργείων in the good old days when τὰ Λυκούργεια ἔθη were regarded as the only possible ἔθη at Sparta, and this will explain the need for the efforts of men like Pratolaus towards enforcing the old system and the honour in which he was held for that reason.

But this is far from being a complete explanation of the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus. We know that the practice of nominating a tutelary god or hero to the eponymous office was by no means rare in Asia Minor: frequent instances are found at Iasos,[1] as well as at Antandros, Priene, Miletus, and Magnesia.[2] The explanation usually given is that the expenses incidental to the office sometimes debarred any private citizen from accepting it, and that consequently a local deity or hero was elected, out of whose treasury the funds were supplied. But in none of these cases have we any mention of the election of a mortal vice-gerent, and this leads

[1] See *B.M. Inscriptions*, iii. pp. 19, 31, 32; *J.H.S.* viii. (1887), p. 99; *Revue des Études grecques*, vi. (1893), p. 156; Fabricius in *Berlin. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1894, p. 907.

[2] These references are given by Fabricius *loc. cit.* The fullest list of references is given in J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis*, pp. 4 and 5. [Wien, 1908.] For some of these instances I am also indebted to Mr. Tillyard, who has kindly forwarded a communication of Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on the subject. The latter also suggests that σεῶ in the inscription alluded to above (p. 108, note 2) = θεοῦ, and that we should connect it with the other instances of a divine Eponymus in Asia Minor (as I had already done, since this paper was written before I received Mr. Tillyard's letter).

me to think that the office at Sparta was not purely honorary, but that for the transaction of business in the assembly or elsewhere it was necessary to have an active Eponymus. In spite of the wealth of Sparta at the time there were eleven or more occasions when Lycurgus was elected, and evidently his treasury must have been well filled to support the expense.[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at Iasos the post of στεφανηφόρος was held, apparently in the first century B.C., by Apollo on no fewer than fourteen occasions, of which the last nine fell within a period of about twenty years.[2]

If we suggest then that there were political reasons, as well as economic, for appointing Lycurgus to the patronomate, we shall probably be nearer the mark. The necessity of electing a vice-gerent indicates that the Eponymus was an important person and perhaps the most important of his year, in public affairs, and may, though we have no evidence either way on this point, have had a considerable voice in legislation: whether he also had a veto which he might exercise with regard to measures from the βουλή is also uncertain, but not impossible. If this were so, the Eponymus could stop revolutionary proposals with regard to state organization and education, if he thought fit. And who could be a safer Eponymus from the conservatives' point of view than Lycurgus himself, presuming that his vice-gerent was a strong conservative? Perhaps then the pro-Lycurgan party took advantage of the nomination of their hero to the patronomate, and installed a staunch conservative to act as his ἐπιμελητής. We know that Pratolaus, who appears as ἐπιμελητής in the case of the fourth patronomate, and Ti. Cl. Brasidas, who fulfils the same function in the case of the eleventh, both belong to old Spartan families; it is true that they had possessed the *civitas Romana* for two or three generations, but that did not prevent them from zealously upholding the old Lycurgan system. If such a man represented the views of Lycurgus in public affairs, we can hardly suppose that the revolutionary party made much progress.

That some such combination of purposes as this, underlay the election of Lycurgus as Eponymus seems now more than probable; that the act was successful is proved indirectly by the fact that some at least of the

[1] For the cult of Lycurgus at Sparta see Herodotus i. 66; Strabo viii. p. 366; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. 31, where we read ἱερόν τε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ θύουσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεῷ; Suidas, *s.v.* Lycurgus; Pausanias iii. 16 § 6. Cf. Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 281 foll.

[2] Fabricius, *op. cit.* p. 905.

rites and usages which are associated with the Lycurgan system in the education of the Spartan youth, namely the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* and the flogging at the altar of Orthia, lasted on long after the period to which the events discussed in this note seem to belong.[1]

The date at which Lycurgus was Eponymus can be roughly fixed by prosopographical evidence. I have pointed out above (p. 90, note 2) that Pratolaus, the *ἐπιμελητής* on the fourth occasion of his tenure, is almost certainly grandson of Publius Memmius Sidectas, the Eponymus in 125 A.D., when Hadrian visited Sparta for the first time. Allowing three generations to a century the date of the activity of his grandson would fall about the years 180–200: he evidently lived to a considerable age, for in an inscription relating to statues set up to his son-in-law Pomponius Panthales Diogenes Aristeas (*B.C.H.* ix. (1885), p. 515), his grandchildren subscribe to the expense as well as himself, which shows that he was still alive when they were more or less grown up. The next point to settle is whether there was any appreciable interval between the occasions on which Lycurgus was Eponymus, and if so, how long it was. We know from the inscription relating to his fifth year in that office that the *ἐπιμελητής* was Marcus Aurelius Alcisthenes, and the same man, followed, as in this inscription, by the title *προστάτης πόλεως*[2] also appears as sharing the expense on the base recording the erection of statues to Aristeas just mentioned. Alcisthenes then was living at the time when these statues were set up, and thus clearly was taking part in public life when Pratolaus was still alive. So far then, we can see that the fourth and fifth patronomates of Lycurgus occurred sufficiently close together to enable their respective *ἐπιμεληταί* to be alive at the same time; that they belonged to the same generation we cannot say on the present evidence. But it is instructive to see from the prosopographical evidence relating to the *ἐπιμελητής* of Lycurgus' eleventh patronomate that he lived at a time very little later than the *floruit* of Publius Memmius Pratolaus, *ἐπιμελητής* of the fourth patronomate. From the *stemma* of Ti. Claudius Brasidas given by J. M. Paton and reprinted below we see that he was a member of a large and distinguished Spartan family: in No. 55 below we find that he had a

[1] The latest *παιδικὸς ἀγών* inscription seems not earlier than 240 A.D. (see above); the flogging at the altar lasted till nearly the end of the fourth century at least (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 317).

[2] This shows clearly that he was *προστάτης* of the city of Sparta, not, as Foucart thought (Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, p. 100), of the city of Νεόπολις. Tod (*B.S.A.* x. p. 77) points this out plainly.

brother named Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus, a fact unknown before, who in turn had a son Ti. Claudius Aristoteles. Now from the inscription quoted above (*B.C.H.* ix. p. 515) we see that Publius Memmius Pratolaus married Claudia Longina, daughter of Aristoteles; presumably the father's name was Ti. Claudius Aristoteles, and I think he may without hesitation be identified with the son of Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus. The wife of P. Memmius Pratolaus is thus grand-daughter of this Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus and grand-niece of Ti. Claudius Brasidas, the *ἐπιμελητής* for the eleventh patronomate of Lycurgus. But matters are somewhat complicated, when we find, as seems to have been the case, that the victor in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* in this very inscription is a brother of the aforesaid P. Memmius Pratolaus: his name is P. Memmius Spartiaticus, son of Damares (*Δαμάρου* being in all probability an error of the engraver's for *Δαμάρους*). The position we thus have is this: Spartiaticus is victor as *μικιχιζόμενος*, *i.e.* at the age of ten, at least seven years *later* than his brother had acted as *ἐπιμελητής* for the fourth patronomate of Lycurgus. There is nothing impossible in this, for he may well have been as much as thirty years younger than his elder brother; if this was so, and if, for the sake of argument, the patronomates of the divine Lycurgus are assumed to have been in successive years, seven years before he was Eponymus for the eleventh time, in which year Spartiaticus won, Pratolaus would be about thirty-three; and if we assume that he acted as Eponymus before the series of Lycurgan patronomates began, he could not have been more than twenty-nine when he did so. He might indeed have been even younger, but this is unlikely: but the conclusion seems to be that the years in which Lycurgus was elected Eponymus, if not actually successive, were extremely close together. There is no reason against the former view, and every year by which we lengthen the period between the fourth and the eleventh tenure of the office involves a correspondingly longer interval between the ages of the two brothers concerned in these two inscriptions, for we have a roughly fixed point in the minimum age at which Pratolaus could hold his important posts. But the *ἐπιμελητής* is yet to be mentioned in the matter of dating the later inscription: the inference seems inevitable that he was a very old man on this occasion, for, as I remarked above, he was great-uncle to Claudia Longina, the wife of Pratolaus, who in turn must have married young as his grandchildren were apparently grown up before he died; he was in fact probably married before his younger brother won in

the παιδικὸς ἀγών, and his wife must have been younger than himself, as her great-uncle was alive and indeed actually acted as ἐπιμελητής for the divine Lycurgus in that year. But this solution alone suits the evidence from genealogy, and though it may seem strange that Ti. Claudius Brasidas acted as ἐπιμελητής at least seven years later than his great-nephew by marriage had held the same position, there seems no other way out of the difficulty. In any case he was probably younger than his brother Ti. Cl. Aristoteles, the father-in-law of Pratolaus, but even so the disparity of age between the two ἐπιμεληταί is very striking. Another possible explanation would be that the Brasidas here mentioned is a son of the Brasidas who was brother of Ti. Claudius Aristoteles, the father-in-law of Pratolaus; but this involves the invention of a personage for whose existence there is no real evidence, and I prefer the alternative view in spite of its difficulties. But these difficulties become impossibilities if we suppose that even a very few years intervened between each occasion of the patronomate of Lycurgus, and the natural conclusion is that these events took place in successive years. The period into which they fall is settled by the date of P. Memmius Pratolaus, and he, having a brother some thirty years younger, must have been born before his father P. Memmius Damares was much more than thirty years of age, perhaps a few years before he was thirty. Now Damares is found in *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204 I) as Ephor at a date which seems to fall soon after the reign of Hadrian, and probably before the middle of the second century: he cannot then have been born much later than 120 A.D., and probably was born before then, as the ephorate is one of the more distinguished Spartan offices, and a man was not usually Ephor until after he had occupied other less important posts. Assuming then that 120 A.D. is the latest possible date for the birth of Damares, 150 is almost the latest possible date for the birth of his elder son Pratolaus. But we saw also that he cannot have been more than thirty-five when he was ἐπιμελητής for the fourth patronomate of Lycurgus (when his younger brother would be three years old), and thus we are led to infer that the latest possible date for his tenure of this position is 185 A.D., and that it can hardly have been before 175: within these limits the later date is on the whole more likely to be correct. The conclusion we arrive at is that the patronomates of the divine Lycurgus, which were held almost indubitably in successive years, began within a year or two of 180 A.D., and lasted till at least 190. This view, from which there seems no refuge

involves one noteworthy result, namely that the colleagues of P. Memmius Pratolaus in his patronomate, which seems to belong to *ca.* 175, all received the *nomen* and *praenomen* Marcus Aurelius during the lifetime of the Emperor of that name. This shows that Spartan inscriptions in which persons with the names of Marcus Aurelius occur may very well belong to the second century, and that other evidence is necessary than the mere presence of such names before we are to date them without hesitation to the reign of Caracalla, when the *civitas Romana* and the adoption of these names became universal in the Roman world.

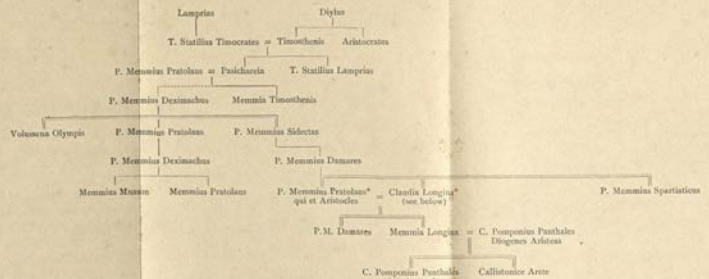
In drawing up the genealogical table of the families of which several members have been mentioned in these pages a few important facts have come to our knowledge since the first publication, and these I think warrant its re-appearance here. The facts are as follows: (*a*) we now know that P. Memmius Sidectas, the Eponymus in 125 A.D. is son of P. Memmius Deximachus, and thus brother of P. Memmius Pratolaus (2): this was thought possible by Paton,[1] on the evidence of a restoration of *C.I.G.* 1250, but not at all certain. But we now see from *B.S.A.* xii. p. 462, No. 15 that this relationship is established.[2] (*b*) On the evidence of No. 85 of the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* inscriptions, discussed above, we have to add to the family of Sidectas a grandson named P. Memmius Spartiaticus, the younger brother of P. Memmius Pratolaus qui et Aristocles Damaris f. (*c*) Ti. Claudius Brasidas the elder besides his sons Ti. Claudius Pratolaus, Ti. Claudius Brasidas, and Ti. Claudius Harmonicus, had a son Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus (p. 128, No. 55), known already (though not as the son of Ti. Claudius Brasidas) as the father of Ti. Claudius Aristoteles and Ti. Claudius Eudamus. (*d*) We may be almost equally certain that Claudia Longina, who appears in *B.C.H.* ix. p. 515 as wife of P. Memmius Pratolaus, son of Damares, is the daughter of Ti. Claudius Aristoteles and granddaughter of the aforesaid Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus. (*e*) We may add to Paton's table all the genealogy drawn up by Durrbach, of the descendants of P. Memmius Pratolaus son of Damares,[3] which seems to have escaped Paton's notice. (*f*) Less important, but equally worthy of insertion on the ground of certainty, is the fact that S. Pompeius Menophanes (son of

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 34.

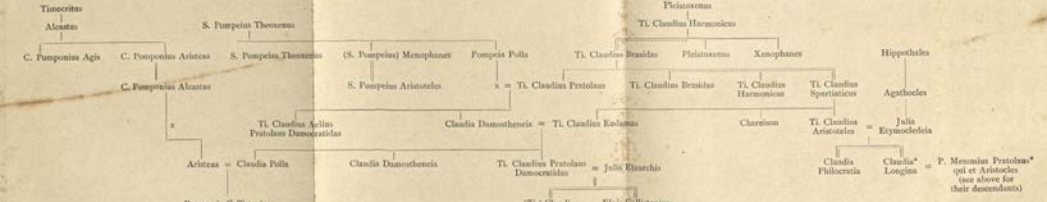
[2] This is pointed out by Mr. Tillyard in a note *ad loc.* His *stemma*, however, attributes the dedication of *C.I.G.* 1340 to the sons of P. Memmius Deximachus (1) instead of to those of his grandson P. Memmius Deximachus (2). Paton's view is the latter, and seems preferable.

[3] *B.C.H. loc. cit.*

I.



II.



[To face p. 123.

S. Pompeius Theoxenus the elder) whose sister Pompeia Polla had a daughter who married Ti. Claudius Pratolaus, and is thus connected by marriage with the family of Ti. Claudius Brasidas, had a son, S. Pompeius Aristoteles (see *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 185, No. 57). We have no other equally certain connexions to include in the *stemma*,[1] though no doubt there are other members to add and other relationships to trace, had we more trustworthy evidence. In No. 77 of the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* inscriptions I restore [Β*ρασίδας* Ἀ*ρμονί*]*κου*, whose existence was conjectured by Paton. Memmius Longinus (*C.I.G.* 1359) is no doubt connected with the family of P. Memmius Damares; he may indeed be a brother of the well-known P. Memmius Pratolaus, son of Damares, but I omit him from the table, as we cannot be sure of the relationship. It is worthy of note that subsequent discoveries in these fields have not led to the necessity of any corrections in Paton's *stemmata*, so that any differences to be observed consist only of additions. To distinguish the latter from the original, new connexions are indicated by a double line in thick type, and conjectures of Paton's, now apparently verified, are indicated by a dotted line and a thick one side by side: there is only one case where this usage is employed, namely in the case of Brasidas, son of Harmonicus mentioned above, and this is not entirely above suspicion.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LATE-ROMAN WALLS.

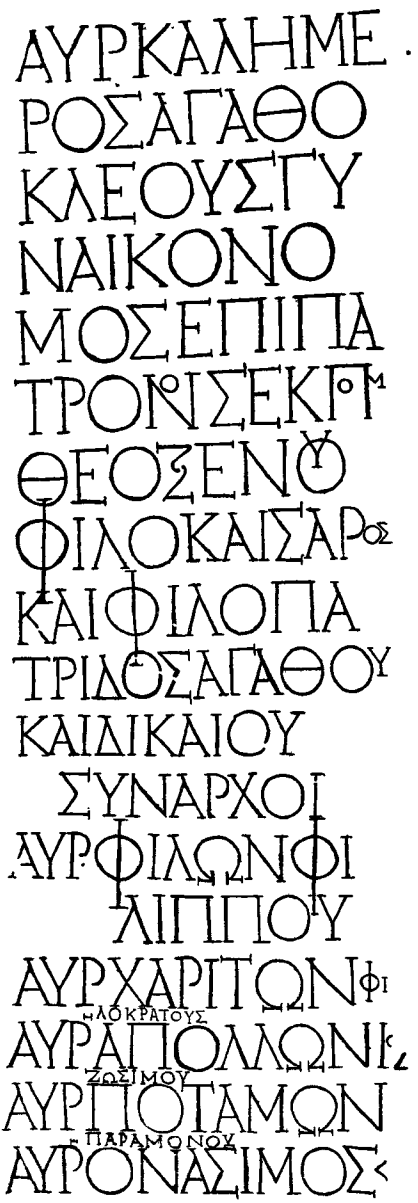
The following inscriptions (Nos. 48–60) were found as a result of excavation along the south face of the late-Roman wall (General Plan **K 13, L 13**),[2] which surrounds the mediaeval 'kastro,' in places where the foundations had not been laid bare in the excavations of the two previous years.

48[3] (2594). Stele of white marble with moulded cornice above, built face upwards into east wall of a tower projecting from the wall (close to *B.S.A.* xii. p. 462, No. 15). Dimensions 2·85 × ·37 × ·18. Letters ·045 high (the smaller letters in ll. 8, 10, 16, 18, and 20 about ·015 high).

[1] I have added from *C.I.G.* 1442 Ti. Claudius Alcandridas and Elpis Callistonice as children of Ti. Claudius Pratolaus Damocratidas, on the strength of Alcandridas and Damocratidas occurring elsewhere (*C.I.G.* 1364) as names held by alternate generations in a (probably) collateral family.

[2] See *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. I.

[3] The numbering is carried on from *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 191.



Αὐρ. Καλήμε-
ρος Ἀγαθο-
κλέους γυ-
ναικονό-
μος ἐπὶ πα-
τρονό(μου) Σέκ. Πομ.
Θεοξένου
φιλοκαίσαρος
καὶ φιλοπά-
τριδος ἀγαθοῦ
καὶ δικαίου.
σύναρχοι·
Αὐρ. Φίλων Φι-
λίππου,
Αὐρ. Χαρίτων Φι-
λοκράτους,
Αὐρ. Ἀπολλώνι(ος)
Ζωσίμου,
Αὐρ. Ποταμῶν
Παραμόνου,
Αὐρ. Ὀνάσιμος (Ὀνασίμου).

This is the first mention of the existence of γυναικονόμοι at Sparta as a state-magistracy. They are not to be confused with the officials of the same name who are mentioned in *S.M.C.* 203, l. 10, as the latter apparently only held office on the particular occasions of the feast in honour of Helen and the Dioscuri, the privileged participators in which are enumerated in that inscription. Their duty no doubt was to marshal and control the female population of Sparta on the occasion of the festival. The mention of the same officials in the famous Andania inscription[1] leads one to suppose that in that case also they were not state-magistrates but only held office on the occasion of the festival. They occur in the former sense at Magnesia ad Maeandrum,[2] and at Gambreum near Pergamon.[3] Their institution at Athens is attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum.[4] Aristotle[5] says that specialization of officials is typical of well-regulated wealthy communities, and cites γυναικονόμοι as a case in point, without, however, quoting states where they were to be found.

It is hardly likely that they were in existence at Sparta much before the end of the second century A.D., to which date the frequent use of the names Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος would lead one to attribute this inscription; for it is hard to believe that only accident should prevent us having mention of such an office in one of the many inscriptions recording the *cursus honorum* of Spartan magistrates which belong to the first half of that century (*e.g.* *S.M.C.* 204, *C.I.G.* 1249, etc.). The only one of the persons mentioned here who is perhaps known elsewhere is the Eponymus, S. Pompeius Theoxenus, whose name is found in *C.I.G.* 1369, followed by the same complimentary titles as he receives here; but as there seem to have been a father and a son of the same name, we cannot be certain which is alluded to here, as probably the son inherited the complimentary titles. It is natural to attribute this inscription to the age of Caracalla, when the Roman citizenship was extended to the civilized world, and this view is supported by the fact that such a name as Apollonius, son of Zosimus, would be more likely to be borne by a man of humble origin than by a Spartan citizen of good family, as they are both names often borne by slaves and freedmen. We have no clue, however, to enable us to fix the date exactly.

[1] Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 653, ll. 26, 27, 32. [2] *Ibid.* 553, l. 20. [3] *Ibid.* 879, l. 17.

[4] See Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalterthümer*, ii. p. 337 (English Transl. p. 160, note 3).

[5] *Politics*, viii. 1322 b, l. 37: see Newman's note *ad loc.*, which mentions their existence also at Samos and Syracuse (*Politics of Aristotle*, iv. p. 567).

49 (2614). Fragment of whitish marble broken through and badly weathered, found in trench about 100 metres east of No. 48 : complete on left and below and only a few cmm. missing on right. ·45 × ·43 × ·13. Letters ·03 high.

	ΤΑ	- - *ἀρε*]*τᾶ*[*ς*]
	ΔΕ	*ἕνεκα προσ*]*δε-*
	ΞΣΤΟ	*ξ*(*α*)[*μένη*]*ς τὸ*
	ΑΝΑΛΩΙ ΛΤΕΙ	*ἀνάλω*[*μ*](*α*) Τει[*μο*]-
5	ΣΘΕΝΙΔΟ ΣΤΑΞ	5 *σθε*(*ν*)*ίδ*(*ο*)*ς τᾶ*(*ς*) [Τει]-
	ΜΟΙ ΕΟ ΤΑΣ	*μο*(*κ*)[*λ*]*έο*[*ς*] *τᾶς* [*θυγα*]- ?
	ΤΡΟΥ ΜΟ	*τρὸ*(*ς*) - - - *μο-*
	Ι	

The restoration of ll. 6 and 7 is quite uncertain, though that suggested fills the space required. Two women of the name of Timosthenis are known at Sparta,[1] but neither of them was daughter of Timocles.

50 (2615). Base of whitish marble built into foundations of wall *ibid.* ·87 × ·47. Letters ·035 high, with florid *apices*.

	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΑΦΙ	Καλλικρατία Φι-
	ΛΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΦΙΛΟ	*λοκρατίδα* Φιλο-
	ΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΝΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑ	*κρατίδαν* Καλλικρά-
	ΤΟΥΣΤΟΝΠΑΤΕ	*τους τὸν πατέ-*
5	ΡΑΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗ	5 *ρα γυμνασιαρχή-*
	ΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΟ	*σαντα καὶ πατρο-*
	ΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΑΞΙ	*νομήσαντα ἀξί-*
	ΩΣΤΑΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ	*ως τᾶς πόλεως*
	ΚΑΙΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΘΕΟ	*καὶ* Θεόδωρος Θεο-
10	ΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΝΠΕΝ	10 *κλ*(*έ*)*ους* (*τ*)*ὸν πεν-*
	ΘΕΡΟΝ	*θερόν.*

The family-tree is easy to reconstruct, as far as it goes:

Callicrates
|
Philocratidas Theocles
| |
Callicratia = Theodorus

[1] See genealogical table of their family and descendants drawn up by J. M. Paton, *Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc.* 1895, p. 43; and above *stemma* facing p. 123.

Philocratidas appears also as Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1248, but he is difficult to date accurately. Callicrates is a very common name at Sparta and the present man cannot be identified for certain with any of the other bearers of the name. Theodorus, son of Theocles, also occurs in *C.I.G.* 1254, which would seem to fix the date of this inscription to the middle of the second century A.D. The sign) after Καλλικράτους in l. 4 is probably an ornament; it might mean that his father had the same name, and Callicrates, son of Callicrates, is known as a magistrate at Sparta in the second century (*C.I.G.* 1249), but the absence of τοῦ, though not unparalleled, renders this unlikely.

51 (2616). Base of greyish marble, *ibid.* 1·05 × ·57. Letters ·03 high. All the letters have been chiselled out except a very few near the left-hand margin.

○	ο - - -
	- - -
ΑΝΔ	ἀν(δ)[ρείας ?
ΧΑ	χ(ά)[ριν.

χ(ά)[ριν seems a safe restoration, and apparently was the last word on the stone. A possible alternative to l. 3 would be [τὸν ἑαυτῆς] | ἄν(δ)[ρα ἀρετῆς] | χ(ά)[ριν.

52 (2617). Base of greyish marble broken through, *ibid.* ·93 × ·51. Letters ·055 high, with large *apices*.

	ΑΠΟΛΙΣ		Ἀ πόλις
	ΚΟΥΙΒΙΟΝΦΙ		Κ. Οὐίβιον Φι-
	ΛΟΚΛΕΑΥΙ		λοκλέα υἱ-
	ΟΝΠΑΣΙΚΛΕ		ὸν Πασικλέ-
5	ΟΥΣΤΑΤΕ	5	ους τά τε
	ΑΛΛΑΚΑΛΩΣ		ἄλλα καλῶς
	ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟ		πολιτευό-
	ΜΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΑ		(μ)ενον καὶ ἀ-
	ΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΑ		γορανομοῦντα
10	ΠΙΣΤΩΣΚΑΙ	10	πιστῶς καὶ
	ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΑΡΕ		δικαίως ἀρε-
	ΤΑΣΧ, Ρ!Ν		τᾶς χ[ά]ριν.

The recipient of this honorary inscription would be styled in Latin Quintus Vibius Philocles; he also appears in *C.I.G.* 1237 as Ephor, apparently *ca.* 100 A.D. The present inscription was erected during his tenure of the office of *ἀγορανόμος*, which usually was held before the ephorate,[1] and would thus belong to a date slightly before 100 A.D.

53 (2618). Base of whitish marble, *ibid.* ·79×·47. Letters ·04 high, with large *apices*.

	Π̄ΜΕΜΜΙΟΣ		Πό(πλιος) Μέμμιος
	ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ		Σπαρτιάτικος
	ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟΝ		Ὀνησιφόρον
	ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟΥ		Ὀνησιφόρου
5	ΤΟΝΦΙΛΟΝΜΝΗ	5	τὸν φίλον μνή-
	ΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ		μης χάριν.

Publius Memmius Spartiaticus is probably to be identified with the victor in the Orthia inscription above, p. 89, No. 85. He is there described as son of Damares, and thus is a brother of Publius Memmius Pratolaus (Aristocles), who is honoured in two inscriptions, No. 5 (2640) and 6 (2650) above. He is probably not the same as the Patronomus of *C.I.G.* 1240 and 1249. Onesiphorus is not known elsewhere.

54 (2619). Block of grey marble with mouldings above and below, built in *ibid.* ·44×·66. Letters ·085–·24 high, roughly scratched.

ΗΡΝΟC [Φιλ]ήμονος?

This may be a mason's mark: the stone is complete, but the inscription may have been continued on adjoining blocks in the building from which this was taken.

55 (2620). Base of grey marble built in *ibid.* 1·10×·47. Letters, in l. 1, ·06, elsewhere ·03–·035 high.

[1] See Tod, *S.M.C.* Introduction, §§ 18, 22, and No. 204 I. for an instance of this fact.

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ	Ἡ πόλις
ΤΟΝΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΝ	τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον
ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΝΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΝ	Φλαούιον Ἀσκληπιάδην
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ	τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑΤΗΣΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΕΙΝΗΣ	Καισαρέα τῆς Παλαιστείνης
ΣΥΡΙΑΣΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣΤΕΚΑΙΣΥΜ	Συρίας παιδείας τε καὶ συμ-
ΠΑΣΗΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΑ	πάσης ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΑΝΑ	προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνά-
ΛΩΜΑΤΙΒΚΛΑΥ-ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟ	λωμα Τιβ. Κλαυ(δίου) Σπαρτιατίκου
ΤΟΥΒΡΑΣΙΔΟΥΙΕΡΕΩΣΘΕ	τοῦ Βρασίδου ἱερέως θε-
ΑΣΡΩΜΗΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΣ	ᾶς Ῥώμης, ἀρχιερέως δὶς
ΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝ	τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν
ΘΕΙΩΝΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΑΥΤΟ	θείων προγόνων αὐτοῦ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΤΟΥ	ἀριστοπολειτευτοῦ
ΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΥΣ	τοῦ φίλου.

The signs at the end of lines 4, 7, and 15 are, of course, ornaments. Flavius Asclepiades was evidently a man of Caesarea in the province of Syria Palestina, which was a province under a separate *legatus* from 66 to 165 A.D. (though till about 137, the date of the suppression of the Jewish revolt, it was called Judaea), and possibly was united to Syria proper at that date by Marcus Aurelius, though this is far from certain, and the prevailing view[1] is that it remained a separate province till the time of Constantine. Καισαρέα is accusative of Καισαρεύς meaning 'a man of Caesarea'[2]; the word is also found in *C.I.G.* 2126 *b*, 2929, 6788 *c*, 9990, *add.* 2811 *b*, *add.* 4380 b^1 b^2, *add.* 4795 *c*, but none of these instances refers to Caesarea in Palestine, except perhaps *C.I.G.* 9990. The town is referred to in *C.I.G.* 4472, l. 9. Τῆς Παλαιστείνης Συρίας is a unique variant for Συρίας Παλαιστείνης; the latter is found not infrequently,[3] but it would not be surprising that a Spartan lapidary should be ignorant of the proper title of a distant province of the Roman Empire.

[1] See Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 601, and note *ad loc.*; and for the history of the province, Mommsen, *Roman Provinces* (English Transl.), ii. chap. xi.

[2] For Caesarea see Mommsen, *op. cit.* (English Transl.) ii. p. 182.

[3] *C.I.G.* 4029, 4151, 8719.

For the meaning of *παιδεία* in similar inscriptions see Mr. Tillyard's note on *B.S.A.* xii. p. 460, No. 11, and the parallels there quoted.

Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus, son of Brasidas, will be found in the genealogical table facing p. 123: the fact here stated, that he was son of Brasidas, was not known before. His brother, Ti. Cl. Brasidas, is *ἐπιμελώμενος* of the patronomate in the Orthia inscription above No. 85, and no doubt another brother is Ti. Cl. Harmonicus (Brasidae f.), who appears in Le Bas-Foucart 176[1] with similar titles after his name. Instances of the priesthood of *θεὰ Ῥώμη* are frequent, especially in Asia Minor.[2] *Αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῶν* is no doubt due to carelessness. Other Spartan inscriptions commemorating or mentioning holders of the priesthood of the Augusti are *S.M.C.* 220, 544, *C.I.G.* 1357, 1364*a*, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 359, No. 2.

The date of this inscription can roughly be fixed near the end of the second century A.D., for Spartiaticus is brother of Brasidas who was vice-gerent for the eleventh patronomate of 'the divine Lycurgus'[3]; this must have been at least seven years later than the similar fourth patronomate, which is mentioned in two inscriptions from the sanctuary of Orthia (p. 107), and was held as vice-gerent by Publius Memmius Pratolaus, grandson of Publius Memmius Sidectas, who held the office of Eponymus in 125.[4] Thus Spartiaticus would be alive two generations later than the Hadrianic Era: closer than this it is impossible to date him, but this at any rate goes to show that Caesarea was styled 'Caesarea in Syria Palestina' towards the end of the second century, which confirms the view mentioned above that Syria Palestina remained a separate province after 165 A.D.

56 (2621). Base of greyish marble built in *ibid.* 1·58×·51. Letters in l. 1 ·065, elsewhere ·035 high, with slight *apices*.

[1] - - [*τὸν* | *ἀξι*]*ολογώτατον* [*καὶ πι*]*άντα*] *πρῶτον ἱερ*[*έα θεᾶς* | *Ῥώμ*]*ης ἀρχιερέα* [*δὶς* (?) | *τῶν Σ*]*εβαστῶν καὶ* [*τῶν* | *θεί*]*ων προγόνων* [*αὐτῶν* | *ἀρισ*]*τοπολειτευτ*[*ήν* - - .

[2] Cf. *C.I.G.* 2696, 2943, and 3887 (where, however, *Ῥώμη* is not *θεά*), 3187, 3490, 4266 b, 4366 b. It is often coupled with that of other deities, *e.g.* with *Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος* (Capitolinus), *ibid.* 3074; with Z. K. and the *δῆμος Ῥωμαίων*, *ibid.* 5880; with Dionysus, *ibid.* 4366 i[2]; with *ὁ Σεβαστός*, *ibid.* 478 (at Athens) and 3902 b (at Eumenia in Asia Minor); with *θεὸς Σεβαστός*, *ibid.* 4039 (at Ancyra). For the cult of Rome and Augustus at Pergamon see *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. (1902), p. 178, No. 30, and xxxii. (1907), p. 322, No. 50; Fraenkel, *Inschr. von Pergamon*, p. 374.

[3] For a discussion of this magistracy see pp. 112 foll. above.

[4] See my note, *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 200 foll.

	ΗΠΟΛΙΣ	Ἡ πόλις
	ΜΑ̅Υ̅ΡΑΓΑΘΟΝΚΑΙΩΣ	M. Αὐρ. Ἄγαθον καὶ ὡς
	ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΖΕΙΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ	χρηματίζει, αἰώνιον
	ΣΕΙΤΩΝΗΝΕΝΣΠΑ	σειτώνην ἐν σπά-
5	ΝΕΙΣΕΙΤΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΑ	νει σειτωνήσαντα
	ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣΤΕΚΑΙ	φιλοτείμως τε καὶ
	ΔΑΨΙΛΩΣΠΡΟΣΕΜΕ	δαψιλῶς, προσεμέ-
	ΝΟΥΤΟΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ	νου τὸ ἀνάλωμα
	ΤΙΒ̅Κ̅ΛΠΡΑΤΟΛΑΟΥ	Τιβ. Κλ. Πρατολάου
10	ΤΟΥΒΡΑΣΙΔΟΥ	τοῦ Βρασίδου
	ΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΥ	τοῦ φίλου.

The phrase *καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει* is very rare indeed in inscriptions, and calls for explanation. Χρηματίζειν in Hellenistic and N.-T. Greek means not infrequently 'to style oneself,' or 'pass for,' so and so (see L. and S. *s.v.*). In documents of the Imperial Age it comes to have a conventional use such as we see here, and *καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει* means 'or however he styles himself': it seems to be used to avoid enumerating a man's titles in full and to give an air of legal precision to a man's description. There are numerous examples in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri,[1] which shows that it was in use for some two hundred years at least (to adopt the Editors' dating of the fragments), and that it was used with any person of the present tense of *χρηματίζειν*. A good example occurs *ibid.* III. dxii, ll. 1–3: *Δωρίων ἐξηγετεύσας καὶ ὡς χρη|ματίζω Ἀπίωνι τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ γυ|μνασιαρχή-(σαντι) καὶ ὡς χρηματίζεις χαίρειν.* The majority of the examples come from the openings of letters or contracts. Curiously enough there are no instances of its use among the other volumes of papyri edited by Grenfell and Hunt, but it would be absurd to suppose that this was due to anything but accident. Nor can I find any instance of the phrase in inscriptions except in *S.M.C.* 456 (= *B.C.H.* iii. p. 195), where, however, it is not commented on, and in an inscription from the Nile Delta which reads *καὶ ὡς χρηματίζῃ*, found by Hogarth (*J.H.S.* 1904, p. 9).

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (edd. Grenfell and Hunt). I. lv. l. 2 (A.D. 283); lxxx. l. 3 (A.D. 240 *circa*); lxxxiv. l. 4 (A.D. 83); c. l. 1 (A.D. 133). II. cclxviii. ll. 2, 4; dcc., xxvii. ll. 7, 8. III. di. l. 5 (A.D. 187); div. l. 8 (early second century A.D.); dxii. ll. 1, 3 (A.D. 173).

M. Aurelius Agathus received his statue for generosity in providing corn in time of shortage, but he seems to have been perpetual 'corn-buyer' as well. In an interesting and comprehensive discussion of the *σιτωνία* H. Francotte [1] points out that of the three alternatives open to Greek states as a remedy for shortness of corn among the citizens, if they received no assistance from outside, namely state-largesses, state-plus-individual-largesses, and individual largesses, the last was the most frequent solution. The recipient of the present inscription no doubt bought and brought to Sparta a supply of corn on the occasion of a famine and distributed it *gratis* to the citizens. The phrase *αἰώνιος σειτώνης* is not paralleled elsewhere: it probably means that being a wealthy citizen he had undertaken to act as *σειτώνης* whenever occasion should arise, and this statue-base records the fact that in the *σπάνις* he fulfilled his promise generously. Epigraphical evidence for the *σειτωνία* of private citizens is much more frequent in Asia Minor than on the Greek mainland,[2] and is not worth citing here, but we may note instances of it in Imperial times at Athens [3] and Argos,[4] and we have another example of it at Sparta, *C.I.G.* 1370, where the complimentary adverbs *λαμπρῶς τε καὶ μεγαλοψύχως* are added after the verb *σιτωνήσαντα*. Agathus himself is not known elsewhere. *Προσεμένου* is a variant for the usual word *προσδεξαμένου*: I know of only one other example of its use in an inscription in this sense, namely *C.I.G.* 1328, where Boeckh altered Fourmont's correct copy *προσεμένου* to *προσδεξαμένου*. Ti. Claudius Pratolaus would seem to be a brother of Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus who paid for the erection of the inscription published above (No. 55); thus this may roughly be dated to the same epoch.

57 (2641). Block of whitish marble probably incomplete above, built into the same wall, four metres east of large tower (at junction of **K–L 13** in General Plan).[5] ·85 × ·42. Letters ·05 high. Surface very badly weathered (a squeeze was useless).

[1] *Mélanges Nicole* (1905), p. 135: '*Le pain à bon marché et le pain gratuit dans les cités grecques.*' I am indebted to Mr. Leonard Whibley, Reader in Ancient History at Cambridge, for drawing my attention to this article.

[2] Francotte, *op. cit.* p. 155.

[3] *I.G.* iii. 645, 646.

[4] *I.G.* iv. 619.

[5] *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. I.

ΛΛ ΕΥ
ΝΟ
Λ
ΕΡ/ Τ
ΓΣι 5

ΓΡΑΤ
ΗΜΙΙΣ
ΡΙΝ 10

Restoration quite uncertain except in ll. 9, 10, where we have *μν]ήμ(η)ς | [χά]ριν.* (Πρα)τ[ολάου] suggests itself in ll. 8, 9. From the lettering it might belong to any date in the first or second century A.D.

58 (2645). Fragment of whitish marble broken on all sides, found in trench a few metres east of No. 57. ·20 × ·20 × ·07. Letters ·035 – ·038 high, roughly cut.

ΛΥΣΙΠΠ(	- - Λ]υσιππ(ο) - -
ΗΣΣΤΕΦ	- - (η)ς Στε(φ)[άνου - -
ΛΣΝ	- - (α)ς (Ν) - -

Evidently a catalogue of names, probably of magistrates. Lysippus occurs frequently at Sparta: he may be one of the two Eponymi of that name who belong to the Hadrianic Era (see *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 200 foll.). In l. 2 a possible restoration would be Ἀγαθοκλ](ῆ)ς Στε(φ)[άνου, but it is not quite certain; if so, he would be the hero of the *cursus honorum* inscription in *S.M.C.* 204 I. who might very well have held a magistracy in the same year as one of the two Lysippi. In l. 3 the probability is that (α)ς is the end of one name and Ν (or possibly Μ) the beginning of the father's name.

59 (2609+2626). Fragment of greyish marble found in trench near Nos. 50–57, broken through and on all sides. ·25 × ·25 × ·05. Letters ·035 high, with *apices*.

ΕΙι	- - (ἐπ)[ὶ - -
ΠΡΕΣ∠	- - πρεσ(σ)[βὺς - -
ΣΑΓΗΣ	- - ς Ἀγησ[ι - -
ΟΣΘΕΟ	- - ος Θεο - -
5 ΛΗΣΦ 5	- - λῆς - -

The last sign in l. 5 is probably part of a leaf-ornament, as it does not seem to have the same shape as any of the marks used to denote the fact that the owner of the name preceding it bore the same name as his father. This seems to be the remains of a list of magistrates together with their previous distinctions. In l. 2 we probably have *πρεσ(σ)[βὺς βουλῆς]* or *γερουσίας*, though *πρεσσβευτής* is also possible. The use of reduplicated *σ* is rare in Laconian inscriptions.[1] None of the names can be restored for certain, and we have no clue to the date except that the writing seems not to be earlier than the second century.

60 (2627). Fragment of grey marble, found in trench *ibid.* Complete below and on left. ·325 × ·13 × ·105. Letters ·022 high, without *apices*.

	ΚΑΛ		Καλ - -
	ΝΙΚ		Νικ - -
	ΧΑΛΕ		Χαλε[ῖνος Χαλείνου],
	ΟΝΗΣ		Ὀνησ[ιφόρος Χρυσέρω-]
5	ΤΟΣ[illegible]	5	τος, Σ - -
	ΝΙΚΙΑ_		Νικία(ς) - -
	ΝΙΚΑΝ		Νίκα(ν)[δρος ? - -].

Evidently another list of names, but restoration is uncertain in several cases. In l. 3 we may have the beginning of Χαλε[ῖνος], a name occurring at Sparta in *S.M.C.* 210[2] and *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 451, No. 3 B, l. 2, where its owner is styled Χαλεῖνος (Χαλείνου); if this is the same man we may be disposed not unnaturally to restore ll. 4 and 5 Ὀνησ[ιφόρος Χρυσέρω]|τος, which names occur in the latter inscription, and give almost an identical length of line, seventeen letters as opposed to sixteen, with Χαλε[ῖνος Χαλείνου], if we restore the latter here. The coincidence inclines me to identify the two men of the name of Χαλεῖνος (as extremely few names beginning in the same way are known at Sparta), and to suppose that our fragment contains a list of magistrates contemporary with those enumerated in the 'Leonidaea' inscription mentioned above. The date of the latter

[1] For *σσ* before a consonant in Attic inscriptions see Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3], p. 90, note 805, where it is pointed out that only one instance is known in Attic inscriptions of *σσ* before *β*, namely in the word Λέσσβος in *I.G.* ii. *add.* 52 c, l. 32 [368 B.C.]. Before most other consonants, particularly *τ*, it is not at all rare. I can find no other case of *σσβ* anywhere. For another example of the reduplicated *σ* in Laconia see *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 259, No. 2 (*a*).

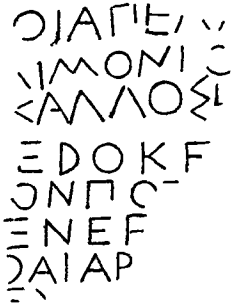
[2] Where his name is spelt without the *ε*.

was judged by Mr. Tillyard (*ibid.* p. 456) to be towards the end of the first century A.D., and if my suggestion is correct, our fragment will belong to the same period.

In l. 7 we may restore Νίκα(ν)[δρος] or Νικα(ν)[δρίδας] which both are common names at Sparta. The former is found in *S.M.C.* 203, 205, 207, 411; of these four instances the first two seem too early and the last too late to refer to the present man. No. 207 may, however, do so. The latter name is found *ibid.* 203, 206 and 204 I, where he is Π. Αἴλιος Νικανδρίδας: none of these suit the date required by our inscription.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM OTHER SITES (ACROPOLIS, ETC.).

61 (2518). Fragment of whitish marble broken on all sides. ·18×·13×·05. Letters ·02 high. Found in Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in 1907.



- - οι ἀ(πελ) - -
- - Λακεδ](*a*)ιμονι(ο) - -
- - (κ)άλλος - -
- - ἔδωκε? - -
- - ον πο(ε) - -
- - (ε)νε(ρ?) - -
- - (θ)αι ἀρ - -
- - (ε). - -

Unfortunately this inscription is too mutilated to enable any restoration, to be made. In l. 3 we may read - - (κ)άλλος - - or, possibly, - - (κ) ἄλλος - -; in l. 4 ἔδωκε is perhaps the most likely reading: it is conceivable that in l. 5 we have the remains of some such expression as πόλεμ]ον πο(ε̂)[σθαι], but this is anything but certain; and in l. 7 we seem to have some infinitive passive or middle. In l. 2 to restore some case of the word Λακεδαιμόνιος seems obvious: the last letter visible on the stone is part of O, *i.e.* ο or ω. It is hardly possible that the first line should contain mention of the word ἀπέλλα, as this would apparently involve that οι should be the remains of τ]ῶι, the dative masculine of the article. The word ἀπέλλα does not seem to occur

in Greek literature outside Hesychius, who says (*s.v.*) that ἀπέλλαι mean σηκοί or ἐκκλησίαι, but it could not be any gender but feminine.[1] The word might be restored 'Α(πέλ)[λονι, a Doric form for 'Απόλλονι (='Απόλλωνι in Ionic orthography), which occurs in *S.M.C.* 635 B, 689; or it might be some part of such a verb as ἀπελαύνειν, or indeed of ἀπελλάζειν = to sit in assembly (see L. and S. *s.v.*).

It is regrettable that this fragment tells us so little, as it seems to be one of the few extant Laconian inscriptions earlier than 400 B.C. The shape of the D and absence of H and Ω seem to date it earlier than 400 B.C., though the E and N are relatively advanced in form. But it is impossible to arrive at an exact date on the evidence of the letter-forms, as singularly few characteristic letters appear on it. The lettering is rougher than, but probably not far removed in date from, that of the Damonon inscription (*B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 174 foll.).

62 (2652). On a grey marble stele with relief of a 'Kore' to left. The inscription reads downwards from r. to l. ·59 × ·29 × ·11. Letters ·022 high. Found *ibid.*, 1908.

ƧOIBIXAMAꟻ *Ϝαναξίβιος.*

The style of the relief (for which see p. 144) agrees with the evidence of the letter-forms, especially the five-stroke *sigma*, in leading us to date this to *ca.* 500 B.C. at the latest. For the other Laconian inscriptions which may be compared with this in style of lettering see Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, i. Nos. 243–248 and *S.M.C.* Nos. 200, 447, 599, 611 (and Introd. §§ 2–4). The closest resemblance is to No. 599, which is *boustrophedon*. 'Αναξίβιος is more likely to be the name of the dedicator than of the artist, unless they were the same man: this is perhaps a representation of his daughter in the guise of a worshipper, and should therefore rank with the famous statues of 'Korai' dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens, now in the Acropolis Museum. For the name compare *C.I.G.* 3060, and Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*[3], *s.v.*: the use of the *digamma* with such names is frequent in

[1] We find ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀπέλλαις in two inscriptions at Gythium, Le Bas-Foucart, 242 a, 243; these leave no doubt that the gender is feminine.

early Laconian inscriptions: cf. *Fανακτοριῆς* in l. 30 of the bronze-serpent inscription at Constantinople (Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 260, No. 259), etc.

63 (2653). On a limestone base, ·13 × ·48 × ·37. Letters ·03–·05 high, roughly scratched. Probably incomplete on l.

ΛϘΟΡΥΙΟΝ ? *Συρ*](*α*)*κουσίον.*

The stone is not broken on the left, but probably the inscription was on two adjoining blocks, forming a long base for some dedication. The restoration given here seems more than likely. The letter Ϙ does not occur in early Laconian inscriptions, but it would naturally be found at Syracuse, which used a Corinthian alphabet. The early form of the *upsilon* suggests an earlier date than the fifth century, with which view the rough form of the *σ* and the retrograde *ν* are consistent.[1] There is no clue to the occasion which should lead Syracuse to make a votive offering to Athena of the Brazen House.

64 (2655). On a fragment of white marble broken at both ends resembling a ram's horn in shape, with one side flattened. ·06 × ·11 × ·07. Letters ·019–·025 high. *Ibid.*, 1908.

ΛΨΟΛΛ» (Κ)*λεοχ*(*α*) - -

Evidently part of some name like Κλεοχάρης, Κλεοχάρεια, or possibly Κλεόχα (for these names see Pape-Benseler, *op. cit. s.vv.*). The archaic *ε* suggests the end of the sixth century as a probable date: this form of the letter occurs also at Sparta in *S.M.C.* 200, 599, and in a fragment of an inscription found at the Sanctuary of Orthia not yet published, which, however, reads from l. to r. The date will be not far different from that of the *Ἀναξίβιος* stele (No. 62 above).

65 (2657). Part of a gable-topped slab of greyish marble, complete above only. ·09 × ·11 × ·05. Letters ·015 high. *Ibid.*, 1908.

ΛΙΑΛΥΕ Possibly *τᾶι Ἀθαναί*](*α*)*ι ἀνέ*[*θηκε*
ΙΚΟ - *ικ*(*ο*) - -

Perhaps a votive stele: the shape of the *ν* suggests the late fifth or early fourth century as a probable date.

[1] Roberts (*op. cit.* i. p. 135), who also points out that the preference for *ου* rather than *ο* in pure diphthongs is a notable characteristic in Corinthian inscriptions even of very early date.

66 (2660). Fragment of greyish marble, complete on r. only, and surface much worn. ·11 × ·17 × ·125. Letters ·02 high. Found in a trial pit north-west of Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, 1908.

\/ \	- - -
\ΝΕΧΕΙ	- - - (ἃ)ν ἔχει
ΙΝΑΥΤΟΝ	- - - ιν αὐτὸν
\ΕΝΤΥΓΧ/	- - - (κ) ἐντυγχ(α)[ν]
\ΑΙΔΕΑ	- - - αι δὲ α(ὐτ)-
ΑΙF	- - - αι (εκ) - -

Restoration is quite impossible: in l. 4 we perhaps see the traces of οὐ](κ) ἐντυγχ(ά)[νει] or some such expression: in l. 5 we seem to have some part of the word α(ὐτ)ός. We have to deal, apparently, with a fragment of an honorary decree. From its lettering, which is neat and un-apicated, it might belong to the first century B.C. or the early Imperial Age.

67 (2606). On a small altar of white marble. ·50 × ·31 × ·30. Letters ·03 high. Found in a trial excavation about 60 metres south of Theatre.

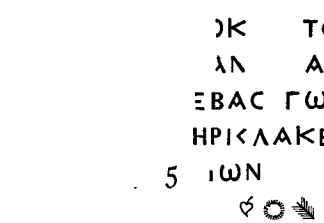
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ	Σεβαστῶι
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ	Καίσαρι.

This is evidently a dedication to Octavian[1] himself, erected after Jan. 13th, 27 B.C., when he was voted the title of Augustus. It is possible that this humble altar is in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Augustus mentioned by Pausanias[2] as in the Agora; since, though not found *in situ*, it seems to have been lying among some remains of Roman date. If so, it would establish a valuable topographical point. But as against this we must bear in mind that it would be easily portable and may have been brought subsequently from elsewhere.

68. Block of greyish marble inscribed on two sides. ·44 × ·42 × ·25. Letters, on front ·03, on side ·037 high. Much worn on l. edge of, and cutting for cramp in middle of, front face. Found outside chapel on Analipsis Hill.

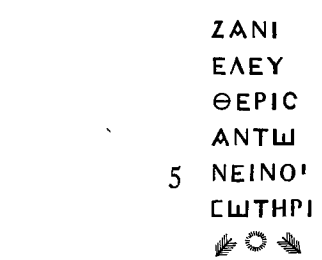
[1] Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ is found in *C.I.G.* 478, 1879, 2715; Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός, *ibid.* 369, 2959, 3569, 3953*e*, 4039. [2] iii. ch. 11. § 5.

(*a*) FRONT FACE.



]K TOPI<A	Αὐτ](ο)κ[ρά]τορι Ἁ-
ΛN AICAPI	δρι](αν)[ῷ Κ]αίσαρι
ΞBAC ΓΩ<CΩ	Σ](ε)βαστῷ σω-
HPI<ΛAKEΔAI	τ]ῆρι Λακεδαι-
5 ιΩN	5 μον](ί)ων.

(*b*) LEFT-HAND SIDE.

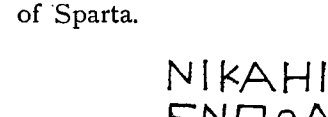


ZANI	Ζανὶ
EΛEY	Ἐλευ-
ΘEPIC	θερί(ο)[ι]
ANTШ	Ἀντω-
5 NEINO'	5 νείνο(ι)
ΣШTHPI	σωτῆρι

For similar inscriptions in honour of Hadrian at Sparta, of which about fifteen are known, see *S.M.C.* Introd. § 31, and *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 457, 8, where it is pointed out that he appears as σωτὴρ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος (*S.M.C.* Nos. 381 and 507), and sometimes as σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης (*B.S.A. loc. cit.* No. 7), or σωτὴρ καὶ κτίστης (*Ath. Mitt.* ii. p. 438, No. 13) τῆς Λακεδαίμονος. But he does not appear elsewhere at Sparta as σωτὴρ Λακεδαιμονίων.

The dedication to Antoninus Pius is of the usual type at Sparta (see *S.M.C.* Introd. *ibid.*), but this is the first instance of a stone bearing inscriptions in honour of these two Emperors. It is instructive to note not only the different letter-forms but the different orthography of the ῳ terminations in the two inscriptions.

69 (954 in Sparta Museum). Stele of blue marble with gable-top, ·34 × ·17 × ·06. Letters *ca.* ·013 high. Found at Kephala a few miles east of Sparta.



NIKAHIKΛHΣ	Νικαhικλῆς
ENΠOΛEMΛI	ἐν πολέμωι

For similar epitaphs over fallen warriors at Sparta see *S.M.C.* § 32; another example is published above p. 105, No. 4. The intervocalic h for

σ is too well known to call for comment. For the use of the same sign to express both h and η we have parallels in *S.M.C.* 377, 387, the former of which is dated to the beginning of the fourth century, and is probably somewhat earlier than our present inscription. The latter has Β and not Η and is earlier still.

INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY FOURMONT.

As in the two previous years, we were fortunate enough to re-discover some of the Spartan inscriptions copied by Fourmont, but not so many as in the previous years. Only one, however, was found in excavations, namely No. 1 (2613) (a portion of *C.I.G.* 1327, unfortunately now very incomplete), which was found in the trench along the south face of the Byzantine walls, close to the spot which yielded the large harvest published above (Nos. 49–56). The rest were copied by some members of the British School on the floor of the little church of Hagios Demetrios in the hamlet of Hagios Joannes, three miles S.W. of Sparta, where they serve as part of the paving of the nave.

1 (2613). *C.I.G.* 1327. A large fragment, consisting of the lower right-hand corner of the inscription, and two small chippings, of which one joins the main piece and the other does not. These give us part of the last eleven lines. The following differences of reading should be noted: 5th line from bottom should read - - ΛΥΡΗΛΙΟ (as Boeckh emended): 3rd line from bottom ends ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ, not ΑΓΟΡΑΝ: 2nd line from bottom reads now - - ΛΙΟΝΣΤΡΑ, not - - ΛΑΙΟΝΣΤΡΑ.

2. *C.I.G.* 1270. The following differences from the text given by Fourmont in Boeckh should be noted. Ll. 2, final Ο broken on r.: l. 3, first Α missing, and rest of line reads ΜΥΚΛΑΣΤ: l. 4, only Λ remains of name after Σ]ΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ: l. 5, only Δ visible after ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ: l. 6, nothing certain after ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, but the traces of the next letter do not look like Ω: l. 7, final ΟΣ of ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ gone.

3. *C.I.G.* 1354. All the letters are rather faint, from being trodden on. L. 1 is lost: l. 2, final Ι hardly visible, but ΔΑ is plain: l. 3, ΝΕΤ is plain: l. 6, first Ο very faint: l. 7, Λ is missing, Ο nearly lost; end of line reads ΟΕ. As the bottom left-hand corner is lost the last lines now read thus:—

ΙΤΗϹΓΥ
ϹΦΙΛΟΤ$_{ϵι}$
ΔϵΞΑΜϵ
ϽΜΑΤΙ

4. *C.I.G.* 1399. Now broken across above l. 6: left-hand half of ll. 3–5 missing and all of ll. 1 and 2: l. 3 has lost first six letters, l. 4 the first five, and l. 5 the first seven. Ll. 13 and 14 are also lost, except for top *apices* at right-hand end of l. 13. No differences of reading between new copy and Fourmont's.

5. *C.I.G.* 1370. The following corrections should be made in Fourmont's text, most of which were made by Boeckh. L. 2 should read ΓΑΑΣΙΝΝ.....: in l. 3, ΑΣΙΝΝΙΟΥ: in l. 5, ΛΑΜΠΡΩΣ: in l. 6, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΨΥΧΩΣ: in l. 7, *ad fin.* ΥΙΩ not ΥΤΩ: in l. 10 ΜΑΡΚΟΥ not ΜΑΡΧΟΥ, and ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ not ΑΥΡΥΛΙΟΥ: ll. 14–16 are now lost.

6. *C.I.G.* 1380. Broken on all sides: letters ·06 high with *apices*.

ΑΙΤΗΣ
ΤΑΣΑΙ
ΠΡΟΣ
ΓΟΑΝΑ
ΛΘΟΠΔ°
ϸΟΥ¯

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 6.—THE HIERON OF ATHENA CHALKIOIKOS.

EXCAVATIONS on this site in 1907 were confined to the western half of the sanctuary, and their results, with a general discussion of the Hieron, will be found in the *Annual* for last year.[1] The present paper is a brief account of the much less productive excavation of the eastern half of the area in 1908. The main results were, firstly, to confirm the general conclusions drawn from the data provided by the western half; secondly, to establish the fact that the lower Geometric stratum extended over the whole width of the sanctuary with its central, or highest and thickest, point near the dividing line of the two years' work, and consequently near the wall suggested as part of a Geometric altar; thirdly, in regard to the second or classical settlement, to show that the centres of interest, the *οἴκημα* and the altar, were undoubtedly in the western half of the sanctuary, since objects of interest were found only in the south-western corner of the eastern half, although a similar system of embanking provided a pocket all along the south side. It was in this corner that we found the marble relief described below, a bronze statuette of a bull, three bronze bells, and a large number of fragments of Panathenaic vases. We may conclude then that the *οἴκημα* of Thucydides stood in the western half of the Hieron, and not improbably on the site of the later houses, where we found in 1907 a Doric capital[2] that may have belonged to some reconstruction of the shrine.

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 137–154.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 154. A plan of the site will be found on p. 143 of the same number.

The excavation lasted from April 30th to May 14th, with a small number of workmen. The north-eastern region of the site disclosed only mortared foundations of houses of the late Roman settlement in connection with a few indecipherable coins and worthless terracotta figurines. This point is near the summit of the hill, and consequently, virgin soil is only a few inches below the surface. From a point about level with its northern limit in the western division the stratum of black earth appeared extending southwards in a gradually thickening wedge. The stratum sloped also towards the eastern wall. Thus in the centre of the sanctuary it is only ·20 m. below the surface and a metre thick, while by the eastern wall it is ·60 m. below the surface and only ·50 m. thick. It extends also outside the eastern wall, but is here only about ·40 m. thick, and gradually fades away a few yards from the wall.

Parallel with the southern wall of the sanctuary we found a wall of similar construction at a distance of 2 m. from it. It appears to be contemporary with the boundary wall, since it is bonded into the eastern arm of it. The space between it and the south wall is partly filled with building chips of 'poros.' In width it varies from 2·50 m. to 1 m. and extends westwards for 7·50 m. At that point it runs into a mass of later masonry of all kinds of material, which forms a platform ·50 m. below the surface. This agrees with the evidence of the western half in showing that the sanctuary was levelled for the purpose of the late Roman settlement at about the existing height of the sanctuary wall. It is due to this embanking that any remains at all have been saved from the erosion of the intervening centuries.

Some of the 'poros' slabs forming the platform are of the same material as the building-chips in the south-eastern corner, and consequently we may see in them the remains of ancient buildings in the sanctuary, probably of the *οἴκημα* itself. This platform consists also of much later material, and belongs without doubt to the late Roman settlement, but the earlier cross-wall and the building-chips forming another platform in the south-eastern corner must be contemporary with the building of the outer wall into which it is bonded. The wall rests directly on the virgin soil, and below the building-chips the black earth of the Geometric stratum is found at once.

In and under and near the remains of the later platform in the south-western corner of the excavations of 1908 were all the objects of interest

that we found. First among these was the relief shown in Fig. 1 which was lying face downwards built into the platform itself. It is a stele[1] of grey limestone shaped like a pointed arch, with rather more than the upper half used for the relief background, the rest remaining rough and presumably once embedded in a socket or in the earth. In the relief is depicted a female figure advancing in profile to the left. The right foot is advanced, but both feet are flat on the ground. The right hand is raised, holding a flower of lotus type; the left holds, in front at the level of the hips, a round object now indistinguishable. The stele must have stood for long in the open air, since the finer details have been almost obliterated by weathering: thus the features are quite worn away. The hair was worn close to the head and falls down the back in a long mass. The curve of the bosom is expressed by a sharp angle, and the rest of the front outline is treated as a straight vertical line. At the back, on the other hand, the contours are more faithfully expressed. The same convention was noticed in an archaic statuette of Athena found here in 1907.[2] Along the left side of the smooth surface of the slab runs the inscription of the dedicator, Anaxibios.[3] The stele may be compared with the votive *korai* of the Acropolis museum in Athens. There is no need to see either in those statues or in this relief

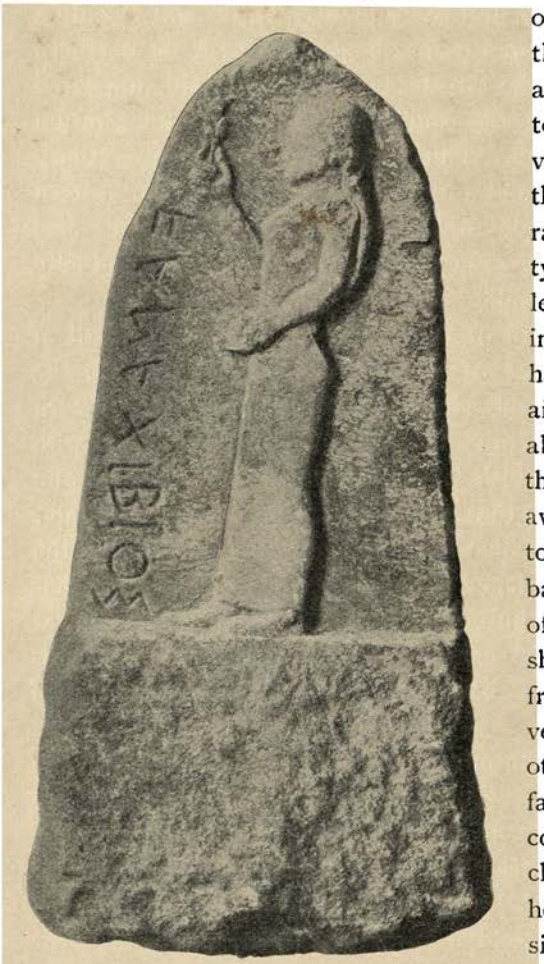


FIG. 1.—LIMESTONE STELE. (SCALE 1 : 5.)

[1] Block: height ·59 m., width ·29 m., thickness ·11 m. Figure: height ·34 m., depth of relief ·015 m. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 148. [3] Cf. p. 136.

representations of any definite human being or deity. They are simply the dedication of a maiden to a maiden goddess and so strictly impersonal. The work is primitive and conventional, but illustrates the principles of Spartan relief visible in the Chrysapha grave-stele, viz. the use of planes of diminishing relief-depth for the representation of perspective. It is thus without doubt a work of native art, and can be dated in the second half of the sixth century.

Besides the stele we found in this neighbourhood a bronze bull, three bronze bells, a few inscribed potsherds, twenty-six fragments of Panathenaic vases, twelve lead figurines of the latest types, nineteen large bronze nails belonging to the sanctuary walls,[1] and a number of miscellaneous fragments of bronze. Also a small Proto-Corinthian jug, an ivory die, two steatite whorls, parts of a bone plectrum and needle, and a quantity of small terracotta statuettes of all periods from Geometric downwards.

Finally we made trial-pits all over the northern part of the Acropolis hill without discovering any traces of occupation at all.

FIG. 2.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF ARMED APHRODITE. (SCALE 7 : 8.)

Fig. 2 shows a bronze statuette found in 1907 representing a helmeted female figure, ·12 m. in height. The weight is on the right leg, the left being drawn back and raised on the toes. The body is twisted a little to its left above the waist, and the left arm is raised with the hand to the head, while the right hand held some object in front of the body, at which the gaze is directed. The figure is clad in a Doric chiton girt at the waist

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 139.

with 'kolpos' nearly to the knees, and an overfall reaching to the girdle. The folds are cut deeply, and it is open down the left side. The arms and feet are bare, and there is a bracelet on the right lower arm. The head is bent downwards a little to the right, and is large in proportion to the body. It carries a helmet with neck-piece covering all the hair save two short plain plaits on the back. The surface is a little injured, but retains a blue-green patina. The features are regular with oval eyes and a straight mouth. The pose is graceful and the curve of the body connects the statuette at once with the school of Praxiteles. A nearly identical pose is shown in a bronze statuette from Thera,[1] now in Berlin, of a nude Aphrodite. From statuettes of this type[2] we can interpret the attitude as one common in the fourth-century representations of Aphrodite, the right hand holding a mirror, the left arranging the hair. The draping of the figure, however, and the helmet put our statuette in quite a different category. From Pausanias[3] we learn that there was a shrine of warlike Aphrodite on the Acropolis of Sparta, as there was also at Corinth. But while the Corinthian warlike Aphrodite seems to have been regarding herself in a shield,[4] we have here perhaps a copy of the Spartan figure showing quite a different *motif*. The statuette probably belongs to the third or late fourth century B.C.

G. DICKINS.

[1] Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 291, Fig. 51.
[2] Cf. Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. pp. 333, 339, 341, 342, 361.
[3] III. xvii. 5, Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρείας.
[4] Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Comm. Paus.* G. cxxi. etc.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 7.—A Third-Century Marble Head

The head[1] illustrated in Figure 1 was found by Mr. Woodward in trenching along the face of the late Roman walls to the east of the big

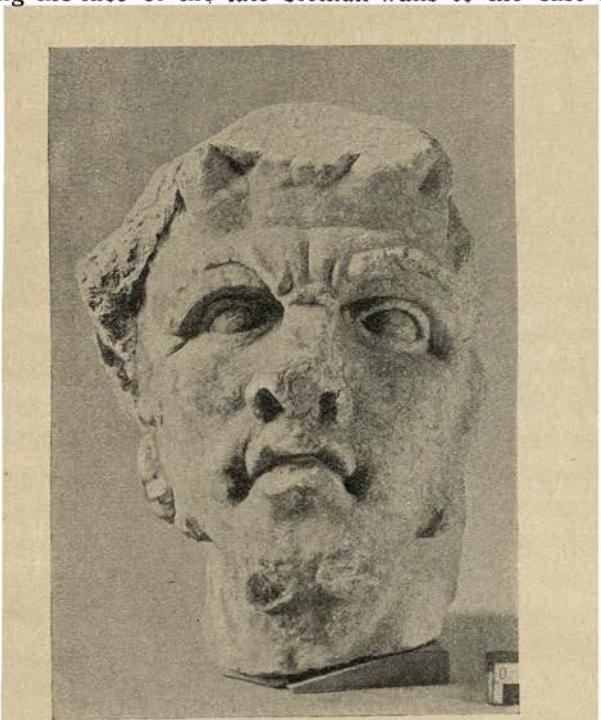


Fig. 1.—Marble Head of a Satyr.

Southern Tower[2] It is of bluish local marble and ·26 m. high. The face

[1] Inv. No. 3730.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. I. **K**, 13.

is well preserved, but the top and back of the head are missing. This, as shewn to some extent by the photograph, is due to the fact that the back of the head is cut with four intersecting planes. This seems to shew either that these parts of the head were originally made of separate pieces and attached, or that it was cut about in later times for use as building material. Part of the right ear survives, and the pointed shape of this with the horns on the forehead seems to indicate that the head represents Pan or a Satyr. It is interesting to note the plentiful traces of painting still visible on the head. The hair, horns, beard, which grows in small tufts on the cheeks and chin, and eyebrows were painted red, while the face was of some dark colour that may have been originally blue or brown. If the face was, as seems probable, blue, the colouring of this head is the opposite of the Typhon heads from the Acropolis at Athens.[1] From the freshness and vigour of the head it is clear that we have to deal with an original and not with a copy; and its material, the bluish Laconian marble, also makes it possible that it is a local work. The eyes are deep-set under a heavy, frowning brow, and the head, which is rather small, has a savage character. At first sight the head is seen to belong to the so-called Pergamene school, that is to say the last quarter of the third century B.C. It is clearly to be grouped with earlier Pergamene statues, since it is more restrained and less dramatic than the Gigantomachy frieze of the great altar at Pergamum.[2] Also when compared with the various replicas of the hanging Marsyas, it appears to be more akin to the white than to the red type.[3] Similarly it will be seen that it has strong stylistic relationships with the heads of the dying Gauls of the Capitol[4] and of the Ludovisi group,[5] and also the Arrotino.[6] Further, the rendering of the eyes recalls that of the Gaul's head at Cairo.[7] Thus this head seems to be the first original work of this school found on the mainland of Greece, although not a first-class example, and is important as shewing that the so-called Pergamene style existed in other parts of the Greek world.

A. J. B. WACE.

[1] *Antike Denkmaeler*, i. Pl. 30.
[2] Collignon, *Sculpture grecque*, ii. pp. 521 ff., Figs. 270–272.
[3] Amelung, *Führer durch d. Ant. in Florenz*, pp. 62 ff., Figs. 14, 15.
[4] Bienkowski, *Darstellungen der Gallier*, p. 3, Fig. 2.
[5] *Id.*, *op. cit.* p. 37, Fig. 26. [6] Collignon, *op. cit.* ii. p. 545, Fig. 282.
[7] Bienkowski, *op. cit.* p. 35, Fig. 49.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1908.

§ 8.—A Hoard of Hellenistic Coins.

(Plates V., VI.)

During the sinking of some trial pits by the iron bridge over the Eurotas[1] a hoard of silver coins was found. They were contained in a plain vase of red ware, the mouth of which was closed by a clay stopper, and were discovered at a depth of ·50 m. below the level of the present surface. The coins have now been transferred from the Sparta Museum to the National Coin Collection at Athens.[2] They are all silver tetradrachms of Attic-Euboic weight, except of course the Ptolemaic coins, which were struck on the Phoenician standard. The weights are those of the coins before they were cleaned. They have probably lost a little in weight during the cleaning process, but I have not thought it necessary to re-weigh them. The Athenian coins I have not described in detail, as the type is so common. My hearty thanks are due to Dr. Svoronos for his help and advice.

Thrace. *Lysimachus*, 323–281 B.C.

1. Horned head of Alexander to r., border of dots.

Rev. Athena Nikephoros seated to l., on shield behind her a gorgoneion, on r. side a spear: in field below arm M, in exergue

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. I. 0. 12.

[2] A brief account of the find will appear in the next annual report of the collection.

bow in case and A, inscr. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ, beyond the latter word in field a club: weight 15·45 gr.; C²:[1] Müller,[2] 413, Erythrae. (Pl. V. 1.)

2. Similar to 1, no border.

Rev. similar to 1: below arm H: of inscr. only ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧ is visible: weight 15·60 gr.; C²: Müller, 348, Heracleum.

3. Similar to 1, no border, and head small.

Rev. similar to 1; in field on l. Ⓡ, in exergue Δ; of inscr. only ΒΑΣΙΛΕ appears: weight 16·17 gr.; C³.

MACEDONIA. *Alexander III. the Great*, 336–323 B.C.

4. Head of Herakles in lion's skin to r., border of dots.

Rev. Zeus aëtophoros enthroned to l., feet on stool; r. foot drawn back, sceptre in l. hand: inscr. behind throne ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, in field on l. below arm bunch of grapes and A: weight 15·67 gr.; C²: cf. Müller,[3] 1519 ff., uncertain mints. (Pl. V. 2.)

5. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 4, but no footstool: inscr. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: below arm sphinx to r. and Σ, below throne Φ: weight 16·05 gr.; C²: cf. Müller 1080–1107, Chios. (Pl. V. 3.)

6. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 5: inscr. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: on l. below arm plumed helmet with cheek pieces, below throne A, in exergue ΑΞ: weight 15·70 gr.; C²: Müller, 233, uncertain of Macedonia. (Pl. V. 4.)

7. Similar to 4, but border of dots.

Rev. similar to 4 but no back to throne: inscr. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ●Υ, in field l. below arm Λ, and torch in holder: below throne kantharos, all in border of dots: weight 15·92 gr.; C¹: Müller, 60 Amphipolis. (Pl. V. 5.)

[1] By the conventional signs C¹, C², C³, etc. the condition of the coin is indicated.
[2] Müller, *Münzen des Lysimachos.*
[3] Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre.*

8. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 7, inscr. behind throne ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ, below throne five-rayed star, in field on l. Λ and torch in holder: weight 16·30 gr.; C^2: thick flan: cf. Müller, 66–69, Amphipolis.

9. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 7: inscr. ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, below arm on l. five-rayed star: below throne ϡ: weight 16·60 gr.; C^2: thick flan: Müller, 164, Acroathon.

10. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 7, but no footstool: inscr. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ, below throne ΣΙ, below arm in field on l. Σ, border of dots: weight 15·60 gr.; C^3: scyphate flan: Müller, 1405, Sidon.

11. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 4: inscr. ΛΕΞ, in field below arm archaic female figure to l.: weight 16·25 gr.; C^3: Müller, 875, Sikyon.

12. Similar to 7.

Rev. similar to 4: inscr. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and below throne ΛΕΩΣ, in field on l. below arm Ι, below throne ℛ in wreath, border of dots: weight 16·65 gr.; C^2: thick flan: Müller, 1413, Sidon.

13. Similar to 7.

Rev. similar to 4, but r. foot is not drawn back: inscr. as on 12 ΛΕΞΑΝΔ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ: below throne ΓΥ: below arm on l. dragon's head open-mouthed to r.: border of dots: weight 15·97 gr.; C^2. (Pl. V. 6.)

14. Similar to 7.

Rev. similar to 5: inscr. behind throne and below, ΑΛΕΞ and ΛΕ: in field on l. wreath containing illegible monogram: below throne ΜΙ: all in border of dots: weight 16·35 gr.; C^3: Müller, 734, Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly.

15. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 13, but no back to throne: inscr. on l., ΒΑΣΙ, on r. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: below arm in field helmet; border of dots: weight 16·40 gr.; C^2: Müller, 224, uncertain of Macedonia.

16. Similar to 7.

Rev. similar to 15: inscr. ΒΑΣΙ ΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; below arm, tripod; all in border of dots: weight 16·10 gr.; C^3; Müller, 146, Philippi.

17. Similar to 7.

Rev. similar to 15: traces of inscr. only visible (no sign of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ), below throne ΔΑ, below arm, fore-part of ram to r.; border of dots: weight 16·70 gr.; C^2: Müller, 1338, Damascus.

18. Similar to 4.

Rev. similar to 15: no inscription or symbols visible: weight 16·42 gr.; C^4.

Demetrius I., 306–283 B.C.

19. Horned head of Demetrius to r. wearing fillet, border of dots.

Rev. Poseidon to l., r. foot raised on rock, trident in l. hand: on either side ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ: in field on l. and on r. : border of dots: weight 16·80. gr; C^1: cf. Macdonald, *Hunter Collection*, I., p. 338, 10. (Pl. V. 7.)

20. Similar to 19.

Rev. similar to 19, inscr. ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ: in field on l. and ; no border visible: weight 15·85 gr.; C^2.

21. Nike of Samothrace on prow to l.

Rev. Poseidon to l. striking with trident in r. hand, on l. arm chlamys: inscr. much worn ΔΗ . . . . ., Α ΣΙΛΕΩ: in field r. , in field l. : weight 16·35 gr.; C^4: cf. Macdonald, *op. cit.* I., p. 337, 2. (Pl. V. 8.)

ATTICA, *Athens.*

22–63. Forty-two tetradrachms varying in weight from 15·50 to 16·95 gr., and all of the same type. Head of Athena of fine style, eye in profile, wearing earring and crested helmet decorated with three olives, execution rather rough.

Rev. owl to r. with wings closed, behind crescent and spray of olive with two berries: cf. *B. M. Cat. Attica*, Pl. V., 3–6. (Pl. V. 9, 10, 11.)

LACONIA.

64. Head of Athena to r. in Corinthian helmet decorated with snake, border of dots, hair in corkscrew curls.

Rev. Herakles seated on lion's skin on rock to l., r. hand rests on club; above in field on either side an eight-rayed star: below stars Λ A: weight 15·95 gr.; C². (Pl. V. 12.)

65. Similar to 64, but different die.

Rev. from same die as 64: weight 16·05 gr.; C¹; cf. 70. (Pl. VI. 5.)

66. Similar to 64, but loose curls.

Rev. similar to 64: inscr. Λ A and an eight-rayed star on each side above; below the A a thunderbolt: border of dots: weight 16·34 gr.; C¹. (Pl. VI. 1.)

67. Similar to 66, but plume of helmet has one tail only, and there is no snake.

Rev. similar to 64: on either side Λ A: border of dots: weight 16·35 gr.: C²: both obv. and rev. from same dies as British Museum specimen[1]. (Pl. VI. 2.)

68. Similar to 64, and from same die.

Rev. similar to 64, but different die: on either side Λ A: on r. thunderbolt: weight 15·85 gr.; C². (Pl. VI. 3.)

[1] *B. M. Cat. Crete*, Pl. II. 1 = *Rev. Num.*, 1889, Pl. III. 3.

69. Similar to 67, and from same die.

Rev. similar to 64, but different die: on either side Λ A; border of dots: weight 16·75 gr.; C[1]. (Pl. VI. 4.)

70. Similar to 65, and from same die.

Rev. similar to 64, and from same die as rev. of 64 and 65; weight 15·80 gr.; C[1]. (Pl. VI. 5.)

SYRIA. *Seleucid Kings, Seleucus I.* 312–280 B.C.

71. Head of Herakles in lion's skin to r.

Rev. Zeus aëtophoros on throne without back to l., right foot drawn back: inscr. behind throne ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ and in exergue ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, in field on l. below arm dolphin, and Ξ, below throne ⋈; border of dots: weight 16·50 gr., C[1]: cf. *B. M. Cat.* 10; and Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, 13–16. (Pl. VI. 6.)

Antiochus I. 280–261 B.C.

72. Diademed head of Antiochus to r., within border of dots.

Rev. Apollo seated on netted omphalos to l., drapery round r. thigh and on omphalos, in r. hand arrow, in l. bow: inscr. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, in field on l. ⋀, and r. ⋕, border of dots: weight 16·05 gr.; C[2]: cf. *B. M. Cat.* 6; and Babelon, *op. cit.*, 121. (Pl. VI. 7.)

Antiochus II. 261–246 B.C.

73. Head of Antiochus to r. wearing winged diadem, from same die as Macdonald, *J.H.S.*, 1903, p. 97, 13–15, Pl. II. 3, 4.

Rev. similar to 72, inscr. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, in field on l. ⋇ and ⋔, in exergue grazing horse: weight 15·95 gr.: C[1]: from same die as Macdonald, *J.H.S.* 1903, Pl. II. 5 = Babelon, *op. cit.*, 212: struck at Alexandria Troas. (Pl. VI. 8.)

Antiochus III. 222–187 B.C.

74. Diademed head of Antiochus to r., within border of dots.

Rev. similar to 72, inscr. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ: in field on r. ⌀: weight 15·05 gr.; C[3]. (Pl. VI. 9.)

EGYPT. *Ptolemaic Kings, Ptolemy I.* 305–285 B.C.

75. Head of Ptolemy I. diademed to r., border of dots.

Rev. Eagle on thunderbolt to r. inscr. ΟΛΕΜΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; in field on r. A; border of dots: unintelligible countermarks: weight 12·80 gr.; C[2]: Svoronos, *Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, p. 33, Pl. VII. 18.

76. Similar to 75, no border, small Δ behind ear.

Rev. similar to 75 with similar inscr., in field to r. P and ΠΡ: weight 13·50 gr.; C[2]: Svoronos, p. 43, Pl. IX. 11.

77. Similar to 76.

Rev. similar to 76: same inscr. and monograms: weight 13·25 gr.; C[3]: Svoronos, p. 43, Pl. IX. 11.

78. Similar to 76, but Δ not clearly visible.

Rev. similar to 75, in field on l. P and ΜΗ: weight 13·60 gr.; C[2]: various countermarks, including star and circle: Svoronos, p. 44, Pl. IX. 13.

Ptolemy II. 285–246 B.C.

79. Similar to 78.

Rev. similar to 75: in field on l. ΕΥ and ΚΥΕ: weight 13·75 gr.; C[2]: Svoronos, p. 56, Pl. XI. 2.

80. Similar to 75.

Rev. similar to 75: in field on l. ΠΤΤ, Α, ΔΔ, and on r. oval shield: weight 13·70 gr.; C[1]: Svoronos, p. 80, Pl. XII. 14. (Pl. VI. 10.)

81. Similar to 75.

Rev. similar to 75; in field on l. Σ: weight 13·76 gr.; C[2]: Svoronos, p. 81, Pl. XIV. 2.

82. Similar to 75, but no border of dots.

Rev. similar to 75: in field on l. ΣΙ, border of dots: weight 13·00 gr.; C[2]: Svoronos, p. 105, Pl. XXI. 2.

83. Similar to 82, but no border of dots.

Rev. similar to 82, but no border of dots: weight 13·45 gr.; C^2: Svoronos, p. 105, Pl. XXI. 2.

84. Similar to 82.

Rev. similar to 82: weight 13·40 gr.; C^1: Svoronos, p. 105, Pl. XXI. 2. This coin was complete when found, but was broken during the transference of the coins from Sparta to Athens.

85. Similar to 75.

Rev. similar to 82, but inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, border of dots, in field on l. ΣΙ, ΜΑ, and on r. ΛΒ: weight 13·36 gr.; C^1: Svoronos, p. 109, Pl. XXI. 17, who dates it to 254 B.C. (Pl. VI. 11.)

86. Similar to 75.

Rev. similar to 75; but inscr. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, in field on l. Γ, and ΦΛ, on r. ΚΙ, and Λ: countermarked Δ (?): border of dots: weight 13·66 gr.; C^2: cf. Svoronos, p. 63, Pl. XVIII. 17, 18; though not mentioned by him this type belongs to his class with four magistrates' monograms. (Pl. VI. 12.)

The composition of this hoard, which resembles the Sophikó find,[1] gives us some data for attempting to fix its date, and consequently that of the important Laconian coins to which we shall return below. The tetradrachms of Alexander all belong to Müller's classes I.–V.,[2] which are not supposed to be later than the third century. The Seleucid coins contain one of Antiochus III. (222–187 B.C.), the latest coin of the hoard, which consequently must have been buried after 222 B.C. The fact also that none of the Ptolemaic coins are later than 246 B.C. indicates the end of the third century after 222 B.C. as the probable date of the hoard. The remarkably good condition of the Laconian coins seems to show that they had not been long in circulation. Therefore we may reasonably date them to the last quarter of the third century B.C. The attribution of these coins to Laconia seems now certain,[3] and the presence of so many in this

[1] Svoronos, *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.* 1907, pp. 35 ff.

[2] *Numismatique d'Alexandre*, pp. 97 ff.

[3] For a list of the specimens known and the literature on the subject see Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète*, p. 3; to his list of known specimens add, Athens from Sophikó, the obverse of which is from the same die as No. 67 above (*Journ. Int. Arch. Num.* 1907, Pl. I. 20), Cambridge,

Spartan hoard confirms Dr. Svoronos' arguments. The Herakles type of the reverse is imitated from a class of tetradrachms struck by Antiochus II. in Western Asia Minor, as Dr. Macdonald has shown.[1] The same type was used at Sparta by Nabis (207–192 B.C.),[2] and by Euthydemus I. of Bactria (*circa* 222–187 B.C.),[3] and seems to have been popular towards the end of the third century B.C., which fits in well with the date given above. These Laconian coins we may assign to Nabis, or perhaps more probably to his predecessors Machanidas (210–207 B.C.)[4] or Lycurgus (220–212 B.C.).[5] Then the coins with the Apollo of Amyclae on the reverse we may attribute to Cleomenes III. (235–221 B.C.),[6] although they are now usually assigned to Areus, who struck tetradrachms with the types of Alexander.[7] It does not seem possible that Areus struck coins with the Apollo of Amyclae type at Sparta in the face of all tradition. The coins that bear his name were probably struck by him, not as King of Sparta,[8] but as general of the combined Greek army in the campaigns against Antigonus Gonatas after 281 B.C.[9] The first alteration of the Spartan constitution was that of Cleomenes III. (235–221 B.C.), and he may possibly have struck the coins with the Apollo of Amyclae reverse, since he would have had no scruples against breaking with tradition. During 221–220 B.C. after Sellasia the Lycurgan constitution was restored. But the revolution of 220 began with the murder of the Ephors and the re-establishment of the reforms of Cleomenes, who was expected to return;[10] consequently it is quite reasonable to assume that Lycurgus and Machanidas imitated Cleomenes

Leake Coll. (*Numismata Hellenica*, p. 55), Montagu Coll. (*Montagu Sale Catalogue*, i. p. 55, 415), Weber Coll. (*Weber Coll. Cat.* Pl. 26, No. 2079); Seltman, *Num. Chron.* 1909, pp. 1–6. It will be seen that the other two specimens, illustrated in *Rev. Num.* 1889, Pl. III. Nos. 1 and 2 (the latter is in the Hunterian Collection: v. Macdonald, *Hunter Coll.* ii. Pl. XXXIX. 1) are from totally different dies. A comparison of all known specimens should prove very interesting: the number of dies used is remarkable.

[1] *J.H.S.* 1907, pp. 145 ff. Pls. XIII. XIV.

[2] *B.C.H.* xv. p. 416; Wroth, *Num. Chron.* 1897, p. 107, Pl. V. 2; Perdrizet, *Num. Chron.* 1898, pp. 1 ff.; Lambros, *Ἀναγραφὴ νομισμάτων, Πελοπόννησος*, p. 89.

[3] *B.M.Cat. Bactria*, Pls. I. II.: cf. the memorial coin of Agathocles, *op. cit.* Pl. IV. 3.

[4] Niese, *Geschichte d. griech. u. mak. Staaten*, ii. pp. 426, 434, 441, 448, 454, 462 ff., 482.

[5] Niese, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 483, 485, 489, 491, 498 ff.

[6] v. Bompois, *Portraits attribués à Cléomène*, iii.; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 364; *B.M.Cat. Peloponnesus*, p. xlvii; Leake, *Num. Hell.* pp. 55 ff.; *Rev. Num.* 1889, Pl. III. 5–7.

[7] Cf. *Zeit. f. Num.* ii. Pl. IX. 1; Lambros, *op. cit.* p. 88, Pl. IA′ 6.

[8] If the coins of Areus were struck at Sparta we should expect the legend to be not ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, but ΒΑΙΛΕΟΣ as on the coins and tiles of Nabis: v. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 21, Fig. 2.

[9] Niese, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 11, 230.

[10] Niese, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 425 ff.

and struck coins to pay mercenaries in their campaigns against the Achaean League. These suggested attributions will then give us a well-defined series of Laconian coins for the latter part of the third century B.C. Two other points deserve brief attention. The presence of Ptolemaic coins in this hoard recalls the support given by Egypt to Sparta in the third century during the Chremonidean war and the reign of Cleomenes III. Also the number of the Athenian tetradrachms suggests that this type continued to be struck later than is usually supposed. In fact Dr. Svoronos believes them to have been struck during the third century, because they are so frequently found with coins of the Diadochi.[1]

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ADDENDUM.

Since this was written a paper by Mr. Seltman on the Laconian coins discussed above has appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1909, pp. 1 ff., *Lacedaemon versus Allasia*). He assigns this type to Laconia, and considers it to be the first issue of Nabis, his second issue being of the type published by Lambros, and his third of the British Museum—Montagu type (v. reff. cited above). The head of Athena according to him is that of the Apollo of Amyclae. Mr. Seltman also assigns both the two earlier Laconian issues (the Alexander and Apollo of Amyclae types) mentioned above to Areus. I see however no reason to alter anything I have written above.

A. J. B. W.

[1] Cf. the Sophikó find, *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.* 1907, pp. 35 ff.

Text Plate.

∴=Ruins ; PK=Palaekastro ; T=Watch-tower ; +=Church ; △=Mountain top. ANCIENT NAMES underlined.

LACONIA : SKETCH MAP OF S.E. DISTRICT.

LACONIA.

II.—TOPOGRAPHY

SOUTH-EASTERN LACONIA.

THE following paper deals with the historical geography and antiquities of the south-eastern promontory of Laconia from Acriae on the Laconic Gulf to Epidaurus Limera. Most of the country included being within easy reach of the sea, the 'periplus' arrangement has been followed, and a concordance of ancient geographers is prefixed to each of the sections.

§ 1.—THE EAST COAST OF THE LACONIAN GULF.

SCYLAX, 46.	STRABO, VIII. 5.	PTOLEMY, III. 16.	PAUSANIAS, III. 22.
			Helos ↓
	Acraea	**Acreia**	30 st. **Acriae** ↓
		Biandina	
	Leuce, campus		
	Cyparissia, urbs		
	Asopus, urbs	**Asopus**	60 st. **Asopus** (Ruinae urbis Achaeorum Paracyparissiorum)
			12 st. **Hieron Aesculapii**
			50 st. **Hyperteleatum,** χωρίον, cum T. Aesculapii ↓
			200 st. **Onugnathus,** pr. cum portu

ACRIAE.

According to Pausanias this town[1] lay thirty stades from Helos, which in its turn was eighty stades from Trinasus.[2] The position of Trinasus is known: eighty stades eastwards bring us to the neighbourhood of the Kalyvia of Vezáni as the site of Helos. Thirty stades south of this we come to the fishing hamlet of Kokkiniá. On a high bluff to the south of the hamlet are the ruins of a round mediaeval watch-tower. All around Greek tiles and potsherds are common, and to the east, where a narrow saddle joins the bluff to the hills behind, cut limestone blocks indicate the existence of a Hellenic wall, of which at one point two courses are preserved. We may therefore follow Boblaye in recognising this as the site of Acriae. At the church of H. Ioannes by a spring to the north, where Boblaye places the temple of the Mother of the Gods, no Hellenic remains are now visible. Here Le Bas found the inscribed statue-base, which he restored as that of Nicocles, the Olympian victor mentioned by Pausanias. Between the church and the tower of Kokkiniá are remains of Roman buildings with a mosaic pavement and a Corinthian capital.[3]

BIANDINA (BIADINOUPOLIS).

This town is mentioned only by Ptolemy[4] and in an inscription formerly in the Museo Naniano.[5] Since it lay between Acriae and Asopus (*v. infra*) we may conjecture it to have stood at Eleá, the modern port of Molai. Here are the remains of a round mediaeval watch-tower and ruins of uncertain date.

LEUCE (LEUCAE).

This is without doubt the fertile plain that stretches south-east of Mount Kourkoula.[6] Its name is not due to the colour of the soil, which

[1] Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 95; Curtius, *Peloponnes*, ii. p. 289; Bursian, *Geogr. Griechenlands*, ii. p. 143; Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 220; Niese, *Nachrichten Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1906, p. 114.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 230.

[3] The votive relief to Artemis published by Treu (*Arch. Zeit.* 1880, Pl. VI. 1) may have come from any of the sites on this coast, since its exact provenance is not known.

[4] iii. 16, 9; *v.* Niese, *op. cit.* p. 114. [5] *C.I.G.* 1336.

[6] Polybius, iv. 36, 5=v. 19; Livy, xxxv. 27, 3; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 114.

is red, but probably to the fact that poplar trees grew here. The plain is very rich and grows corn, wine, olives, and figs in abundance. It is drained by a natural subterranean channel (Katavothra) to the north near the village of the same name, and to the west by a stream that runs into the sea north of Xyli. In addition to the village of Katavothra there are to the south, the three villages of Sykeá, Pheníki, and Kalyvia and to the north the hamlet of Pakia and the small town of Molai, the modern centre of the eparchy of Epidaurus Limera. At Molai is a small ruined fort[1] of Byzantine or Turkish date, and on the southern peak of Kourkoula a mediaeval refuge-castle with walls of small stones without mortar. This, the local antiquarians say, is the ancient Coryphasium, because it stands on the peak (*κορυφή*). From Molai the old high road leads north between the twin peaks of Kourkoula to Helos (Vezani) and through the gorge of the Eurotas to Sparta. This is the route taken by Leake, and by the French expedition,[2] and all early travellers. To the north-east of Molai in the plain are some late (probably Byzantine) ruins called *Χαλάσματα*. In the vineyards near these some tombs have been found, by one of which was discovered a plain, gable-topped poros stele. Its inscription, which is badly weathered, seems to read :—

(ΠΡ)ΑΤΟΝΙ	Πρατόνι-
ΚΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ	*κε χαῖρε*
Ν - - - (Ο)ΑΕΜΕ	- - - - *ἐμὲ*
ΕΘΗΚΕ	*ἔθηκε.*

The formula, if read correctly, seems unusual. One would expect *βιώσας ἔτη κ.τ.λ.* The fact that both Ε and Ε are used indicates a late date.

ASOPUS AND CYPARISSIA.

Pausanias gives the distance from Acriae to Asopus[3] as sixty stades. This indicates the peninsula of Xyli as its probable site, especially since Strabo says that Cyparissia, which, according to Pausanias, was near

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 270.

[2] Leake, *Morea*, i. p. 200; Bory de St. Vincent, *Expéd. Scientifique*, p. 456.

[3] Leake, *Morea*, i. p. 225; *Id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 169; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 97; Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 218; Ross, *Wanderungen*, ii. p. 247; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 290; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 142; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 179; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, p. 86, l. 18; 1900, p. 158, ll. 2, 7, 15; Négris, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1904, p. 344.

Asopus, stood on a promontory. At Boza, to the north of Xyli, are late ruins, including that of a church, where Leake found a Christian inscription. At Plitra, to the south of Xyli, are more late ruins, probably of Roman date. At both sites the shore has sunk, and buildings are seen extending under the sea. Midway between the two, at the root of the peninsula, is an isolated rocky hill called Goulas (Tower), which is covered with black-glazed potsherds. This was, perhaps, the acropolis of Asopus, where stood the temple of Athena Cyparissia. Then we may follow Leake and Ross in placing Asopus at Plitra, and the ruins of Cyparissia or the city of the Paracyparissian Achaeans at Boza. Boblaye, who is followed by Curtius, Bursian, and others, reverses the position of the two cities. Pausanias says that there was a temple of the Roman emperors at Asopus. At Plitra have been found two inscriptions,[1] both of which refer to C. Iulius Eurycles and his descendants, who were hereditary high priests of the Roman Emperors.[2] This seems additional evidence for identifying Plitra with Asopus, which was probably an important city since it struck coins[3] and was later the seat of a bishopric.[4] On the rocky peninsula of Xyli are the ruins of a watch-tower like those mentioned above.

The shrine of Asklepios Philolaos, which Pausanias says was twelve stades from Asopus, may be recognised in some Greek ruins that lie the required distance from Plitra at the foot and to the west of a steep isolated rock called Katapýgi, on which is a small abandoned monastery. Here bronzes are reported to have been found, and black-glazed potsherds occur. In the rock are small caves, and below them, enclosing a semi-circular space against the rock, are several apparently Hellenic walls built in a rough polygonal style. Some of the blocks are as much as two metres high.

[1] Leake, *Morea*, p. 224, No. 233=Collitz-Bechtel 4560; *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 209 (the last line should read Ἀργέννου ταμία); Perdrizet says the inscription came from Cyparissia (*i.e.* Plitra); it is now in the church of H. Dimitrios at Kalyvia.

[2] Leake (*Morea*, i. p. 224) says that the peasant who found the first inscription, which he kept in his house, feared some evil might befall him, as he was afraid that it belonged to a church. When the second inscription was found some eleven years ago, the finder had it in his house. Later he fell ill, and thought that this was caused by the inscription having belonged to a church. So he gave it to the village church, where it now is; and of course recovered immediately.

[3] Head, *Hist. Num.*, *s.n.* It is doubtful if the coin inscribed Κυπαρισσία can be attributed to Cyparissia (*B.M. Cat. Pelop.* p. 128, No. 68).

[4] Hierocles, *Synecd.* p. 647.

At Kalyvia is a late grave relief from Plitra, representing a woman clad in *chiton* and *himation*, and inscribed :—

ΔΑΜΑΡΙΛΙ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Δαμαριλὶ χαῖρε

and at Plitra is another inscribed Τηλάριον χαῖρε, but this I could not see. By the well at Kalyvia is a late plain, rough-hewn marble sarcophagus found at Plitra.

HYPERTELEATUM.

In a ravine south of Pheniki on the road leading to Veliés at a spot called Vothona or Hassánaga have been found many inscriptions on marble and on bronze.[1] These were dedications to Apollo Hyperteleates, or else were to be set up in his shrine. We may therefore recognise this as the site of Hyperteleatum, since the distance of fifty stades from Asopus agrees with the distance from Vothona to Plitra. Pausanias, however, says that the shrine was that of Asklepios; this may be an error on his part, since he has just above referred to Asklepios, or there may have been temples both of Apollo and of Asklepios at Hyperteleatum. The inscriptions indicate that the temple of Apollo was the central shrine of the Eleuthero-Laconian League. In 1885 the Greek Archaeological Society excavated here,[2] but no remains of the temple were found; it is, however, clear from the finds of inscriptions, bronzes, and terracotta statuettes[3] that the temple lay in the neighbourhood. At this site two inscriptions have been recently found.

(1) Sparta Museum, No. 864: H. ·11 m., W. ·11 m. Letters ·005 m. high. Lower left-hand corner of a stele of *rosso antico*, complete on left.

Τ - - - - τ - - - -
ΞΕΝ - - - - ξέν[ια τὰ μέγιστα ἐκ τῶν νόμων]

Compare *B.C.H.* ix. p. 517, l. 10; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, p. 66, l. 10.

(2) Bluish marble base for a bronze statue; on the bottom six clamp holes: H. ·32 m., L. ·58 m., D. ·45 m. Height of letters ·015 m. The inscription is much defaced and the reading very uncertain. The letters are not apicated: forms Α Σ Θ Π.

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, pp. 85 ff., 203 ff.; 1890, pp. 65 ff.; 1900, pp. 154 ff.; 1904, pp. 55 ff.; *B.C.H.* ix. pp. 241 ff., 517 ff.; cf. Collitz-Bechtel, 4537–4549.

[2] Πρακτικά, 1885, pp. 31 ff. [3] Winter, *Terrakotten*, i. 217, 2; ii. 166, 4; 180, 2.

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 1  ΤΟΥΠΟΛ- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
    - - ΟΙΣ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
 5  - - - - - - - - ΠΑ - - - - - - - - - - -
    - - - - - - - - - Π - - - - - - - - - -
    - - - - - - ΟΣΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ - - ΑΙΚΕ - - - -
    - - - - ΕΥΚΑΤΑΙ . ΜΕ - - - - - ΙΩΜΔΙ - - - -
    - - - - - ΑΡΑΙΔΩΙΣΤΙ . . . ΝΩΙΤΙΜΥ - - - -
 10 - - - ΠΑΤΕΡΟΣΟΣΤΟΝ . . Δ . ΑΠΑΣΙ - - - -
    - - ΟΙΣΠΑΡΕΔΩΚΕΑΞΙΟΝ . . . ΛΕ . . ΜΑΣΗΠΑ - -
    - - ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ . . ΟΣΑΠΕΛΛΩΝΙΑΓΗΤΟΡΙΛΑΤΩ - -
    - - - - ΚΑΙΚΡΑΤΗΙΔΑΜΕΙΑΝΤΑΣΠΕ - - - - -
 14 - - - - - - ΧΟ - - ΣΣ - - - Υ . Σ - - - - -
    - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
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Both inscriptions seem to belong to the third century B.C.

DEMONIA.

South of Plitra and near the coast lies the village of Demoniá. On a rocky hill to the west, between the village and the sea, Hellenic tiles and potsherds are common.[1] Here the villagers have often found tombs, one of which contained a beaked jug of coarse red ware. Other finds include a celt, ordinary late Greek vases, an iron sword, a bronze dagger (·17 m. long), some terracotta statuettes and lamps, Doric columns and capitals of poros, and a gabled grave stele of the same material inscribed :

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ΟΝΑ(Γ)ΕΤ . . . .
ΜΕ ΧΑΙ . . . . .
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The lettering is very badly weathered, but we might venture to read it as *Ὄνα(σί)τ[ι]με χαῖ[ρε]*.

It is clear that a Greek town stood here, but its name is as yet unknown. We may conjecture it to be the site of Cotyrta, which we know from Thucydides[2] lay near Aphrodisias, later incorporated in Boeae, and is mentioned in the Hyperteleatic inscriptions.[3]

[1] Boblaye, *op. cit* p. 98 ; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 168 ; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 294 ; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 112 ; Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 219.

[2] iv. 56 ; *v.* Niese, *op. cit.* p. 114.

[3] *B.C.H.* ix. p. 241, l. 10 ; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 154, ll. 5, 8 ; p. 158, ll. 3, 14, 31 ; p. 159, ll. 6, 8.

A. J. B. WACE.

§ 2—THE PROMONTORY OF MALEA AND EPIDAURUS LIMERA.

SCYLAX, 46.	STRABO, VIII. 6.	PTOLEMY, III. 16.	PAUSANIAS, III. 22–4.
	Onugnathus, pr. cum portu	**Onugnathus,** pr.	**Onugnathus,** pr.
Boea, urbs	**Boea,** urbs	**Boeae,** urbs	**Boeae,** urbs **Nymphaeum,** portus cum templo
Malea, pr. **Side,** urbs et portus	156 st. **Malea,** pr.	**Malea,** pr.	**Malea,** pr.
	Delium Laconum, cum templo		100 st. **Epidelium,** χωρίον cum templo **T. Artemidis Limnatidis**
	Minoa, castellum	**Minoa,** pr. **Iovis Soteris** portus	**Minoa,** pr.
Epidaurus, urbs	**Epidaurus,** urbs	**Epidaurus,** urbs	200 st. **Epidaurus,** urbs et portus
		Zarex, urbs	100 st. **Zarax,** urbs[1]

ONUGNATHUS.

The ancient promontory of Onugnathus is now separated by a narrow strait from the mainland[2] and bears the name of Elaphónisos (Cervi). The scattered *Kalyvia* shown on the French map have amalgamated into a compact village of about forty houses on the strait: the inhabitants live chiefly by their flocks, little ground being under cultivation.

Pausanias mentions a roofless temple of Athena and the tomb of Kinados, pilot of Menelaos as objects of interest on the promontory. Leake

[1] As a check on the distances given by Pausanias we may here add the corresponding figures from the *Mediterranean Pilot* (1900, iv. 32 ff.): C. Malea (6½ m. C. Kamili), 16½ m. NNW. Monemvasia, 2½ m. N. Porto Paleo, 2·7 m. NE. ¾ N. C. Kremidi, 3 m. NNE. C. Ieraka, 1½ m. NW. Port Ieraka. The fifteenth-century directions in Uzzano (Pagnini, *Della Decima di Firenze*, vol. iv. 221) from Monemvasia to Zarax identify Port S. Paulo with Porto Paleo and P. della Bottas with Zarax: 'Da Malvazia al porto S. Paulo à 3 miglia entro maestro e tramontana, lo porto S. Paulo à entrata di verso mezzo giorno, e entrata di verso tramontana: dal porto S. Paulo al porto della Bottas à 10 miglia per tramontana verso maestro: lo porto della Bottas à entrata di verso levante e dovete entrare per ponente.'

[2] A chance remark in Covel's *Diary*, p. 136, shows that the strait was then (1677) easily fordable: in 1839 there was upwards of a fathom of water everywhere. We shall have occasion to allude to the general sinking of the coast in connection with Epidelium and Monemvasia.

in 1806 thought he had discovered both temple and tomb on the mainland, the former about 500 yards from the sea towards the western end of the strait, the latter on the summit of the cliff above the ancient quarries. The supposed tomb was of pyramidal form and in a very ruinous state.[1]

BOEAE.

Of Boeae we know little beyond what Pausanias has recorded. It was traditionally founded by the Heraclid Boios, who gathered its population from the towns of Etis, Aphrodisias, and Side.[2] It was ravaged by Tolmides in 456[3] and by Philip III. in 219[4]: later it belonged to the Eleuthero-Laconian league, and at the time of Pausanias' visit possessed temples of Artemis Soteira, Apollo, Asklepios, Serapis, and Isis: there were ruins with a temple of Asklepios and Hygieia seven stades off. Coins bearing the types of Artemis, Isis, Asklepios, Poseidon, and Eros were struck at Boeae in the later Antonine period (Domna, Caracalla, Geta).

The exact position of Boeae was revealed by discoveries made during the building of the modern Neapolis. Leake (who however placed Boeae at Palaékastro) saw in 1806 'foundations of a Hellenic wall built of quadrangular blocks ... traceable for fifty or sixty yards. Just above it are foundations of a temple about fifteen yards long by eight or nine broad.'[5] All this had apparently disappeared by the visit of Ross (1844), who mentions only 'insignificant ruins, foundations, tile-fragments and a few grave-chambers.'[6] Several ancient marbles were found, he says, when the first houses of the new settlement were built.

The small town of Neapolis-Vatika (*τὰ Βάτικα*) was founded chiefly from Pharakló about 1840.[7] It occupies a somewhat uninteresting site on two low hills close to the shore and possesses a good natural port except in southerly winds. The place is now the head of the deme of Boeae

[1] *Morea*, i. 508.

[2] As to the position of Etis there is no evidence: Aphrodisias is mentioned with a place named Cotyrta (cf. above, p. 166) by Thucydides (iv. 56) as the scene of a skirmish between Athenians and Spartans in 424, and would seem to have lain in the plain of Boeae. Side is shown by the *Periplus* of Scylax to have been on the coast beyond Malea..

[3] Paus. i. 27. [4] Polyb. v. 19.

[5] *Morea*, i. 510.

[6] *Wanderungen*, ii. 246; *Arch. Aufs.* ii. 670; cf. Papamichalopoulos, **Πολιορκία**, 94: *Ανεγειρομένης τῆς πόλεως Βοιῶν ἀνεσκάφησαν πολλὰ μεχρὶ τοῦδε ἄξια λόγου ἀρχαῖα . . . κίονας, ἐνεπιγράφους πλάκας καὶ ἀγάλματα.*

[7] After 1837 (Fiedler) and before 1844 (Ross).

and has a population of 1,675: on it depend the considerable hill-villages of Kastaniá (40 houses), Velanídia (400) to the north of the high ridge which forms the backbone of the peninsula, and H. Nikólaos (300), Láki (200), and Misokóri (70) to the south of it: these form the group called Vatikiótika. Considering their scanty lands these villages present a surprisingly prosperous appearance, partly due, no doubt, to fortunes made abroad. Little or no Albanian is spoken in them.[1]

The older name (Βάτικα = Βοιατικά) occurs as the name of a district as early as the *Chronicle of the Morea*, and in fifteenth-century Venetian records as the name of a small castle which changed hands several times in the Turkish wars.[2] As a village name[3] it was probably applied to the leading place in the district.

The antiquities now at Neapolis, all of Roman date, are as follows:—

(1) Built into wall on quay, marble statue 0·90 m. high, apparently of Dionysos.[4] The god stands with his weight on left foot, clothed in long *chiton* and *himation* falling in fine folds to the feet. Head and hands are missing, but ends of curls hang on the neck, and the pose of the arms—left extended downwards, right bent across chest—is recognisable. On the left of the figure is a small column, round which is entwined a pine-twig with cone; the cone supports the forefeet of a (headless) panther. (Fig. 1, A.)

(2) Similar position, large marble high-relief, 1·30 m. × 0·82 m., flanked by pilasters, damaged at top. The frame contains two figures, to r. a

[1] This is to be contrasted with the northern part of the territory under discussion, where the villages of Katavóthra, Angelóna, and Sykeá (and further north Kremasti, Zarax, and Rhikeá) commonly use the language. These are said to be late settlements dating from after Orloff's invasion, when the country, as Leake remarks (*Morea*, i. 204), was depleted by the flight of the inhabitants to Hydra and elsewhere. Ἀρβανίτης, I am told, is used as a term of reproach synonymous with Βλάξ and opposed to χωριάτης, *i.e.* a nomad vagrant as opposed to a settled cultivator. It is consequently unsafe to infer that the Vatikiótika are non-Albanian; indeed in some villages it was admitted that a few old men spoke it.

[2] Sathas, *Mon. Hell.* vi. 85, 224 (1466–79); cf. Sansovino, 231: 'Castello del Turco lontano 30 miglia di Manavasia'; a Greek document of 1442 (?) mentions the περιοχὴ Βατικῶν τῆς Τζακονίας (Παρνασσός, vii. 274); cf. Miklosich and Müller, *Acc. Gr. et Ital.* 301, 304, 316; 'chasteau de Vactique,' (1537) Charrière, *Nég. de la France*, i. 371.

[3] 'Villagio dirimpetto di Cerigo' (1691), Michiele in Lambros, Ἱστ. Μελετ. 210; cf. Leake, *Morea*, i. 510. A settlement in Tenos called Βατικιώτικα, dating from 1770 (D. Drosos, Ἱστ. Τήνου, p. 60), and another in Samos called Βατικιῶται (Stamatiades, Σαμιακά, iii. 29), are supposed to be colonies of the Peloponnesian Vatika, as is the village of Vatika (*alias* Musatcha) on the Aesepus. The latter seems; however, to be Albanian.

[4] This seems proved by the attributes: the type seems to be a new variant of the 'Sardanapalus' group.

A

B

C

FIG. 1.—SCULPTURES AT NEAPOLIS.

man standing facing fully draped, by cippus (r.) and a second small male figure (l.). Good work, faces damaged. (Fig. 1, B.)

(3) Similar position, marble funerary relief, 1·10 × 0·50 m., with standing figures of (l.) man and (r.) woman *en face*: the woman lays her hand on the man's shoulder. Ordinary work and badly damaged.

(4) In a corner-plot of ground to left of the main street leading from the shore a small excavation last year has resulted in the discovery of two life-sized draped female figures in marble of Roman date; the heads, which were worked separate and set in sockets, are missing. (Fig. 1, C.) With these was found a third figure of a 'woman seated on a chair,' which has been buried again; and

(5) a block of marble, 1·33 m. × 0·43 m. × 0·25 m., inscribed on narrow face in coarsely-cut letters (second century A.D.) ·04 high.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ·Γ·ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ
ΘΡΑΣΕΑΣΟΠΑΤΗΡ·ΤΗΣΕΝΒΙΩΚΟ
ΣΜΙΟΤΗΤΟΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΓΟΝΕΙΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Ἰουλίαν Φιλοκρατίδα Γ. Ἰούλιος Θρασέας ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἐν βίῳ κοσμιότητος καὶ τῆς εἰς γονεῖς εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΚΛΕΑΙΝΗΤΑΝ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΠΑΝΘΑΛΟΥΣ·ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ·Γ·ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ
ΘΡΑΣΕΑΣΟΑΝΗΡΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΟΥΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΚΝΟΥΔΙΑΘΕΣΕΩΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Ἰουλίαν Κλεαινήταν Ἰουλίου Πανθαλοῦς θυγάτερα Γ. Ἰούλιος Θρασέας ὁ ἀνὴρ φιλάνδρου σωφροσύνης καὶ φιλοτέκνου διαθέσεως ἕνεκεν.

This has been removed to the adjacent garden of G. Dertilis, where is also

(6) Bluish marble block, 0·73 m. × 0·59 × 0·53, inscribed (letters ·04 high):—

ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ
ΠΑΝΘΑΛΗΕΥΗΝΟΡΟΣ
ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΘΡΑΣΕΑΣ
ΤΟΝΠΕΝΘΕΡΟΝ

Γ. Ἰούλιον
Πανθαλῆ Εὐήνορος
Γ. Ἰούλιος Θρασέας
τὸν πενθερόν.

Just outside the house is a base with feet and lower part of legs of male figure standing by cippus. The three figures evidently belonged to a family group. A Julius Panthales is mentioned as Patronomus at Sparta in *C.I.G.* 1256, which belongs to the latter part of the second century.

(7) In the street: doorstep composed of two pieces of bluish marble, both incomplete at right edge.

(*a*) 0·85 broad. (*b*) 0·75 broad.

ΑΓΑΚ/	ΣΤΟΞΕ	Ἀγακλ[έα Ἀρι]στοξέ-
ΝΟΥΑΓ	ΕΥΟΜΕ	νου ἄ[ριστα πολιτ]ευόμε-
ΝΟΝ	ΕΚΑ	νον [ἀρετᾶς ἕν]εκα.

P. Memmius Agacles Pollianus is mentioned in Le Bas, 237 c.

The published inscriptions Le Bas, 237 d (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 3505) and 237 e (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 3506; Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* ii. 670) are still to be seen built into walls in the same street. The only other Boean inscriptions known to me are an elegiac funerary inscription (published in *B.C.H.* ix. 1885, 516, better *J.H.S.* viii. 1887, 214), and a dedication to Antoninus (Le Bas, 237 b). A fragmentary honorary decree from the neighbourhood is given by Leake *N.G.* Pl. XXIV. 114.

The 'Venetian fort' marked in the French map is about an hour from the present town. It is a small complex of buildings set on a steep spur below Pharakló: the top of the hill has been artificially extended by sloping retaining walls. The oldest portion is a roughly-built tower of oblong plan (the Venetian 'guardia') round which various rooms, including a small apsidal chapel, have been irregularly grouped.

On a small peninsula three quarters of an hour east of Neapolis are ruins of an insignificant village of uncertain date, probably mediaeval. Pausanias' harbour of Nymphaeum is identified by the cave containing a spring, with the port of H. Marina.[1] Above the church, which is ruined, are traces of ancient poros quarryings.

MALEA.

Cape Malea is an imposing rocky foreland rising high and steep from the water's edge. It still bears an evil reputation with seafarers, the ancient proverb 'Double Malea and forget your home'[2] having a modern counterpart in the suggestive distich:—

Κάβο Μαλῆα, Κάβο Μαλῆα
Βοήθα Χριστὲ καὶ Παναγιά![3]

[1] Boblaye, *Ruines*, p. 99.

[2] Str. 378; cf. Stat. *Theb.* ii. 33.

[3] E. Kapetanakis, **Λακωνικὰ Περίεργα**, 11. Cf. also the popular etymology of the name (quoted by Fiedler, *Reisen*, 339) from μαλλιά 'weil die Winde hier so wütheten, dass den Seefahrern vor Angst Haare auf der Zunge wachsen mochten.'

On the south side close down by the sea is a small natural shelf on which are built two chapels, on the furthest point east that of S. George, a hundred yards west that of S. Irene. The former is a small square building with painted dome and an apse opening eastwards. It evidently formed part of a larger church, to which the present south wall with its blind arcade belonged, and the plan may be traced to the south: the original church in fact occupied the whole of the terrace, about ten metres long, in front of the existing building; the apse had semi-circular built seats and a throne. Immediately above are remains of a second chapel on a higher level. The only relics of antiquity are a much-worn Ionic capital and half the stem of a basin, both in bluish marble.[1]

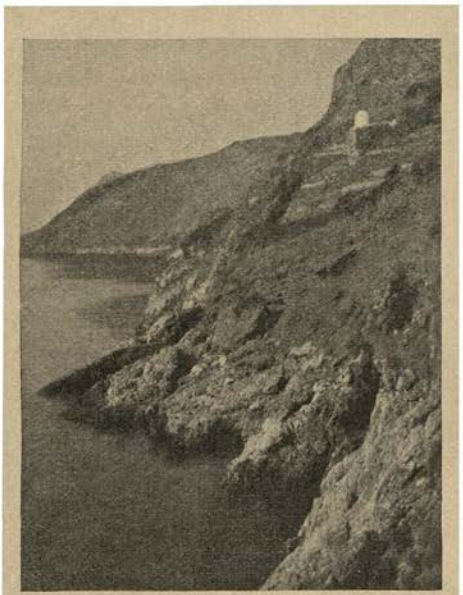


FIG. 2.—CAPE MALEA: S. IRENE.

S. Irene is only slightly larger than S. George, consisting of three parts, square (domed) nave, apse, and a barrel-vaulted entry from the north; west of this is a cistern and opposite, the now deserted monks' cells. The church contains amongst others, pictures of S. Thomas *ἐν τῷ Μαλαίῳ*[2] and of the Cypriote Panagia *τοῦ Κύκκου*. In neither church is there a single sailor's offering. (Fig. 2.)

In the middle ages (certainly as early as 1395[3]) and down to modern times (cf. Philippson) the place was inhabited by a solitary hermit; the cells were till quite lately occupied by monks. Western pilgrims rightly or wrongly supposed the chapel to be dedicated to S. Michael,[4] whence the Italian name Capo S. Angelo, supposed by some to appear in the *Voyage*

[1] These may or may not be relics of the temples of Apollo Maleatas or Lithesios and Pan, which stood on the point (Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, 74).

[2] July 7. His tomb is supposed to exist on the cape, but the site is unknown.

[3] O. d'Anglure's *Voyage*, p. 96.

[4] Cotovicus, p. 62: 'Sacellum in honorem Michaelis archangeli Christiani aedificaverunt quod etiamnum extat' (1598): von Zimber and the Graff zu Solms (1483) also mention the chapel by name.

of Sigurd (A.D. 1111) as *Engilsnaes*.[1] The dangers of the cape are frequently mentioned in the *Itineraries* of returning pilgrims, who attributed the heavy squalls so often encountered about the point to the direct agency of S. Michael; he was supposed to create them by the movement of his wings.[2] A modern folk-tale assigns them to a legion of evil spirits confined there by a magician.[3] So serious could such squalls be for sailing-craft that westward bound pilgrim-ships were frequently forced to put back to Melos and there await a fair wind,[4] and when the dangerous cape was safely doubled the event was celebrated with music and general thanksgiving—'musten die Pfeiffer und die Drommeten unnd Posaunen schallen, all durch ein ander, mit grossen Jubel unnd die Jungfraw Maria lobende, dass wir durch dass Loch so frey gekommen waren.'[5]

On the top of the promontory still exist the ruins of the Venetian coast-guard station called *Guardia di Cavo Malio*.[6]

From the monasteries of Malea to Velanídia is reckoned three hours: there is water at H. Myros, a ruined church above the bay of S. George. Velanídia, which possesses a tiny port and a fleet of fifteen sea-going caiques besides as many fishing boats, is probably the site of Side, though I could hear of no antiquities. Kastaniá (three hours N.) has no communication with the sea.

Houssiánika[7] (two hours) is a hamlet of six or seven houses in a rocky valley opening on the harbour and island of H. Phokàs: it is inhabited by descendants of Turks converted to Christianity at the time of the revolution. They speak Greek and are very devout. The Monemvasiote Turks are said by Papamichalopoulos[8] to have been much attached to their country and to have lived on the best of terms with the local Greeks

[1] Ed. Wright, p. 58, where this is disputed in favour of Aegospotami.

[2] Graff zu Solms (in *Feyerabend*, p. 208): 'Die Leut umb diesen Berg wenen (? meinen) dass so S. Michael sein Flugel in diesen Ecke erschwinge, so werden die Winde beweget und damit die Schiffe vertrieben.'

[3] **Τὰ τρία Φουσσάτα**, in Politis' **Παραδόσεις**, 559.

[4] *E.g.* Von Zimber (*Feyerabend*, p. 339) took thirteen days, the Graff zu Solms eleven; the latter says that the period was sometimes as much as three or four months; cf. *Chroniques de Jean d'Auton*, p. 197. Melos was chosen on account of its good harbour and the bad reputation of the Monemvasiotes.

[5] Graff zu Solms, 209.

[6] Sathas, *Mon. Hist. Hell.* vi. 254. The post dates from 1527 (*ibid.* iv. 231), but had been used earlier by the Byzantines; telegraphing was done by beacon-fires.

[7] From the 'eponymous founder' Houssein.

[8] **Πολιορκία**, p. 91.

even through the siege. I was told that there are fifteen or sixteen families of Turkish origin in the deme of Boeae.[1]

A short hour from Houssiánika is Voutama the country-house of M. A. Apostolides to whose genial hospitality we have been more than once indebted. Here the post-road from Neapolis to Monemvasia[2] comes down to the shore. On the estate beside the *revma* is a short stretch of 'Pelasgian' wall, generally two courses in height, possibly built for a road terrace. Finds of coins and potsherds show that this beautiful site was not uninhabited in ancient times.

EPIDELIUM.

Off the coast, about a mile north of Voutama ruins including numerous columns can be discerned in calm weather under the sea.[3] We have already noticed at Elaphonisos and Plitra the fall in the coast-line, which has occurred since ancient times. Ruins beneath the sea are also reported by Philippson in the Bay of S. Elias, west of Malea.[4]

It is at least possible that this is the site of Epidelium, a village (*χωρίον*) with a sanctuary of Apollo which possessed a wooden idol brought by the sea from Delos after the sack of the island by Mithradates. Of the position of Epidelium we know that it was (1) 100 stades coastwise from Malea and 200 from Epidaurus (2) on the sea (3) at the limit of the territory of Boeae. The figures are impossible, implying as we have seen that nineteen nautical miles are equivalent to 300 stades. The site proposed by Leake and Boblaye, C. Kamíli, corresponds in so far that it marks a point one-third of the whole distance from Malea to Epidaurus. But its position is most remote on the land side, nor is it frequented as a harbour: the ruins reported to Boblaye are nothing more than remains of a small church. Surely, too, Pausanias or still more one of the *periplì* would have denominated the place *ἄκρα*, had the sanctuary been on so striking a promontory. For the submerged site near Voutama there is further to

[1] The extremely rare phenomenon of Turks turning Christian was paralleled at the surrender of Athens in 1687, when 300 Turks were voluntarily baptised (Rycaut, iii. 272; cf. *ibid.* 270 (Castel Tornese)).

[2] From Neapolis to Voutama is reckoned 2½–3 hours; the last three-quarters (after leaving the plain) are over very rough hills. From Voutama to Monemvasia (3½ hours) the road follows the shore, but only the last hour is as yet practicable for wheeled traffic.

[3] I have this on the authority of M. Apostolides, who has sent a detailed account to M. Ph. Négris, a specialist in such phenomena.

[4] P. 176; for the west side of the Laconian Gulf cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. 225.

be weighed the fact that the coast hereabouts is regularly searched for wreckage brought up, it may be, by the same current which brought the Apollo from Delos.

Temple of Artemis Limnatis.

The site of the temple of Artemis Limnatis on the road from Boeae to Epidaurus may be placed near the modern church of H. Thekla, an hour and a half from Voutama, north of which is a district still called Λίμνες. The owner of the land, M. Stellakis, has made excavations between the church and the shore which have hitherto resulted only in the discovery of Byzantine graves and architectural detail. Above the road at this point is the well-watered and wooded valley called Περιβόλια (by the Venetians *I Giardini*) with a picturesque Venetian villa and church of S. Stephen. In this neighbourhood many Monemvasiote families have their country seats. The church of S. George at the bridge, being the only one of the name at Monemvasia, is presumably the healing shrine mentioned by la Guilletière,[1] but its vogue seems to have declined, perhaps with the rise of the Panagia Chrysaphitissa [2] in the town itself.

MONEMVASIA.

The rock of Monemvasia[3] has been identified with the Μινῴα ἄκρα, Μινῴα φρούριον of ancient writers, an identification justified by its position and conspicuous position on the coast-line. The ancient description of the modern island as ἄκρα is probably to be explained by a fall in the coast-line, a phenomenon still occurring at other points in the Peloponnesus and here not counterbalanced by detritus from rivers. It is noteworthy that as late as the twelfth century Nicetas still calls the place ἄκρα not νῆσος.

The original stone bridge of fourteen arches giving access to the rock

[1] P. 584: 'In n'y en a point aujourd'huy de plus célèbre dans la Morée pour les miracles qui s'y font par l'entremise du Saint'; but the church alluded to is called the cathedral.

[2] The story of the 'flitting' of the picture from Chrysapha near Sparta, and of the healing of the abbess, are given by Papamichalopoulos (p. 95) from a MS. of 1600. The church is still considered θαυματουργός.

[3] The more familiar western corruptions of the name (Malvasia, Malvagia, Marvaxia, whence Malvoisie, Malmsey) seem to depend on a sailor's corruption of the word to make it approximate to Ital. *malvagia*, 'darumb dass dieselbgen Leut wissentlich vbel thun,' as the Graff von Solms writes as comment on his own version *Malfasia* (? *male+facio*). The Turkish name Menekcheh Ka'alesi (*'violet castle,'* Papamichalopoulos, p. 60) is apparently a still wilder attempt at the difficult name.

on which the town and fortress stand was replaced in 1889 by the present iron structure and a mole of masonry, which form part of the main road from Molai. The Venetian tower decorated with the lion of S. Mark which defended the island end of the bridge has also been removed, though part of the foundation and the loop-holed wall on either side of it survive. Above the bridge tower the green-grey and orange cliffs of the great rock, crowned by a battery; the rock is oval in plan[1] and on the northern side drops sheer to the sea, while on the south it is bordered by a gentle slope round which the road—in Turkish times bordered with tombs—passes to the gate of the lower town. The harbour lies outside the town-walls, a tiny rocky cove hardly to be taken seriously even by open boats.

Descriptions of the town and its monuments are numerous[2]: it seems to have changed little except by the natural processes of decay. The only systematic work on the architectural monuments is that of Mr. Traquair.[3] The history down to the beginning of the Turkish period (1540) has been treated at length by Mr. W. Miller.[4] Subsequent events may be briefly summarised here.

In 1564 an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the town was made by the Grand Master (de la Valette) of Malta. This is noteworthy as the only attempt of the kind. De la Valette was approached by a Greek, who offered to show him a path up to the citadel practicable for a small force: the offer was accepted and an expedition under Parisotto gained a footing on the rock by night unobserved by the garrison, but their guide was unable to find the path before dawn compelled the Maltese to retire. The Grand Master evidently believed in the existence of the passage as he pensioned the guide: Bosio says the Turks subsequently discovered and blocked it.[5]

[1] Its shape and insulated position have won for it the quaint local nickname Πετροκαράβι.

[2] Anon. *c.* 1475, *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv. 78, § 21; La Guilletière [1669], *Lacédémone ancienne et nouvelle* 579 ff.; Coronelli, *Mémoires du Roy. de Morée*, Amst. 1686, pp. 100–5 (with a view reprinted in Dapper's *Morea*); M. Michiele [1691] in Lambros, Ἱστ. Μελετ. 210; Bellin, *Descr. de la Morée*, 1771 (Pilots' Handbook); Castellan [1797], *Morée*, pp. 39–84 (Map, etc.); Leake [1805], *Morea*, i. 203 ff.; *Expéd. Scient. de la Morée*, 1835, *Relation* 459 ff., *Atlas* Pl. XXXIII. (view from S.W.), *Architecture* iii. 55; Aldenhoven, *Itinéraire*, 361–363; Buchon [1840–1], *Grèce Continent.* 409–15; Wyse, *Excursion in Peloponnesus*, i. ch. i. (view from S.W.); Boetticher, *Malvasia* in *Neues Reich*, 1878, 33; Tozer, *J.H.S.* iv. 233–6; Philippson, *Peloponnesus*, 173; Admiralty Chart 1591.

[3] *B.S.A.* xii. 270–4 (illus.)

[4] *J.H.S.* 1907, 229–241, 300–1 (illus.).

[5] Bosio, *Ist. della S.R. di S. Giov. Gieros.* xxiii. pp. 479–81. The highest point reached was

During the Cretan War Monemvasia possessed a special importance as the chief point of embarkation for the Turkish forces.[1] The Venetians and their allies made a series of attempts on the town (1653, Foscolo, 1654, 1655, 1687 Morosini), all, however, on an inadequate scale. Monemvasia fell to Cornaro, last of all the fortresses of the Morea, in July 1690, yielding rather to the besiegers' elaborate measures of isolation[2] than to assault, though the latter tactics were repeatedly attempted. The place was ceded without a blow in 1715, apparently battered by Orloff in 1770,[3] and finally taken by the Greeks in 1821.[4]

The only ancient inscription hitherto reported from Monemvasia is the following much worn and mutilated fragment, apparently of a proxenia-decree, found by Mr. Wace in the pavement of H. Sophia and now transferred to the Demarchy.

Marble, 0·38 × 0·25 m.; right edge preserved for 0·26 m., letters ·02 m. high :—

ΚΑΙΕ	*καὶ ε[ὐεργέτης ?*
ΝΔΙ·Τ . ΛΕΙΠ	*ὧ]ν δι[α]τ[ε]λεῖ π*
Ι·ΛΜΙ	. . . .
ΚΑΙΤ	*καὶ τ*
ΗΝΑΡΧΗΙ	*τ]ὴν ἀρχὴ[ν . .*
ΝΕΙΣΤΗΝΠ	*. . . ν εἰς τὴν π*
ΥΝΟΙΑΝΗΙ	*ε]ὔνοιαν . . .*
ΕΙΤΩΝΕΞΗ	*πολ]ειτῶν*
ΛΠΡΑΓ̈·ΟΣΥ	*(ἀ) πρ(α)γ[μ]οσύ[νη ?*
ΤΩ·ΕΥΤΥ	. . . . .

The Frankish, Venetian, and later Greek inscriptions have been published last by N. Veïs.[5]

a 'chapel in a cave,' presumably the cave called *τῶν Καλογρηῶν* ('of the nuns') above the modern cemetery. This cave is close under the top of the cliff: its mouth has been at some time blocked by a wall of which traces remain.

[1] Valiero, *Guerra di Candia*, 305; Nani, *Hist. Rep. Ven.* ii. 401; Randolph, *Present State of Morea*, 10.

[2] They built forts at Port S. Nicolo (Epidaurus Limera) and Perivolia, and had uninterrupted command of the sea. The medal struck on this occasion deserves mention here for its quaint view of the town.

[3] Wyse, p. 29; cf. Castellan 43: 'On aperçoit partout les traces de la dernière guerre: les murs sont criblés de boulets et noircis par l'incendie: les rues sont jonchées de débris de bombes'; and Leake, *Morea*, i. 204–5.

[4] Papamichalopoulos, **Πολιορκία τῆς Μονεμβασίας.**

[5] **Ἀθηνᾶ**, 1904, pp. 239–242; cf. K. Zesiu, *ibid.* 1891, reprinted in **Συμμικτά**, pp. 3–9.

From Monemvasia to Zarax port[1] is reckoned four hours and a half, viz. along high road 1, ruins of Epidaurus ½, 'Palaea Monemvasia' (houses) ½, Zarax port 2½. The road is rough and the journey more pleasantly made by sea in fine weather: on the island called Daskaliò are insignificant ruins of a late monastery.

EPIDAURUS LIMERA.

Epidaurus Limera was reputed a foundation from the Argive Epidaurus: it possessed temples of Aphrodite, Asklepios, Athena (on the Acropolis), and Zeus Soter (by the port). Near it were shown the hole into which the original Epidaurian serpent disappeared, and a pool called the Water of Ino, into which loaves were thrown as a means of divination.[2] The territory of Epidaurus was ravaged in 424[3] and 414[4] by the Athenians.

The ruins of Epidaurus Limera were recognised and admired already by Cyriac of Ancona,[5] and seem to have been generally identified locally in the seventeenth century;[6] they were discovered to Europe by Castellan in 1797[7] (Fig. 3).

They are situated on and about a rocky hill a few hundred yards from the sea; the site is now under cultivation. The hill is connected on the west by a high neck of rock with the main system, while to the south flows a stream—dry in summer—in a considerable valley, through which must at all times have run the chief road connecting the plain of Molai with the sea. Good springs exist higher up the valley, where are a ruined Turkish villa with gardens and an Albanian village, H. Ioannes.

The walls enclose an irregular area, including in the acropolis the two peaks of the hill, and beyond it support a section of gently-sloping land to the south and west. Though they can be traced with insignificant gaps for their whole extent, the seaward section alone is in tolerable preservation. In the south-western portion ruins of late habitations are noted in the plan;

[1] A description of the ruins of Zarax is to be included in the next section northwards.

[2] On the Water of Ino see Frazer's note on Paus. iii. 23. 8. Leake (*Morea*, i. 217) and Boblaye (*Ruines*, 100) each found a pool; the latter's appears to have the strongest claim.

[3] Thuc. iv. 56. [4] *Ibid.* vi. 105.

[5] *Epigr. rep. per Illyr.* xxxvii. [6] Cf. Guilletière, 587, and the Venetian historians.

[7] *Morée*, 39–84, with plan of the bay and view of the ruins; see also Leake, *Morea*, i.; *Expéd. Scientif.*, *Atlas*, vignette at end (view of ruins); Boblaye, *Ruines*, 100.

FIG. 3.—EPIDAURUS LIMERA: PLAN OF THE RUINS.

the site was occupied by Fort St. Nicolas in the siege of 1689,[1] and the position of the ruins is so convenient as to invite plundering[2]; all this accounts for the bad condition of the south-western portion, whereas the seaward walls form a convenient and almost indispensable terracing for cultivation (Fig. 4).

Of the seaward section again, the acropolis portion is best preserved, one tower attaining the height of four metres (seven courses); the average, however, is about two metres. The walls are built of moderate-sized[3] granite blocks generally laid in fairly regular courses, occasional faults

FIG. 4.—EPIDAURUS LIMERA: SOUTHERN WALL.

being corrected by the insertion of small stones, without mortar and diagonally jointed; corners of square towers are drafted. True polygonal work is sometimes to be found in the base of the wall (Fig. 5).

It will be seen from the plan that the towers which defend the walls are small—hardly more than buttresses—frequent, irregularly spaced, and built solid, a round plan being preferred for the corners. The acropolis appears to have communicated only with the lower town, and no gateway can be distinguished, the apparent gap at the northern end being filled by the intervention of the natural rock.

Inside the acropolis area are three rectangular terraces, presumably foundations for buildings, at different levels: they are built in the same

[1] Rycaut iii. 362, Locatelli. [2] See below.

[3] An unusually large block measures 1·00 × ·70 m.

style as the walls (drafted corners) and stand to a height of about a metre. On the south side, rock-cut steps lead from the acropolis to the lower town.

Just south of the ruins at the opening of the valley on the sea Castellan found 'une espèce de petit temple composé de six colonnes de marbre blanc d'environ deux pieds de diamètre, encore debout sur une base continue qui forme une parallélogramme d'environ six pieds de large sur onze pieds de longueur.' Considering, however, that already in 1527 the inhabitants of Monemvasia sent a complaint to Venice that their immemorial rights of stone-quarrying at Epidaurus for building purposes had been infringed by the Rettore,[1] it is permissible to doubt whether this temple was more than the ruins of a church.

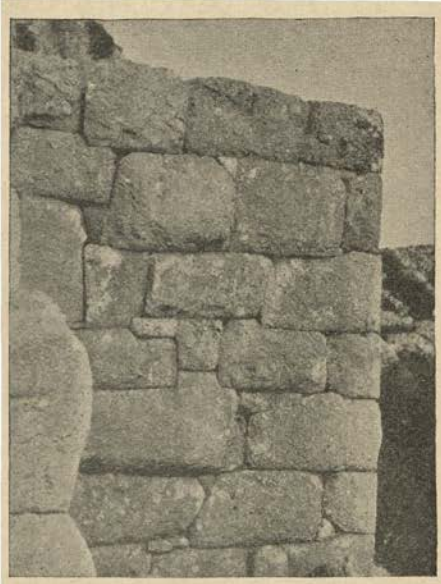


FIG. 5.—EPIDAURUS LIMERA: MASONRY OF TOWER.

The slight indentation of the coast at this point was probably Ptolemy's harbour of Zeus Soter between Minoa and Epidaurus, and to be connected with the temple mentioned by Pausanias. Castellan's map designates it 'Port S. Paul,' which figures also in Uzzano. It is the deepest point in the bay, sheltered south by the rock of Monemvasia and north by Cape Limenaria, and is prescribed as a temporary anchorage by the *Mediterranean Pilot*.[2]

The *guardia* on Kremidi is a plain building of rubble, rectangular in plan, with a single doorway in the first floor approached by a ruined stairway.

[1] Sathas, *Mon. Hist. Hell.* iv. 232. The ruins are here referred to as 'terra antiqua ruinata in questo scoio fuora de le porte de la terra habitada, ala qual per el passato se comodavemo a tuor de le pietre tuffi a fabricar.'

[2] Cf. also Guilletière, p. 583: 'Cette vieille Malvezia est deserte; mais les Galères, et les Vaisseaux y vont ordinairement jetter l'ancre; parce que le Port est bon, et le fond de bonne tenue.'

F. W. HASLUCK.

HIERAPOLIS SYRIAE.

So little is known concerning the site of the famous Hierapolis of Syria, that even a hurried visit is worthy of record. I passed through the place twice in the spring of 1908, in the company of Mr. Richard Norton, stopping on each occasion a night and part of two days. It was inadvisable, in view of the main purpose of my journey, to delay long enough to make a plan, or do anything else likely to excite the ready suspicion of the local authorities and the Circassian colonists. We contented ourselves, therefore, with making a general survey and photographing, with copying all inscriptions which the promise of a reward could induce the Circassians to show us, and with buying small antiquities.

The identity of Mumbij with the holy city variously called Mabog, Bambyce, and Hierapolis, is, of course, not doubtful. Several authorities fix its situation with fair precision, especially Strabo xvi. p. 748 ; Zosimus iii. 12 ; and the Peutinger Table. I am enabled by the kindness of Mr. C. H. Turner to add a very exact indication of its distance from the Euphrates at the regular crossing for eastward bound travellers. This is given in the narrative of the fifth-century pilgrim, Etheria (?), formerly known as Silvia—'proficiscens de Ierapolim in quintodecimo miliario in nomine Dei perveni ad fluvium Eufraten' (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxix. p. 61). There is only one point on the river fifteen Roman miles by road from Mumbij, and that is at the mouth of the Sajur tributary, 23 kilometres distant in an air-line. Thence the channel turns eastwards, and when it passes the latitude of Mumbij lies at a distance of 31 kilometres

or nearly 20 English miles. It is interesting, in view of this indication, to find that the caravans and waggons bound from Aleppo to Urfa and Mosul still go by way of Mumbij to the Sajur mouth and thence are ferried across the Euphrates to Tell Ahmar on the left bank. This road had fallen into disuse till a few years ago owing to the nomadisation and consequent insecurity of the district south-west of Seruj, and caravans used to make a wide détour by Birejik, reaching that ferry either by the Sarambol or Akjeh bridges over the middle course of the Sajur (the latter bridge is now falling to ruin), or by way of Aintab and Nizib. But the Ottoman Government has for some time been making itself felt by the Arabs on the middle Euphrates, and has so far pacified the Seruj district, that traffic has swung back to the direct road. The latter is naturally easy, passing over a rolling down country as far as the river, and thence through an almost plain region to Seruj. Although no *chaussée* has been made, carriages can do the seventy miles from Aleppo to the Sajur mouth in about ten hours running lightly over the loamy surface, except in the short wet season.

This road from Aleppo by way of Bab (Batnae) to Mumbij was that by which Julian marched in 363 A.D. to Hierapolis. The 'pleasant grove of cypresses,' where the people of Batnae received the Emperor with too demonstrative an enthusiasm for the pagan revival (see Julian's letter to Libanius, *epp.* xxvii), is still represented by the garden grounds of Bab and its neighbour Tedif. The Roman road was probably constructed by Septimius Severus, like that other great Euphratean highway from Caesarea-Mazaca to Melitene; for at Arimeh, a small Arab village on a conspicuous height, half-way between Bab and Mumbij, we found a milestone of this Emperor, together with another almost wholly effaced, and a large number of ancient squared blocks. The two milestones lie below the village just to the right of the waggon-track. When we noticed them, their inscribed faces were turned downwards, and it was only with some difficulty that we induced the villagers to dig out the stones and lever them. Such, however, were the inconvenience of their position and their weight (they are of the usual columnar type, about nine feet long and two feet in diameter), that we could not disengage the written surface enough to copy the ends of the lines in the only legible inscription. The latter, cut in the bold coarse lettering of Antoninian *milliaria*, and a good deal rubbed and chipped, reads as follows, so far as the inscription was visible to us:—

(1)	IMPCAES///	Imp. Caes. [divi M.
	ANTONINIP////	Antonini P[ii Germ. f-
	IL////VICO///////	il. [di]vi Co[mmodi fra.
	DIVIANTONINIPI///	divi Antonini Pi[i nep.
	DIVIHADRIANIP////	divi Hadriani p[ronep.
	DI//////TRAIANI///////	di[vi] Traiani [abnep.
	DIVINERVAE////NEP	divi Nervae [ad]nep.
	////SEPT·SEVERVS	L.] Sept. Severus
	PERTINAXAVG////	Pertinax Aug. [Arab.
	ADIAB·PP·POT////	Adiab. p. p. pot. [trib.
	V·IMPVIII·COSI////	v. imp. viii. cos. i[i
	ETMAVR·AN////	et M. Aur. An[toninus
	CAESARDESIG////	Caesar desig[natus
	IMPMP	Imp. m. p.
	XIII	xiii.

The enumeration of honours dates the stone, and probably the completion of the road, to the year 197 A.D. The mile-numeral is, so far as I could see, complete ; but it is just possible that it was originally xiiii. We rode the distance between Arimeh and Mumbij in 3½ hours, the native estimate (at 3½ miles an hour) being 4 hours. Throughout our journey, where the going was as good as hereabouts, we used to travel four miles an hour. The distance is, therefore, about 14 English miles. But the western limit of the walls of Hierapolis lies nearly half a mile nearer than Mumbij to Arimeh, and this fact, coupled with the slight excess of the Roman mile-length, brings the numeral xiii into accord with the actual distance to Hierapolis, which we may safely assume to have been the *caput viae.* It should be remarked that Kiepert's map, which places Arimeh and Mumbij twenty-eight kilometres apart in an air-line, is very faulty east of Aleppo. Bab is marked a good deal out of its true place, and we found repeatedly that, while native estimates agreed with our own times, they did not do so with the map. In the above inscription line 3 has been intentionally defaced so far as it contains the name of Commodus. In l. 10 one would have expected *trib.* to precede *pop.*, and it is possible that in our copy PP should have been TR ; but the letters, as I give them, seemed quite clear on the stone, and the punctuation after them supports our reading, since all the other titles are self-contained between points.

The other milestone lies close by. It is of precisely similar size and appearance, but its inscription has been intentionally effaced. Faint traces of letters could, however, be made out at the beginnings of three lines in the latter part of the text thus :—

(2)	///I////P///	- - i[m]p - - - - -
	ET/////////	et - - - - - -
	CAES/////	Caes[ar - - - -

These beginnings exactly correspond, it will be noticed, with the beginnings of ll. 11—13 on the first stone ; and as the character of the letters is identical, it is most probable that the second inscription had the same tenour as the first until the name of the Emperor designate was reached. It then probably substituted *L. Septimius Geta* for the M. Aur. Antoninus of the first stone, and the whole inscription was, therefore, erased on the accession of Caracalla. Perhaps some one can quote another instance of two companion stones being erected by Septimius Severus, the first with the name of one son, the second with that of the other.

The traveller pursues his way towards Mumbij over a rolling country, quite treeless but of much natural fertility, through which a plough could be driven for miles without striking a stone. The whole district is now a royal estate of the Sultan and cultivated by tenants settled in numerous hamlets dotted over the downs, not five per cent. of which are marked on Kiepert's map. The estate has been acquired piece-meal during the present reign, a beginning having been made with the planting of a colony of Absekh Circassian refugees at Mumbij in 1879. This fact is worth putting on record, lest the present status of the ancient priestly domain of Hierapolis be quoted hereafter as an example of the unbroken transmission of such domains through royal hands to the present day. It is a co-incidence of recent occurrence : nothing more. The fertility and populousness of a district, left almost blank by cartographers as a semi-desert steppe and qualified by earlier travellers as devoid of all natural advantages, surprised us. We were assured it enjoyed a very adequate rainfall and a comparatively temperate climate, while abundant water is to be obtained almost anywhere without deep boring. In the immediate neighbourhood of Mumbij itself extensive remains of a *kanat* irrigation system are to be seen, dating perhaps from the Persian occupation, but possibly older. A sight of the country will remove all doubt as to the source of the riches of

the Syrian Goddess, and the field in which her thousands of *hieroduli* had to labour. I failed to find any other trace of the Roman road; but two miles west of Mumbij we were hailed by a villager of Urum Safa (or Um es-Safa, as I heard the name), a hamlet near the track on the left, who said he had 'colours on the floor' of his house. This cryptic statement proved to mean a large Roman mosaic of geometric pattern in perfect condition, over which the hut had been built. That peasant has one of the best floors in Syria, and his wife has kept it commendably clean.

From a last rise in the ground, about half a mile from Mumbij, a view is obtained of the famous site, lying in a shallow pan on the highest part of the downs.[1] The ground falls away very gently on all sides towards the Sajur, the Euphrates, the great Sabkha salt-marsh, and the valley of Bab, from which we had come. As a result of the Circassian occupation almost all the standing remains of antiquity, noticed by travellers from Maundrell to Chesney, have disappeared. I failed to find any traces of the Theatre, the Stadium, or the two Temples. Indeed the only obvious pre-Islamic structures *in situ* are firstly, the walls of the outer *enceinte*, evidently of late construction, to judge by tombstones used therein and lately extracted by the Circassians (see inscription No. 9, later): these walls are banked up with silt and overgrown with grass. Secondly, scanty remains of a stepped quay-wall or revetment, with water-stairs at intervals, which surrounds a large pool, some three acres in area, in the centre of the western half of the site (Fig. 1). These remains extend all along the western bank and are visible also on the southern, but are obliterated elsewhere. The pool is said to be perennial and of some depth in the centre, and it can hardly be other than the λίμνη οὐ πολλὸν ἑκὰς τοῦ ἱροῦ in which, according to the treatise *De Dea Syria* (§45), sacred fish of remarkable size, beauty, and docility were kept. I cannot say if its depth be really above 200 cubits, as the treatise alleges; but the altar in the middle, to which the votaries used to swim, has disappeared. The water-stairs, however, by which they went down into the lake, remain. I can believe that clearing the banks and dredging the bottom of this pool might be well worth while, if it be really the place which was the centre of the cult-practices described in §§ 46–8 of the *De Dea Syria*.

My local informants knew nothing of fish in this pool; but later on

[1] The writer of the article *Hierapolis* in Smith, *Dict. of Anc. Geog.* calls it a 'rocky hollow,' following, presumably, Chesney. Its main characteristic is earthiness, and it produces some of the densest and highest corn-crops I have ever seen.

we came across a curious neighbouring survival of a similar cult-practice close to the holy site of Doliche, north of Aintab. Here, at the village of

FIG. 1.—THE SACRED LAKE AT HIERAPOLIS SYRIAE (MUMBIJ).

Sam, is a deep walled pool of pellucid spring-water full of enormous fish, which to my ignorant eyes seemed a kind of carp. These fish are held

FIG. 2.—STATUE OF A RECUMBENT LION.

sacred and fed by the villagers, and the pool was called by them a *ziaret*; but why the fish are so sacred, they would not, probably could not, tell. A

second pool, also held holy, exists at Chairwan, about three miles east on the road to Dulukh (Doliche). The probable site of the temple of Zeus Dolichenus, on the summit of the hill now marked by the large and much venerated mosque-tomb of a nameless (non-existent?) saint, known locally as Dulukh Baba, looks down on both these pools.

The western part of the site of Hierapolis is littered with squared blocks and fragments of late mouldings, not *in situ*, but either set on end to form fences, or collected into heaps to clear the ground for the careful and successful agriculture of the Circassians. The surface, wherever visible, is hummocky, and evidently conceals buried structures. Even Moslem buildings seem to have gone the way of the rest, except for one or two ruinous mosque-tombs in the cemeteries south of the modern town. Just before the latter is reached, the ground rises abruptly to a plateau, and probably here was an inner wall, making a smaller and earlier *enceinte* round the great Temple and its immediate precinct. The position of the Temple may have been more or less where the large mosque, built about thirty years ago, now stands; but no confirmatory indications are visible. The whole eastern half of the site right up to the eastern wall, which has been greatly quarried of late, is occupied by the houses, courtyards, and gardens of modern Mumbij. In the east centre the ground rises to a low hill on which some of the better Circassian houses are built. If this were not the site of the Temple, it was probably an Acropolis. It is not quite so near the Sacred Lake as the mosque site.

Where so much building and fencing had been going on in recent years, one hoped to find inscriptions and other significant remains in house-walls, courtyards, and fences: but a reward offered for every 'written stone,' though it prompted much zeal, brought only a moderate return—fourteen inscriptions, Greek and Latin, and some miscellaneous uninscribed antiquities, which may be enumerated at once. They were (1) A much defaced recumbent lion in limestone lying near the S.E. angle of the wall (Fig. 2). (2) A headless seated draped statue of a man, fair Graeco-Roman work, lying near the south end of the bazar. (3) Four small terracotta heads probably representing the goddess (Fig. 3, *a*, *b*); the best preserved of these I could not induce its owner (a woman) to sell. Its type is similar, however, to that of a half-length figurine (Fig. 3 *c*), which I procured later at Tell Khalid, a site on the right bank of the Sajur,

about a day's journey to the northward. This shows the hands clasping the breasts—the so-called 'Ishtar' type. (4) A cylinder in shell, apparently injured by fire, representing the usual Assyrian scene of the fertilisation of the palm by a winged god, attended by ministers. The treatment of the curving wings, however, shows the cylinder to be probably north Syrian (5) A large *stela* built into the back of a shop in the bazar, and showing

a *b* *c*

FIG. 3.—TERRACOTTAS REPRESENTING THE *DEA SYRIA*.

five busts, two on the upper half and three on the lower, the two friezes divided by a spread eagle. Coarse late work: no inscription. (6) Numerous bronze coins, none of any variety or interest, and mostly in very bad condition.

The majority of the inscribed monuments are sepulchral *stelae* of a type which we met with later in the Sajur valley; others have been found frequently in north Syria. The characteristic feature of the ornament is an eagle standing on a wreath, with wings displayed. In

two cases two or more opposed eagles occurred. In one case a large basket was added. The eagle usually bears a strong resemblance to that shown on the obverse of a series of Imperial coins of Hierapolis. But even if this numismatic type was taken from one of Antioch, with which it is practically identical, and even if it represents the Roman eagle, its adoption as a sepulchral device may still be due to a popular identification of the type with the eagle of the Syrian Sun God,[1] who, at Hierapolis, was named Hadad, and shared honours with the goddess, Atheh, or Atargatis.

The *stelae* of this type with inscriptions, seen by us, are the following. All were read by Mr. Norton as well as by myself:—

(3) Eagle to left, on wreath; worn on the right. Inscription below. In yard of Ibish Chaush.

MAPIAX////////C////	Μαρία χ[ρη]σ[τὴ
AWPEX////////	ἄωρε χ[αῖρε.

Ἄωρος = one who has died untimely. See later No. 13.

(4) Eagle to left on wreath. 1·60 × ·50. Inscription below. Outside house of Hafuz Effendi.

ЄΛP (complete)	? ϛλρ′
ΗΑΚΡΑΞΥ	- - - - ? - - -
NOYXPH	- - ? χρη -
CTEAAYC	στὲ ἄλυ(πε)
XAIPE	χαῖρε.

L. 1. The first symbol I can only interpret as a form of stigma, but it ought to be turned round, like a reversed Roman R. It is clear that these three letters form a date. If I interpret them rightly, they = 136.

The epigraphic character of the inscription precludes any date B.C., and the probable era is that of Commagene, 71 A.D. The date of this tombstone will then be 207 A.D.

L. 2. The first and the last two letters are more than doubtful; and under the circumstances it is idle to attempt to restore what was probably an unusual male native name.

[1] See F. Cumont in *Festschrift für O. Benndorf*, p. 293.

(5) Eagle to right on wreath. Inscription below. Worn on right. In a fence N.W. of town.

ΓΑΜΑ////////	Γαμα - - - - - - - - - -
ΛΩ////ΧΡ////	(ἄ)ω[ρε] χρ[ηστὲ χαῖρε.

The name does not begin like any known Greek name and was probably a Syrian one formed from the root Γαμαλ- which appears in the Jewish town Γάμαλα and the name Gamaliel.

(6) Eagle to right on wreath. Inscription below. Threshold of house of Haji Ismail.

ΒΑΚΧΙΕΧΡΗϹΤΕ	Βάκχιε χρηστὲ
ΑΛΥΠΕΧΑΙΡΕ	ἄλυπε χαῖρε.
ϗΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΥ	? κγ′ Γορπιαίου
Β// Ρ	β (?) ρ′

The year-date, if complete, would probably indicate the beginning of the third cent. A. D. See No. 4 above.

(7) Eagle to right on wreath. Inscription above. In a field W. of town.

ΑΑΠΠΙΕΧΡΗϹΤΕ	? Λ. Ἄππιε ? χρηστὲ
ΑΛΥΠΕΧΑΙΡΕ	ἄλυπε χαῖρε.

If a name Λάππιος were known, it would be preferable to the reading given above, which seems rather too Roman for this Graeco-Syrian community.

(8) Spread eagle without wreath. Inscription below. In a hole in the street leading S.W. from the N. end of bazar.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΧΡΗ	Ἀπολλώνιε χρη-
ϹΤΕΑΛΥΠΕΧΑΙΡΕ	στὲ ἄλυπε χαῖρε.

(9) Two small eagles opposed, above: basket and wreath below. Below again two larger opposed eagles. The inscription is disposed irregularly in the vacant spaces between the reliefs, lightly scratched, much rubbed, and very illegible. Lying on the ruin of the S. wall, whence it had lately been extracted.

It is useless to try to restore this *graffito*. The first group of letters seems to contain a date, perhaps *β(λ')* *Ἀρτεμ(ισί)ου* *ακ[ρ'.* = 192 A.D. The rest of the inscription contains, presumably, two or more names, perhaps four corresponding to the number of eagles. Probably the last was *Μαρ(ία)* *χρηστὴ* *χαῖρε.*

(10) Two opposed eagles, broken above. Inscription below. In a field E. of the town :—

MANN//////////AΠΠOΛΛΩ	*Μαννι[αῖε ? καὶ] Ἀπολλώ -*
////ETHA////////E XPHCT////	*νι(ε)* *ἔτη* *α'* *[καὶ]* *ε'* *χρηστ]οί.*

The duplication of the eagles and the indications in the text seem to point to a double interment, probably of two young children. *Μαννα῀ος* is a Hebrew name, cf. Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*

The following are engraved on statues:—

(11) Lower part of a limestone statue, less than life-size, in the house of Yusuf. On the plinth.

AΠOΛINAPI	*Ἀπολινάρι-*
ЄXPHCTЄ	*ε χρηστὲ*
AΛYΠЄ	*ἄλυπε*
XI	*χ(αῖρε).*

(12) Seated draped statue of a woman, holding scroll in r. hand. Headless. Lying at the S. end of the bazar. On the plinth.

AΠOΛΛΩNIA	*Ἀπολλωνία*

(13) Lower half of bas-relief of draped figure. In a heap of blocks N.W. of the town. Inscription below.

A////ЄNNAB////I////	----------
AΩPЄXAPЄ	ἄωρε χα(ῖ)ρε.

The first line probably contained a Syrian name graecized. Since the second letter seems to have had a horizontal stroke at the bottom, and ϵ and σ have rounded forms, this name began A { Δ / Z / Ξ } ENNAB.....

While the majority of the names in these ill-cut epitaphs testify to the thoroughness of the Seleucid settlement of Cyrrhestica and Commagene, a considerable proportion of Asiatic names occurs, as in the similar community of Comana in Cappadocia. The lack of Roman names is noteworthy, considering that none of these epitaphs is probably earlier than the last years of the second century A.D. The following memorial of the Roman occupation, however, was found by us.

(14) On a block built upside down in a well-head in the yard of one Arbaji. ·64×·41. Probably incomplete both top and bottom, while complete right and left.

... ./AV . . A · H . . . . S	corona] au[re]a, h[asti]s
. VRIS · TRIBVS · VEXILLIS	p]uris tribus, vexillis
DVOBVS	duobus, ---------- ?
LEG · IITRAIO̅ (complete).	leg(ionis) II Tra(ianae) (F)o(rtis)

We had to copy this under awkward conditions during pouring rain, and it is probable that in l. 4, we ought to have read FO̅ for IO̅ (the horizontal strokes are very short): also that some more letters existed at the end of l. 3, where the stone was partly obscured by mud-mortar and much worn. The stone is part of a monument, perhaps sepulchral, to a man, probably of senatorial rank, who had received the higher *dona militaria* for distinguished service. The difference in the number of *hastae* and *vexilla* is unusual but not unparalleled The man's rank in the legion may have occurred either in the last part of l. 3, or below l. 4. Were it not that an *optio* could hardly be supposed to have received such high *dona*, one might

find the statement of rank in the final Ō of l. 4, and maintain the reading TRAI : but the emendation suggested above is more probable.[1]

The following text proves that Hierapolis-Bambyce was organized in the ordinary Hellenic civic manner.

(15) On the side of a large circular font of black basalt in the courtyard of Omar Beg. Small well cut lettering probably of the first century B.C.

ΒΑΡΣΑΜΕΟΣΑΡΧΙΦΡΑΤΩΡ	Βαρσάμεος ἀρχιφράτωρ
ΚΑΙΡΑΜΕΙΛΛΟΣΟΙΕΡΕΥΣ	καὶ Ῥάμειλλος ὁ ἱερεὺς
ΚΑΙΟΙΦΙΛΤΟΠΙΕΣ . . ΑΙΕΥΧΗΝ	καὶ οἱ Φιλτοπιεσ(ίδ)αι εὐχήν.

I obtained a squeeze of this inscription, but neither upon it nor upon the stone could I read with certainty the two letters left blank in l. 3. The traces visible indicated ΙΛ or ΙΔ. I can find no other mention of Φιλτοπιεσίδαι (or Φιλτοπιεσίλαι), but it is doubtless the eponymic of a local φρατρία of which Barsameos was ἀρχιφράτωρ. Ramillus was probably the tribal priest of the θεὸς πατρῷος or the θεοὶ φράτριοι. On such phratriac gods see, *inter alia*, *C.I.G.* iii. pp. 715 ff. The names Βαρσάμεος and Ῥάμειλλος are not Greek, but probably graecized forms of Syriac names.

There remain to be added the following names written under the trefoil cornice of a sarcophagus, embedded for two-thirds of its depth in a pavement in the yard of one Ismail. We were unable to get it excavated. The lettering is small and fine.

(16)

C

ΚΟΖΜΙΩΝ ΔΟΛΙΧΟC ΜΟΙΡΑ ΤΥΧΗ ΚΑCΙΑΝΟ ΜΑΡΘΑΝΑΗΜΗΤΗΡ ЄΡΜΗC

ΛΟC

ΠΡΟΒΟΥ

These are explanatory legends over the heads of figures of the now hidden relief on the side of the sarcophagus, representing one Cassianus, who, since he was in the centre, was probably the deceased, Marthana his mother, Cosmion, Dolichus, and Probulus, members of his family (but probably not sons, since no wife's figure occurs), symbolic personifications of Fate and Fortune, and the god Hermes.

[1] I have to thank Prof. F. Haverfield for suggestions.

The survival of the early native name in the modern *Mumbij* raises a philological question—how has the second *m* sound come in, if Pliny's form *Mabog* represented the true native pronunciation? The colonists of the Seleucid period, who graecized the name, might be supposed to have heard it as *Babúk*, but to have written it *Bambuke*, being under the same difficulty about expressing a true *b* sound which causes the modern Greeks to transliterate European *b* sounds by *μπ*. But in a Greek inscription, copied at Perre (near Adiaman, about ninety miles north of Hierapolis) by Mr. V. W. Yorke (see *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 316), occurs the name Μαμβογέως. It would appear, therefore, more reasonable to suppose that Pliny's form is erroneous and should be *Mambog*; possibly he or his authority deliberately eliminated the second *m* under the false impression that it had been introduced by a graecism. The name, in its Greek form, remains to this day in the Turkish word *pambúk*=cotton, in which the *m* is fully sounded. It is a curious coincidence that the other famous Hierapolis in the Lycus valley of Asia Minor, which was also a chief seat of the 'Asiatic Goddess,' is now called *Pambuk Kalessi*='The Cotton Castle.' The name is explained by the white fibrous appearance of the alum deposited by the local hot springs; but one cannot but suspect that an ancient native name, given to the goddess equally in Western Asia Minor and in North Syria, lies behind the modern name, and that the latter has acquired a new sense by assimilation, on the same principle which has transformed *Gaziura* in Pontus into the modern *Kaz Owa*= Valley of Geese.

D. G. HOGARTH

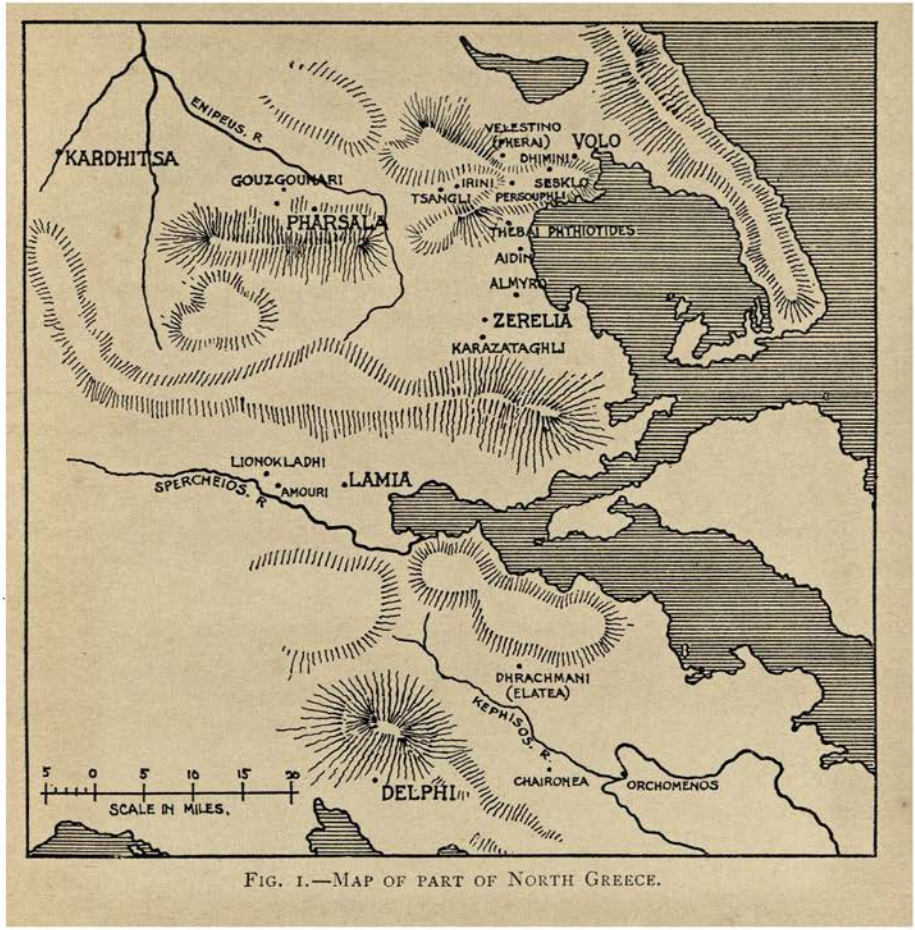


FIG. 1.—MAP OF PART OF NORTH GREECE.

EXCAVATIONS AT ZERELIA, THESSALY.

THE mound known as Zerélia stands on a hill between two small lakes to the south-west of Almyró in Phthiotis (Fig. 1). Recent writers on the topography of the district have conjectured that this was the site of Itonos and the famous temple of Athena Itonia.[1] We first visited the site in July 1907, and believed, that apart from the question of the site of the

[1] Staehlin, *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, pp. 15 ff.

temple, it would repay excavation, since we recognised that the mound (Fig. 2) was probably formed by the accumulation of débris from prehistoric settlements.[1] Thanks to a grant from the Cambridge University Worts Fund, and to subscriptions from several friends we were enabled to excavate here in June 1908. The actual excavations, during which we employed eighteen men, lasted three weeks. Dr. Vollgraff, who had cut a trial trench along the mound in 1906,[2] most courteously waived his claims on the site in our favour. We are much indebted to Dr. Varvaressos, the President, Mr. Giannopoulos, and other members of the Othrys Archaeological Society, and also to Dr. Arvanitopoulos, the government Ephor,

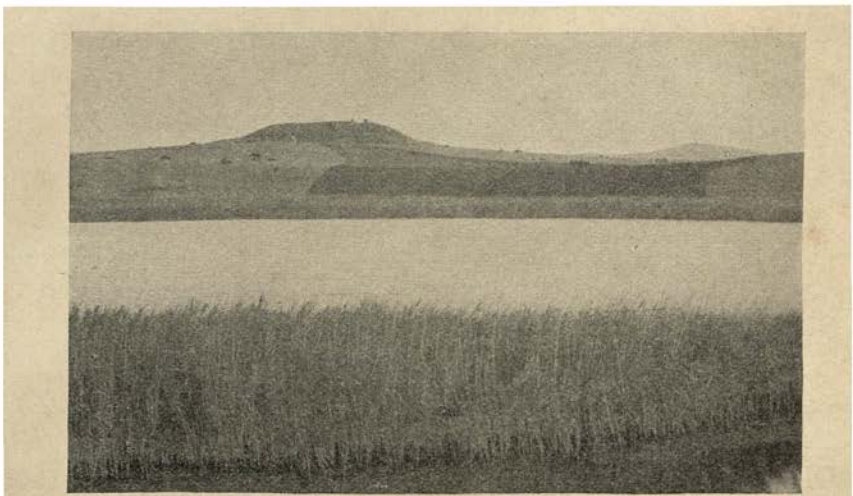


FIG. 2.—ZERELIA FROM THE SOUTH.

and our hearty thanks are due to Mr. Vasilakis for allowing us to live at his farm at Karatzadaglí. The finds are now arranged in a separate case in the local Museum at Almyró.

THE BYZANTINE AND HELLENIC REMAINS.

On the surface of the mound and just below it we found several fragments of glazed Byzantine pottery similar to that from Pergamon,

[1] Cf. Tsountas, *Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου*, p. 11, 61; this book will be cited throughout as Tsountas. [2] See below, p. 224.

Priene, Sparta, Constantinople and other sites.[1] Below this is a thin Greek layer, which nowhere goes deeper than one metre from the surface. In this many fragments of late black glazed vases were found, which cannot be earlier in date than the late fourth century B.C. These appeared in connection with several walls badly built of rough stones, which lie close to the surface, and seem to indicate the existence of a small hamlet here (Plan, Fig. 3, M, N, O, P, Q, R). We found no confirmation of Dr. Staehlin's theory that a Greek circuit wall ran round the top of the mound.[2] The wall marked R on the plan is quite short, although it lies on the south-western slope of the hill. At one point (Plan, O) we found with the Greek sherds three iron implements, a sickle, a lance, and a spear-head, and three stamped tiles. Two of the tiles bear a peculiar stamp showing an ithyphallic man in profile to the left; on each side of them is a ⊕. On the third tile the stamp, which is incomplete, appears to represent a rosette. Thus our results agree with those of Dr. Vollgraff, who concludes that the temple of Athena Itonia did not stand here.[3] There seems little doubt that the Homeric Itonos was in Phthiotis; so, since Zerélia is the principal prehistoric site in southern Phthiotis, and as the mound is similar to those of Pyrasos and Phylake,[4] we may provisionally identify Zerélia as the Homeric Itonos, for the distance from Halos agrees with Strabo's estimate.[5] Then we may conjecture the town at Karatzadagli to be the Phthiotic Itonos of historical times, where there probably stood a temple of Athena Itonia. But there is every reason to follow C. O. Müller[6] in placing the pan-Thessalic shrine of Athena Itonia near Kierion. Strabo seems to confuse this with Itonos. In one passage he says that Itonos was in Thessaliotis, and in another that the shrine of Athena Itonia stood on the banks of the Cuarius,[7] which flows into the Peneius by Pharcadon.[8] Since, then, excavation has given a negative answer to the theory of Staehlin and Giannopoulos, we must suspend judgement till further exploration or excavation near Kierion.

[1] v. *Ath. Mitt.* 1904, pp. 204 ff.; Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 491 ff.; Wallis, *Byzantine Ceramic Art.*

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 16.

[3] *v.* below, p. 225.

[4] *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, pp. 10, 13.

[5] Sixty stades, ix. 433.

[6] *Dorier*, ii. p. 477.

[7] ix. 435, 437.

[8] Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, i. p. 52.

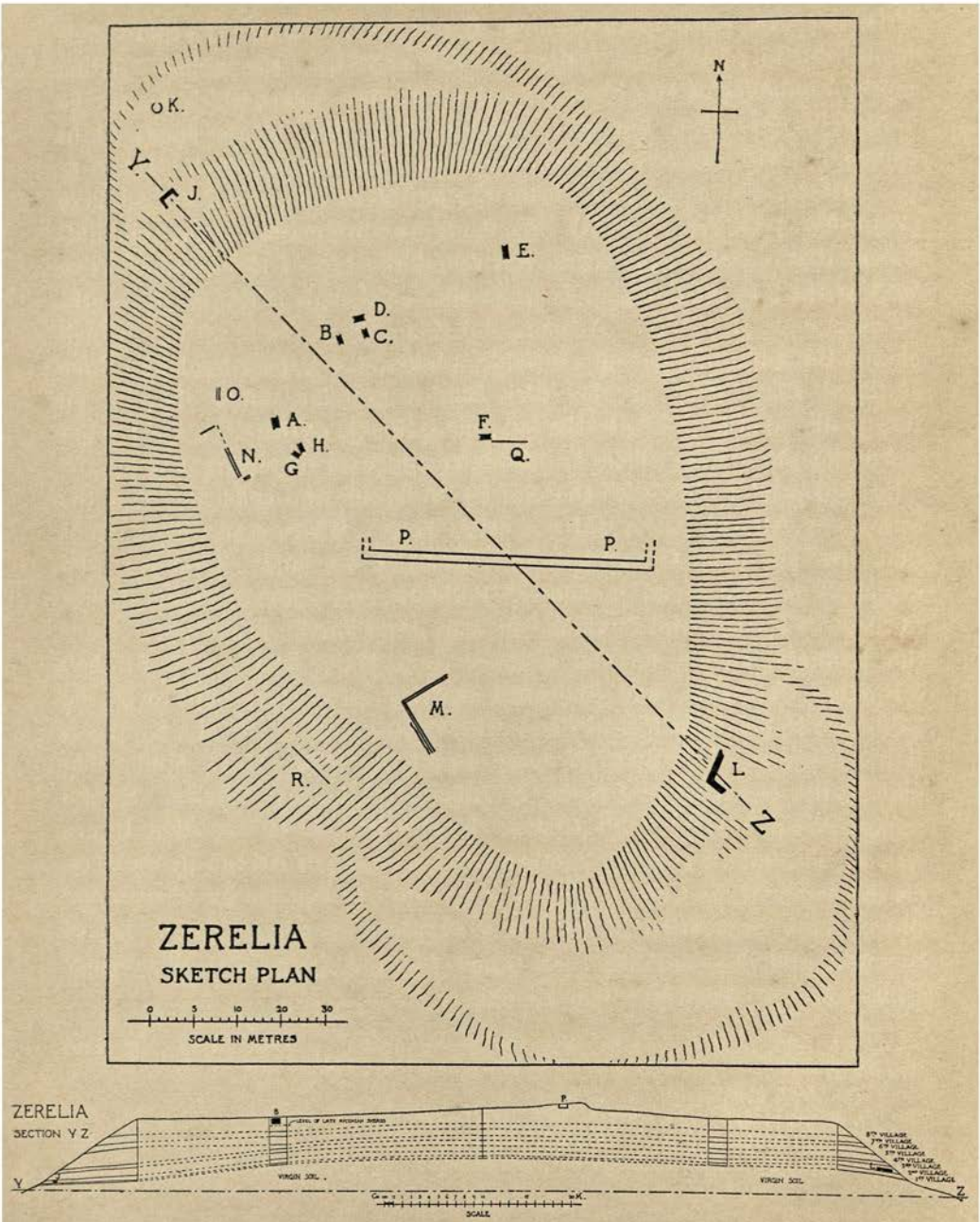


FIG. 3.—ZERELIA, PLAN AND SECTION OF MOUND.

THE PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENTS.

Directly below the Greek layer we found a rich prehistoric deposit[1] from six to eight metres thick, of which the mound is built up. In this we dug a series of shafts down to virgin soil, along a line drawn across the mound, in order to determine the stratification of the deposit, and to draw up the section shown in Fig. 3. The shafts were sunk on a system of levels, each of which was on an average about ·30 m. thick, and the pottery and other finds from each level were kept separate. Thus, when each shaft reached virgin soil, a complete stratigraphical record was obtained of the objects found in it. A levelling instrument was in use throughout the excavation to measure the different levels of the shafts. The following reports of the finds have been drawn up on the data obtained from the stratified pottery, and from the observations recorded during the sinking of the shafts. In the sides of the shafts successive layers of reddish earth appeared. These, which are without doubt the remains of huts of mud brick destroyed by fire, divide the mound into eight clearly marked layers. They were not obvious at first during the excavation, but the system of levels enabled us afterwards to correlate the settlements with the pottery and other objects. We thus assume that on this site eight successive settlements or hamlets were built one on top of another. These provide a convenient basis for the description of the finds, and a discussion of the differences observed in them in the various levels.

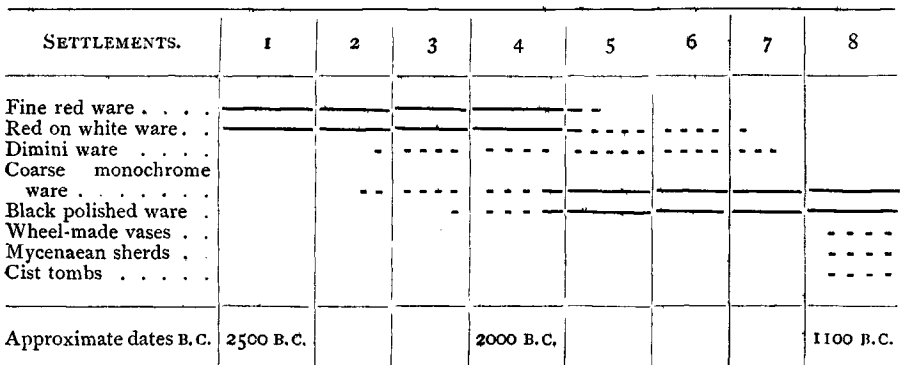


FIG. 4.—DIAGRAM TO EXPLAIN STRATIFICATION.

[1] Cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1908, pp. 289, 290; *J.H.S.* 1908, pp. 323 ff.; *Classical Review*, 1908, pp. 234, 235; *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 1908, part 4.

Of the actual huts, which composed the settlements, beyond the remains of mud brick already mentioned, we found no traces to enable us to determine their shape. The bricks are made of coarse, unpurified local clay, well mixed with grass or straw. But in the second settlement towards the south-east corner of the mound (Plan, L) we found the remains of a well-preserved building. Thick walls of mud brick (·65 m. thick) still stand to a height of ·80 m. on a dry course of slabs (Fig. 5), and at the ground level outside are faced with upright slabs to prevent injury from rain and damp. We were not able to lay bare all this building, but from the part excavated it is clear

FIG. 5.—BUILDING IN SECOND SETTLEMENT.

that it was angular and not round. On the opposite side of the mound (Plan, J) we found remains of walls of mud brick very badly burnt and decomposed, which also belonged to the second settlement. A little below this and in the field at the foot of the mound we discovered traces of a round building (Plan, K) with an opening to the north. The purpose and date of this building are obscure. Some human bones were found in it, which to judge by some coarse, presumably Byzantine, sherds with them are apparently of late date.

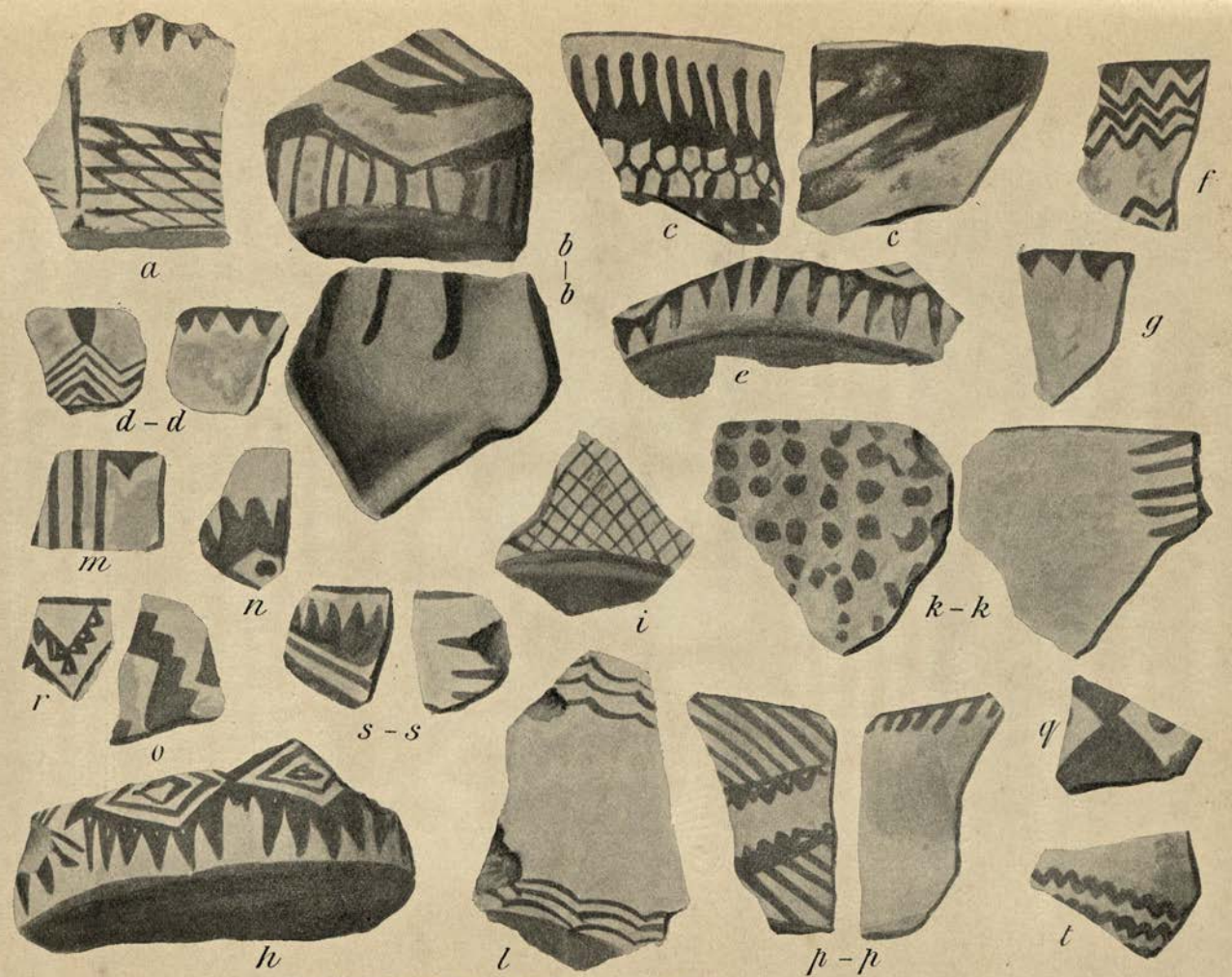


FIG. 6.—POTTERY WITH RED DESIGNS ON WHITE GROUND. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

§ 1.—THE HAND-MADE POTTERY.

The hand-made pottery found at Zerélia may be divided into two main groups, namely, pottery made locally, and imported pottery.

Pottery made locally.

1 (Tsountas,[1] A 3 β).

Pottery with red decorations on a white ground. The clay, pink, rather coarse and often showing white granulations, is covered by a thick surface highly burnished, usually white, but sometimes cream-coloured. The colour of the red paint varies; but approaches most often to the colour that is sold under the name 'Light Red.' The peculiar patterns are

FIG. 7.—POTTERY WITH RED DESIGNS ON WHITE GROUND. (SCALE 1 : 5.)

illustrated in Figs. 6, 7. Some sherds are found that probably belonged to jugs (Fig. 8, *f*, *g*, *o*), but the vast majority are pieces of wide dishes without handles (Fig. 8, *k*) painted inside as well as out. Patterns from the bottoms of such dishes inside, none unfortunately complete, are shown in Fig. 7, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, while the other patterns shown decorate the sides.

2. Coarse ware of the same clay as the preceding with a surface of a dull red colour not much burnished. None of these vases are very large, and their probable shapes are given in Fig. 8 *f*, *g*, *k*, *m*, *o*, *p*, of which the

[1] Tsountas, p. 177, Pls. 7, 15.

jug-forms *f*, *g*, *o*, occur most often. Only one specimen with a sieved spout (*m*) was found.

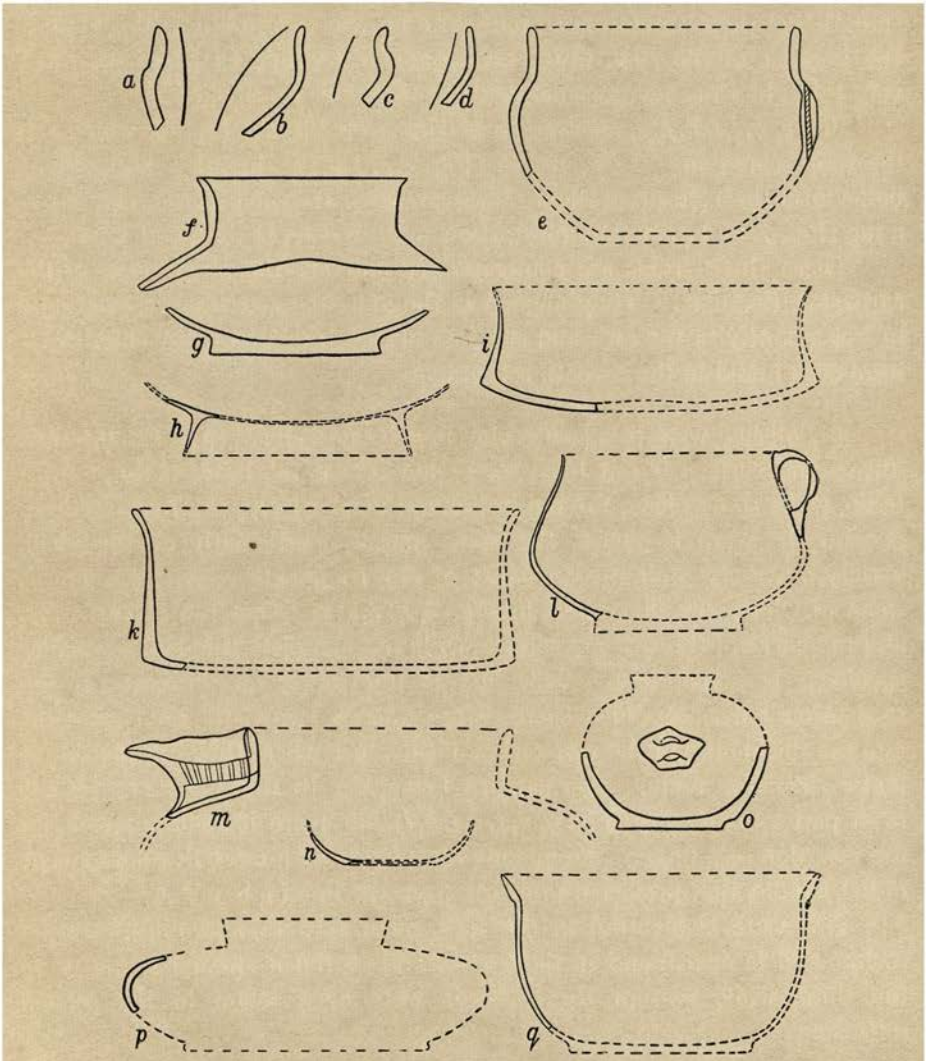


FIG. 8.—SHAPES OF POTTERY. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

3 (Tsountas, A 1).

A class of small, very finely made vases.[1] The same clay was

[1] Tsountas, pp. 160–164.

probably used, but it is much more purified, as the white granulations do not appear. The surface is red as a rule, but sometimes yellowish, and smooth, yet their smoothness appears to be less due to burnishing than to the fineness of the clay, which also made it possible to make the vases very thin, the sides being sometimes less than ·002 m. thick.

Fig. 8, *h, i, l, n, p, q*, show some of the probable shapes, of which *i* is the most common. Low, round (Fig. 8, *l*, on the handle), and oblong bulbs form the sole decoration. Two or three fragments, however, one of a jug (Fig. 7, *e*), larger than most, show a decoration in dark red paint.

These three styles are contemporary and are the local ware of the earliest settlements. They abound in the first four settlements, are found in less quantity in the fifth, and still less in the sixth, and a few sherds of 1 were even found in the seventh settlement.

4. Polished ware of a coarse clay that is generally grey at the fracture, but on the surface is red, black, or yellow-brown, the latter perhaps most often, while some pieces are red inside and black on the outer surface. In general the ware is coarse, but some pieces, particularly of the black variety, are very well made. Most of our fragments come from bowls, some of which are illustrated in Fig. 8, *a, b, c, d*, where the profile only, and the curve of the rim are shown, while the complete shape of a smaller specimen is given at *e*. This last is interesting on account of the suspension holes, of which there were probably two pairs on each side, and the thickening of the vase on the inside, just where they are placed, to make room for them. The handles belonging to this ware are for the most part rudimentary (Fig. 9, *d, e, h, i, k, l*), for there is seldom space for the insertion of a finger. Fragments were found of a more developed type of flat handle, that projected probably from the lip of a bowl.[1]

This ware is plentiful in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth settlements, and is also found in the fourth, and in much smaller quantity in the third, while two or three sherds were even found in the second settlement.

5. Large vases made of very coarse clay often badly baked, and in colour generally grey, but sometimes red. The majority of the vases were probably large bowls and flat-bottomed dishes, and perhaps jugs also

[1] Tsountas, p. 269, Fig. 186.

were made. They are decorated very occasionally with incised lines, and mention may be made particularly of the inside of a dish with crossed lines incised on the bottom. Their handles (Fig. 9, *f*, *n*, *p*) are of a comparatively useful character. Like the rough polished ware this class of vase belonged substantially to the later settlements, though it is first found in small quantities in the second settlement. It has not been

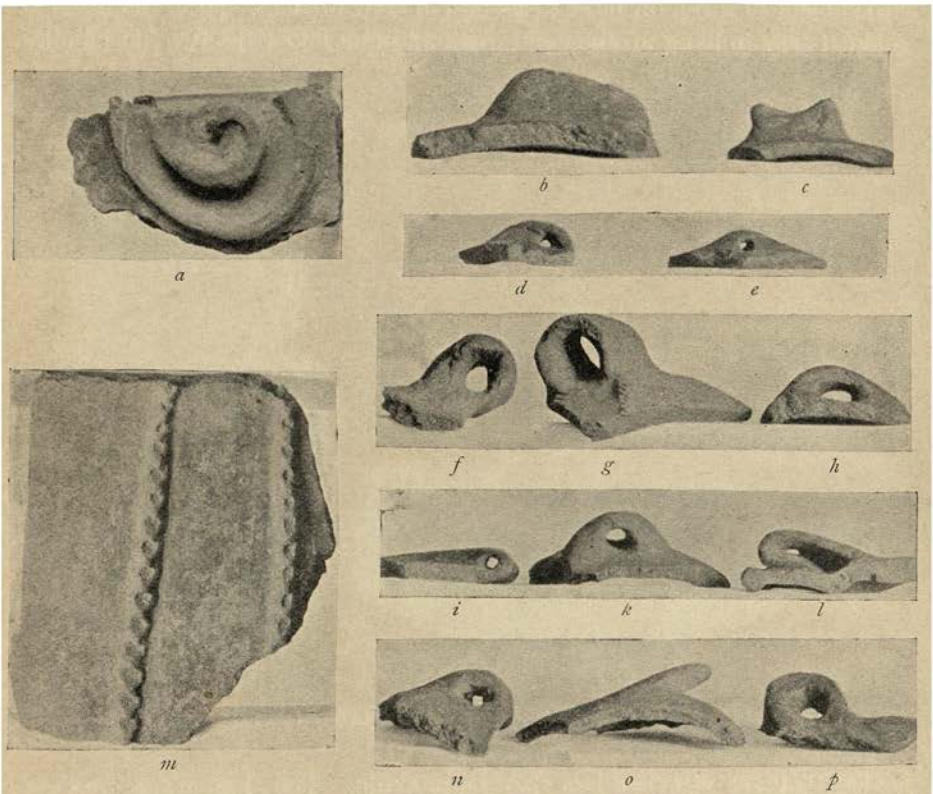


FIG. 9.—UNPAINTED POTTERY FROM THE LATER SETTLEMENTS. (SCALE 1 : 3.

possible to observe any change or development in this ware in the different settlements. To this class belong the two vases shown in Fig. 10. These, the most complete of our vases, were found with the terracotta figure (Fig. 18) in the burnt and decomposed mud brick of a hut of the seventh settlement. To the fact that they were destroyed by the burning of the hut we owe it that we have them so nearly entire. In both vases the clay is

red and of a somewhat finer consistency than is general among this coarse ware. The bowl measures an average of ·28 m. across, and has a string-hole by the rim. We know of no parallel to the other vase, which stands about ·40 m. high, with a neck, however, that is raised, probably with intention, about ·04 m. higher in front than behind. The small lugs on either side of the neck are pierced with two holes, either to allow of the attachment of a lid, or, more probably, in view of the shape of the neck, to make it easy to hang up the vase. An odd point about the two flat handles

FIG. 10.—UNPAINTED VASES FROM THE SEVENTH SETTLEMENT.

is that they are attached in a slanting position. The photograph does not show this very well, but they slant backwards and upwards from the body.

6. Hardly to be separated from the preceding class is a group of large pithos fragments. These, however, are not found lower than the third settlement, and are often decorated by means of raised lines of applied clay, either slashed across (Fig. 9, *g*), or pinched in by the finger (Fig. 9, *m*), and sometimes a raised spiral is found (Fig. 9, *a*) occasionally also slashed.

These six classes exhaust the wares that are certainly of local

manufacture. There is no clear break between the three which definitely mark the lower settlements, and the three which belong mainly to the upper; but it should be observed that the coarse ware of the earlier period (2) is often little coarser in manufacture than the finer ware (4) of the later, and its vases seldom are larger. In the later period some good vases were made, but apparently none very small or fine, while some of the fragments of coarse ware must have belonged to very large vases.

Imported Pottery.

7 (Tsountas, B 3 *a*).

The well-known ware with curved and geometric designs in dark paint on a burnished ground that is either cream-coloured or red, of which much has been found at Dimini and Sesklo.[1] Of the former kind we found five

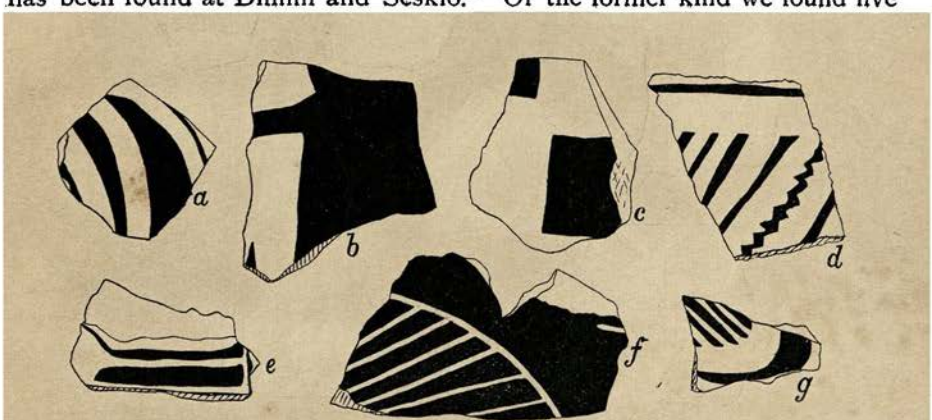


FIG. 11.—POTTERY WITH WHITE PAINT ON RED SURFACE. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

sherds, and of the latter fifty-six, distributed from the second to the seventh settlement, the greatest quantity being found in the third.

8 (Tsountas, B 3 *a*).[2]

A ware kindred to the last, of which a few sherds have been found at Zerélia, shows white paint applied to a red burnished surface. The clay is grey at the fracture and most pieces seem to come from bowls not unlike the shape characteristic of 7,[3] and the patterns show similar curved and geometric features (Fig. 11). The connection between these wares is

[1] Tsountas, p. 209, Pls. 8, 9, 20–29. [2] Tsountas, Pl. 6, 2. [3] Tsountas, Pl. 9.

clearly shown by the fact that some sherds have patterns in black on the inside with white paint on the outer surface. Three sherds of this ware were found in the second, two in the third, three in the fifth, and three in the sixth settlement.[1]

9 (Tsountas, B 3 β).[2]

Ware decorated in black and orange-red on a light ground. Grey clay. The ornament is linear (Fig. 12, *ff*, *h*) and the red paint is generally

FIG. 12.—POTTERY WITH BLACK AND ORANGE-RED DESIGNS. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

bounded by thinner black lines. The inner sides of these sherds have long spikes of thin reddish paint down from the rim. Four sherds were found

[1] Much of this ware has been found at Phthiotic Thebes by Dr. Arvanitopoulos.
[2] Tsountas, p. 222, Pls. 8, 10.

in the third settlement, two in the fifth, one in the seventh, and one in the eighth.

10 (Tsountas, B 3 γ).[1]

This ware is very similar to 9 (Fig. 12, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*,), but the red and black are kept separate, and the patterns appear to be less rectangular and more bizarre.

11. A few incised sherds other than parts of pithoi have been found at Zerélia, of which some are in rough unburnished clay, but most have a black, more or less burnished surface, and show traces of white filling to the incisions, which are geometric in character with patterns of dots and straight lines.[2] Bowls with no foot and one or more lugs (Fig. 9, *o*) seem to have been affected in this ware, of which the few sherds that have been found at Zerélia were distributed from the third to the seventh settlement, with a slight predominance in the fourth.

12. In the third settlement were found a few sherds showing brown paint on an unburnished surface that is usually grey but in one instance white. The most distinctive features in the patterns are bands slanting down the vase, toothed or waved on one side but straight on the other. These few odd sherds deserve mention, but do not fit into any known class of ware.

The point that is brought out most clearly by the study of this pottery is the artistic degeneration that overtook the makers of the early wares, for the art of painting pottery was gradually abandoned, and the later unpainted ware cannot compare in excellence with the fine unpainted fabric of the early period.

With regard to the imported ware (7, 8) (Tsountas, B 3 *a*), the evidence from Zerélia shows that it appears at a rather later date than the ware with red-on-white decoration (1), practically not until the third settlement, for very few sherds indeed of it were found in the second. Thus we agree with Tsountas, who places this typical Dimini ware to a later period than that with red decoration on white; but it seems only partially correct to call it later. The truth probably is that in the districts where the later ware flourished (round Tyrnavo, Larissa, Velestino, and Dimini)[3] it

[1] Tsountas, p. 226, Pls. 6 (3), 11.
[2] Tsountas, p. 252, Figs. 154–159.
[3] Tsountas, pp. 3–12.

supplanted the earlier, which, however, elsewhere, where the new style made no headway (round Sophades, Pharsala, and in Phthiotis), survived to be contemporary with it. The evidence from Zerélia also confirms Tsountas in placing the wares with orange-red and black decoration later (9, 10) (B 3 β, B 3 γ), though the district where they flourished has not yet been ascertained.

§ 2.—WHEEL-MADE POTTERY.

Fifteen sherds of late Mycenaean ware (Late Minoan III) were found well mixed with the ware of the eighth settlement. Near the surface also were several fragments of bowls with a high ringed stem, and two flat

FIG. 13.—WHEEL-MADE POTTERY FROM THE EIGHTH SETTLEMENT. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

perpendicular handles rising almost to the rim (Fig. 13, *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*). The clay of this ware is usually grey, but a few of the fragments show it yellow. This ware is so common at Orchomenos that it is probable that it is local to that place, but a vase of the ware was also found in the fifth shaft grave at Mycenae,[1] while several fragments have been found at Thoricus in Attica,

[1] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 154, Fig. 230.

and in the latest city at Phylakopi,[1] so that the Mycenaean date of these vases can be taken as sufficiently certain. In Thessaly one has also been found in a tomb at Sesklo,[2] and fragments have been discovered at the mounds of Aidin,[3] Karabairam (Tsangli),[4] and Rini.[5]

Parallels to the vase shown in Fig. 13, *d* come from the city tombs of Sesklo,[6] and the ware greatly resembles the ring-footed vases and probably belongs to the same period. Not much can be said of the two vases of grey clay shown in Fig. 13, *f*, *g* which also were found near the surface in the eighth settlement, except that they are so badly made that it is hard to see if the wheel was used or no. That shown in Fig. 13, *h*, which was found in Tomb D, is, on the other hand, certainly wheel-made, and likewise of grey clay. It somewhat resembles the ring-footed ware.[7]

It is interesting to note that two or three sherds were found at Zerélia of a 'Geometric' ware that is somewhat similar to that found at Marmariani,[8] Theotókou,[9] and Pagasae[10] in Thessaly, and in the island of Skyros.[11]

§ 3.—THE TOMBS.

In the top of the remains of the eighth settlement we found eight cist tombs (Fig. 3, A–H). These were as a rule built with four slabs for the sides and covered with a fifth (Fig. 14). In every instance the skeletons, which were in a contracted attitude, lay on their left sides (Fig. 15, *a*). One tomb (H) had two slabs on one side. Of the eight tombs, C, E, and G contained nothing but one skeleton each. Tomb A yielded a conical terracotta whorl, H a small flint chip, and D a one-handled, wheel-made jug of grey-black ware (Fig. 13, *h*),[12] the handle of which was broken off before it was placed in the tomb. In tomb B we found beneath half a wheel-made pithos of coarse red ware with two holes bored in the bottom (Fig. 16) the skeleton of a child, whose head and chest were covered by the vase. With the bones were four

[1] *Phylakopi*, p. 154. These fragments, though not illustrated in the book, are in the National Museum at Athens. Other fragments have been found at Tiryns and at the temple of Aphrodite in Aegina.

[2] Tsountas, p. 139, Fig. 40. [3] Tsountas, p. 12, 60. [4] Tsountas, p. 8, 38.

[5] Tsountas, p. 131. [6] Tsountas, pp. 134, 140, 141, Figs. 34, 42, 45.

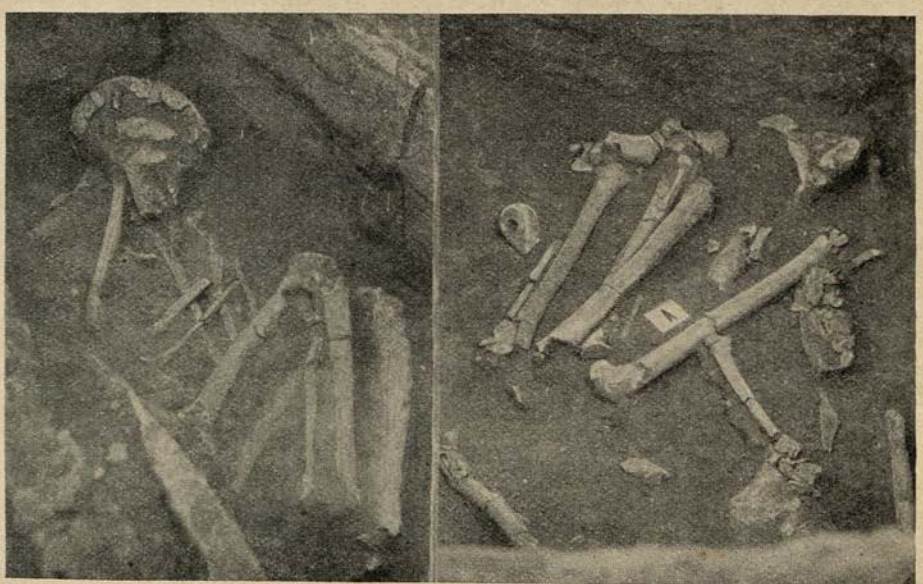
[7] We may compare with it Tsountas, p. 138, Fig. 39.

[8] Πρακτικά, 1899, p. 101; *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, p. 247. [9] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 321 ff.

[10] *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 266, Pl. XI. 8. [11] *B.S.A.* xi. p. 79, Fig. 3.

[12] See above, § 2.

FIG. 14.—TOMBS B, C, AND D.



a. TOMB H. *b*. TOMB F.

FIG. 15.—CIST TOMBS.

largish glass beads, five small paste beads, one bronze bead, and a piece of twine with a small piece of bronze attached. These beads were probably hung round the neck of the body when it was placed in the tomb. Tomb F contained a bronze knife (·085 m. long) with a flat tang for a wooden handle and slightly bent up at the end, a flint arrow-head, and a bored celt (Fig. 15, *b*). The skeletons in tombs D and H were probably those of women, and that in F of a full-grown man.

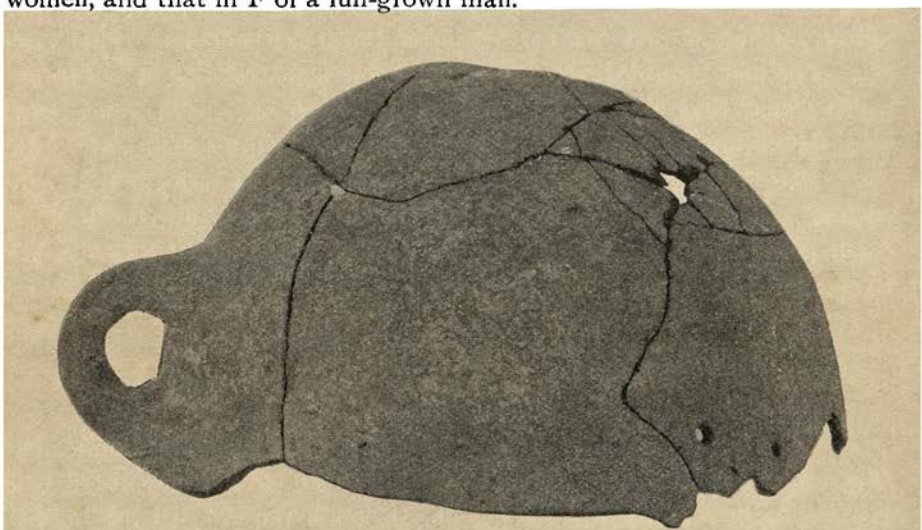


FIG. 16.—PITHOS FROM TOMB B. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

These tombs closely resemble those found by Tsountas at Sesklo, and Dimini,[1] also those at Orchomenos,[2] and those found by Dr. Doerpfeld in Leukas.[3] It seems reasonable to imagine that all belong to about the same period. At Dimini, two of the tombs contained late Mycenaean vases[4] (Late Minoan III), and at Sesklo one tomb yielded a ring-footed cup[5] like those described above, and another a spear-head which resembles others from Leukas and the fourth shaft grave at Mycenae.[6] At Orchomenos the tombs, in some of which the bodies were covered with the halves of pithoi,[7]

[1] Tsountas, pp. 125 ff. [2] Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. pp. 61 ff., Pls. XXII. ff.

[3] Doerpfeld, *Vierter Brief über Leukas-Ithaka*, p. 8. Compare also the Tombs at Tiryns, *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, p. 'iii.

[4] Tsountas, pp. 150 ff.; Tsountas, it is true, dates these two tombs much later than the others: this is due entirely to the early date which he assigns to the beginning of the Thessalian Bronze Age; *v.* below, p. 222.

[5] Tsountas, p. 139, Fig. 40.

[6] Doerpfeld, *op. cit.* p. 10.

[7] Bulle, *op. cit.* Pl. XXV. 1.

belong to the third stratum, the so-called Minyan or early Mycenaean, in which ring-footed cups were found in great quantities. The only difficulty is that at Zerélia the ring-footed cups and the tombs were found at a slightly higher level than the late Mycenaean sherds, while at Orchomenos the late Mycenaean is the fourth stratum, which directly succeeds the third (Minyan) stratum of the ring-footed cups. But since such cups have been found at Mycenae in the fifth shaft grave, at Thoricus with late Mycenaean pottery, at Tiryns, and Aegina, and in the latest settlement at Phylakopi,[1] we may assume the third Late Minoan period as a general date for the tombs, which would then be not later than 1200–1100 B.C. We must leave open the question whether the people who made the cist tombs were of the same race as those of the earlier settlements, and also we cannot be sure whether, if they were a new race, they came from the south or from the north, and finally, there is no definite evidence to prove that they lived on the mound where they buried their dead.

§ 4.—THE TERRACOTTA STATUETTES.

In the first settlement only two terracotta figurines were found. One (Fig. 17, *d*) is rather flat and shapeless; the head and legs are broken off, but the figure was apparently female, although the front of the body is very badly damaged. The other (Fig. 17, *g*) is a leg from a seated steatopygous female figure similar to those from Sesklo (Tsountas, Pl. 32).

Second settlement: to this belongs the head of an animal (Fig. 17, *l*), which resembles an example from Sesklo (Tsountas, Pl. 34, 11).

Third settlement: in this we found a fragment of a steatopygous figure like those from Sesklo already referred to, two rude female figures (Fig. 17, *c*, *e*), one of which recalls an example from Sesklo (Tsountas, Pl. 35, 1), and two shapeless statuettes which recall the ruder types from Dimini (Tsountas, Pls. 35, 6, 7; 36, 1–5).

To the fourth settlement belongs a very good example of the steatopygous type, unfortunately much damaged (Fig. 17, *a*). It is of the same clay as the red-on-white ware,[2] and shows the same style of decoration. The whole figure was covered with a white slip on which patterns were painted in red; those still preserved on the thigh represent chevrons.

[1] *v.* above, § 2.

[2] Cf. above, § 1, 1.

In the sixth settlement were found two stone fiddle-shaped figures, and a rude female figure (Fig. 17, *f*,) like an example from Sesklo (Tsountas, Pl. 35, 1).

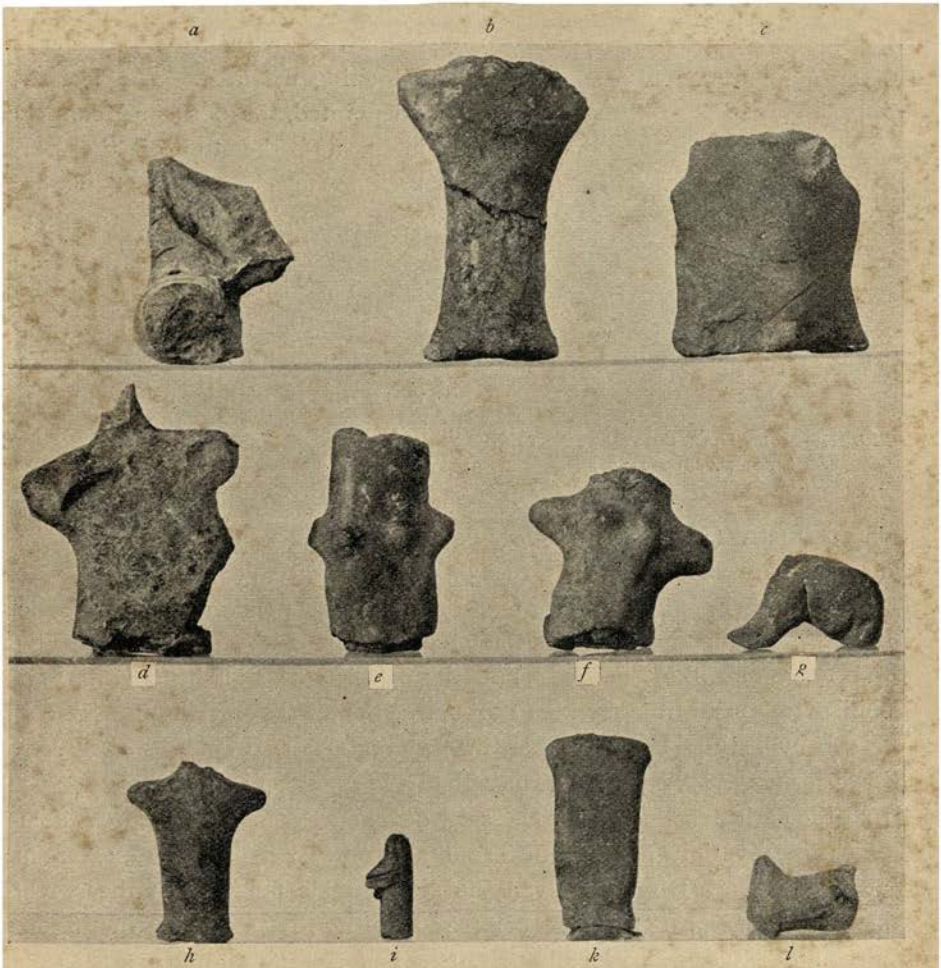


FIG. 17.—TERRACOTTA STATUETTES. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

Seventh settlement: to this belongs a columnar statuette (Fig. 17, *b*), which was painted in the red-on-white style, and is somewhat similar to the figures from Dimini (Tsountas, Pls. 35, 6, 7; 36, 6), a shapeless figure like those from the third settlement (cf. Fig. 17, *k*), with holes in the top

for the insertion of a head as in some examples from Dimini (Tsountas, p. 285), and the seated male figure shown in Fig. 18. This remarkable statuette, which is ·12 m. high and is practically perfect, represents a seated ithyphallic man with his hands on his knees, looking upwards. The feet are flat and pointed, the nose and ears are prominent, and the top of the head runs up into an odd peak. The figure is hand-made and, though its technique is rude, its execution is vigorous and decided. This is the first prehistoric figure of the kind yet found in Greece, and its phallic character stamps it as the work of a people alien to that which made the Mycenaean terracotta statuettes.

FIG. 18.—MALE TERRACOTTA STATUETTE. (SCALE ABOUT 1 : 2.)

Eighth settlement: to this belongs one statuette (Fig. 17, *h*) almost exactly like the examples from Dimini already mentioned (Tsountas, Pls. 35, 6, 7; 36, 4–6).

Besides these figurines we found five others, of which the stratification is uncertain, on the slopes of the mound: one is like Fig. 17, *b*, two like Fig. 17, *k*, one like Fig. 17, *h*, and the other is a small head (Fig. 17, *i*), similar to a head from Sesklo (Tsountas, Pl. 34, 8).[1]

It will thus be seen that in general the well-made steatopygous figurines (Fig. 17, *a*, *g*) are earlier than the ruder and columnar type, and that the early plastic art of Thessaly degenerated instead of progressing. These observations agree with Tsountas' conclusion from his excavations at Sesklo and Dimini.[2] Even the seated male figure from the seventh settlement (Fig. 18), when compared with the steatopygous figures, although rather more freely handled, has a rough and not a smooth surface, and appears less carefully modelled as regards details.

[1] A similar head in the Almyró Museum comes from the mound of Tsangli (Karabairam), Tsountas, p. 8, No. 38.

[2] Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 286, 287.

§ 5.—STONE AXES AND OTHER IMPLEMENTS.

Throughout the excavation we found many celts and other stone implements, which occurred in the remains of all eight settlements. These may be classified as follows:—

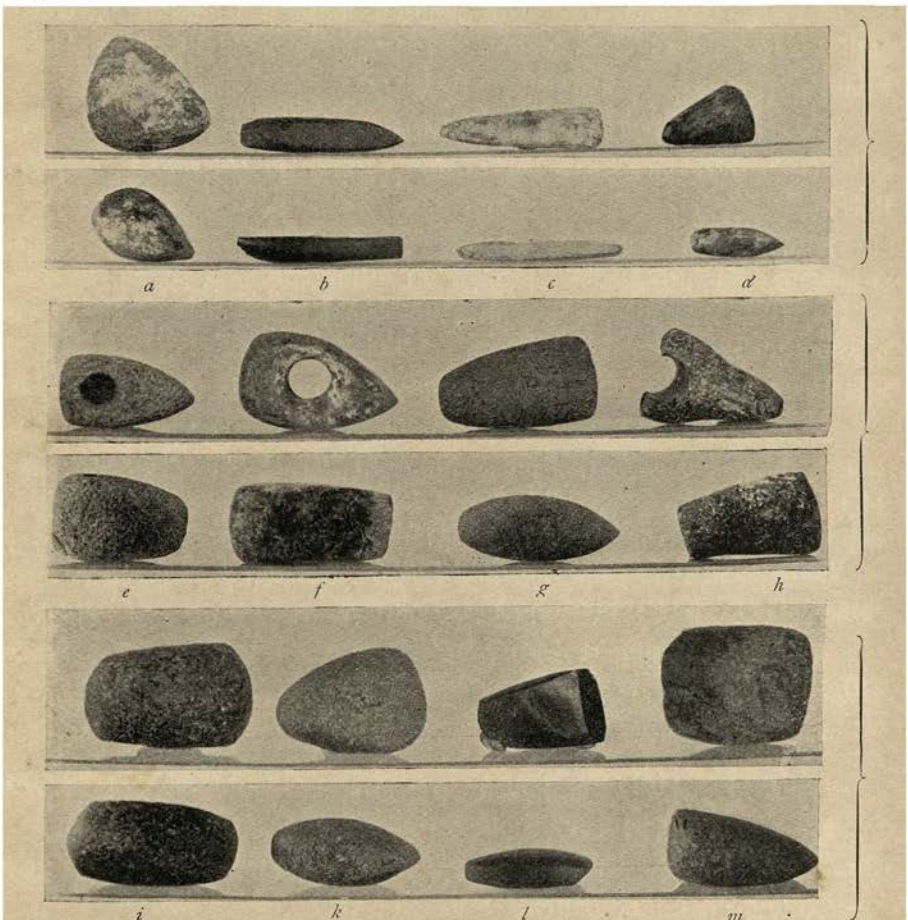


FIG. 19.—STONE AXES. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

1. Chisels: (*a*) thick and flat with squared sides, bevelled and narrow blades, shaped like Tsountas p. 314, Fig. 340; 3 specimens (Fig. 19, *b*); (*b*) flat, and with broad blade, 1 specimen (Fig. 19, *c*), cf. Blinkenberg,[1] p. 22, 4.

[1] Blinkenberg, *Archaeologische Studien.*

2. Triangular celts: (*a*) small, thin, 5 specimens, one of which has a slightly bevelled blade; Blinkenberg, p. 19, 2; Tsountas, p. 309, B (Fig. 19, *d*); (*b*) large and thick, 1 specimen with broad blade and rounded butt, cf. Blinkenberg, p. 18, 1 (Fig. 19, *a*).

3. Long, rounded celts with pointed butts, 9 complete specimens and 13 fragments; the length varies from ·05–·11 m. (Fig. 19, *g*), Blinkenberg, p. 18, 1 A; Tsountas, p. 307, A.

4. Long, rounded celts, but with flatter and broader blades than class 3, 2 specimens (Fig. 19 *k*), Blinkenberg p. 18 1 A; Tsountas, p. 307, A.

5. (*a*) Broad, flat celts with flat butts, 6 more or less complete specimens and 3 fragments (Fig. 19, *m*), Blinkenberg, p. 19, 2; Tsountas p. 311, Γ; (*b*) similar, but with sharp, sometimes squared, edges and bevelled blades, 2 specimens, which were found in the second settlement: this type seems peculiar to North Greece (Fig. 19, *b*), Tsountas, p. 312, Δ.

6. Bored celts with flat, rather square butts (Fig. 19, *e*, *f*, *h*), 3 complete [1] (one with hole only partly bored) and 9 fragments, one of which is very highly polished and well finished, and is wider round the bore hole. With one exception all these bored celts were found in the eighth settlement, cf. Tsountas p. 319; Blinkenberg p. 22, 5. There were also found fifteen fragments of celts too much broken to classify.

8. Oblong hammers with rounded ends, 1 complete and 5 broken (Fig. 19, *i*), cf. Blinkenberg p. 24, fig. 25.

9. Round pounders, 22 specimens.

10. Grinders: (*a*) oblong, 7 specimens; (*b*) flat and round, 6 specimens.

12. Whetstones, 1 small, and 2 large examples.

13. Polishers, two flat and round, and one oval-shaped with a handle, probably for polishing pottery.

14. Mortar, 1 specimen.

15. Millstones, about 50 specimens; as a rule of vesicular lava which is found at Phthiotic Thebes: they are usually oval with a flat top, and rounded below (saddle querns); with use the middle is worn down more

[1] One of these is from Tomb F; *v.* p. 214, Fig. 15, *b*.

than the ends; a few specimens are flat, broad and irregular in shape, and worn on both sides: cf. Tsountas, p. 330, fig. 256.

Here again it will be seen that our observations agree with Tsountas' conclusions. The flat, bevelled celts which he found at Sesklo, and not at Dimini,[1] occur at Zerélia only in the second settlement. Similarly the bored celts, which he found in the higher levels at Sesklo and assigns to the Bronze Age,[2] we found only in the eighth and latest settlement, which falls at the beginning of the Thessalian Bronze Age. In fact one was found in Tomb F with a bronze knife. As we date the tombs in general to 1100 B.C. and the eighth settlement is earlier than these we may conjecture that the practice of boring celts became common in Thessaly about 1200 B.C., and that an advance in technical skill is parallel to a decline in art as shown by the pottery and terracotta figurines. In every settlement obsidian knives and chips were found in plenty, but flint chips were scarce. The obsidian was probably imported from Melos,[3] and shows that trade in it to Thessaly was flourishing from a very early time. But in spite of it no other influence from the Aegaean or Southern Greece seems to have affected Thessaly, and thus the importation and use of obsidian is stamped as a thing apart, and should not be taken into account when considering foreign intercourse.

§ 6.—MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

In addition to the various classes of antiquities already described we found the following objects: twenty-two ordinary, flat, round terracotta whorls, very well made and polished; two conical whorls; one terracotta sling bullet[4]; seventeen bone pins[5]; one deer horn with a hole bored through near the root for use as an awl; five small pebbles with holes through them,[6] either natural or artificial; a small stone pendant (·02 m. long) with a hole bored through it at one end; an oyster shell and a shell like a whelk also pierced for suspension; a cube of crystal partly bored through, and a lentoid steatite gem bored along its diameter, of which one side is plain, while the other has in *intaglio* a kind of cross

[1] Tsountas, p. 313. [2] Tsountas, p. 320.

[3] *Excavations at Phylakopi*, chap. viii. (Bosanquet); for other possible sources of obsidian see *ibid.* p. 229.

[4] Tsountas, p. 328, Figs. 252, 253. [5] Tsountas, Pl. 45, 1–7.

[6] Cf. Tsountas, Pl. 43, 10.

surrounded by rays. These last two objects were found on the surface and so probably belong to the eighth settlement. Fragments of stags' horns were common, but none of them are in any way worked to show that they had been used as implements like those found by Tsountas.[1]

§ 7.—General Conclusions.

It will be seen from the foregoing accounts of the excavations and the objects found, that at Zerélia we have eight successive neolithic settlements, the latest of which stands at the beginning of the Thessalian Bronze Age. It is of course possible that the seventh as well as the eighth settlement [2] belongs to the Early Bronze or Eneolithic Age, for the absence of bronze is no evidence that it was not in use, because when metal is scarce, it is greatly treasured. In any case it puts the Bronze Age in Thessaly very late, and contemporary with the late Mycenaean (Late Minoan III) period, a point which is made obvious by the Mycenaean sherds found in the eighth settlement. Professor Tsountas has no real evidence for the early date he assigns to the Bronze Age in Thessaly.[3] His conclusions do not agree with the stratification at Zerélia, and Dr. Sotiriades,[4] who has excavated early sites at Chaeronea and Elatea, is of opinion that the Bronze Age in North Greece began late rather than early. Before the occurrence in the eighth settlement of the late Minoan ware and the ring-footed vases, which almost certainly came from Orchomenos,[5] there is no trace of the potter's wheel at Zerélia. We may thus infer that the introduction of the potter's wheel as well as that of bronze was due to a Mycenaean (Late Minoan III) source. Before this period there is no evidence for any close connection between prehistoric Thessaly and southern Greece. The Chaeronea pottery, though it resembles the red-on-white Zerélia ware in technique, differs considerably in the patterns and the shapes of the vases.[6] On the other hand prehistoric Thessaly as a whole seems to have been

[1] Tsountas, Pls. 46, 47.

[2] The only bronze found at Zerélia was in the tombs (*v.* p. 215), apart from a fish-hook of doubtful date found in clearing Dr. Vollgraff's trial trench. There is, however, in the Almyró Museum a double axe of bronze from this site, which was found on the surface by a peasant.

[3] Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 361 ff.; cf. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 1908, Part IV.

[4] Μελέτη, 1908, pp. 615, 616.

[5] See the unpublished pottery in the Chaeronea Museum.

[6] Closer inspection of the two kinds of ware shows that the resemblance between them is over-stated by us in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 1908, Part IV.

inhabited by a number of allied tribes, for we find that one kind of ware predominates in one area, and another in another. For instance the typical Dimini pottery (Tsountas, Pls. 9, 20–29) is common in all the prehistoric mounds between Tyrnavo, Larissa, and Volo, and rare in Phthiotis and round Pharsala, whereas the red-on-white Zerélia ware, which is rare in Pelasgiotis, is very common in the latter region. So it seems that the various tribes were in close communication with one another, for at the sites mentioned yet other wares occur in small quantities, the source of which is not yet known, but probably lay in some other part of Thessaly. Thus it is all important that excavations should be undertaken in the prehistoric sites of central and western Thessaly in order to ascertain the homes of these various potteries. Further, our coming excavations in the Spercheus valley at the sites which we have discovered by Lianokladi should do much to throw light on the early connections between Thessaly and Phocis. It should be noted that all the Mycenaean pottery yet found in Thessaly belongs to the latest period (Late Minoan III),[1] and that the entire absence of any early kind of Minoan or Cycladic wares shows that Mycenaean pottery did not develope locally in Thessaly as it did in Southern Greece and the Aegaean. In fact before the appearance of the late Mycenaean ware the Neolithic culture was already in a state of decay, as shewn by the degeneration of the pottery and terracotta statuettes.

Thus the archaeological evidence clearly points to the fact that in prehistoric times the cultures of North and South Greece were radically different. This probably indicates an ethnological difference as well. Further the archaeological connection already pointed out between Zerélia and Orchomenos bears out the tradition of a Minyan settlement at Iolcos and in Southern Thessaly. These observations and the fact that a widely spread Neolithic culture lasted in Thessaly till very late times are exceedingly interesting from a historical stand-point, and urgently call for fresh excavations to throw light on these important problems.

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J. P. DROOP.
M. S. THOMPSON.

[1] *E.g.* vases from Pagasae (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889, Pls. X., XI.), Dimini (*Ath. Mitt.* 1886, pp. 435 ff.) and Kapakli (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906, pp. 211 ff.); there are also three late vases from Gonnos in the Almyró Museum, and we have found Late Minoan III sherds with Neolithic vase fragments on the surface of prehistoric mounds near Larissa and Pharsala.

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF PHTHIOTIS BY DR. WILHELM VOLLGRAFF, PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN.

In the spring of 1906 I was able to study on the spot several questions concerning the topography of Phthiotis. In the present paper I will confine myself to those points on which I believe my notes complete, or correct, those of Dr. Staehlin.[1]

At Phthiotic Thebes there is not one acropolis only, but two are clearly distinguishable, of which the circuits almost touch. That to the east is the only one that has hitherto been noticed. It is not possible to establish its date, but I believe that all its walls belong to the historical period. The irregular appearance of the foundations of the walls on the southern and eastern sides is no proof that they are of great antiquity.[2] The second acropolis is immediately to the west of the first, and was enclosed by a wall built of small stones roughly cut. Within it the foundations of several buildings appear on the surface, which are, I think, very probably the remains of an earlier city.

The exact position of the temple of Demeter at Pyrasos[3] is unknown. Probably the site was occupied in later times by one of the Byzantine churches, the ruins of which are frequent near the farm of Karabas. From these churches come the small unfluted columns mentioned by Dodwell. The carved marble slab, which is now built in above the door of the farm-house, and the similar piece published by Dodwell also seem to me to belong to the Middle Ages.

Dr. Staehlin places the city of Itonos[4] and the temple of Athena Itonia on a hill called Zerélia, about an hour south-west of Almyró. The top of this hill only measures seventy-five by fifty metres. This made it easy to see if a Greek temple had ever existed there; consequently I dug a trench lengthwise across the hill. No walls were discovered, but it was found that the hill had been inhabited, first in the prehistoric, and later in the Hellenistic period.

The small village of Karatzadagli, which lies half an hour south-west of Zerélia, is commanded on the west by a small Greek acropolis, the walls of which are in places well preserved. This has hitherto, not been properly described.[5] I made several trial excavations which proved that the site had been inhabited in the Hellenistic age. The walls of several ancient buildings were also found almost on the surface, but no remains of any large temple. It seems to me that a town extended in antiquity over the slopes of the hill to the north of the acropolis. Here I cleared part of the foundations of a large building facing east (walls ·80 m. thick, breadth of building 9·40 m.). No finds, except a small leaden vase, were made during the excavation to determine the nature of this building.[6] Perhaps it was one of the temples of the town, to which the acropolis of Karatzadagli

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, pp. 1 ff.

[2] Leake (*Northern Greece*, iv. p. 361) rightly remarks 'A little below the citadel, where the ground is very rocky, some large irregular masses were fitted to the rock as a basis to the superstructure.'

[3] *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, pp 10 ff.

[4] *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, pp. 15 ff.

[5] Staehlin, *op. cit.* p. 33.

[6] This building was completely excavated in 1908 by Dr. Arvanitopoulos.

belonged. Did Itonos stand here? It is impossible to solve this problem yet, since perhaps there may be other sites in the same neighbourhood to claim the honour.[1]

Two hours south-east of Almyró, near Paralia, are the insignificant ruins of a large building of the classical period, within a rectangular *temenos*. It seems to me that these can only be the remains of a temple belonging to the neighbouring city of Halos. Mr. Giannopoulos' view that this is the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios may perhaps be correct, though no proof can at present be adduced. In the small trial excavation which I made here, a few fragments of black-glazed pottery were found, but nothing of the prehistoric age.

[1] Giannopoulos, *B.C.H.* 1892, pp. 473 ff.

EXCAVATIONS AT RHITSÓNA IN BOEOTIA.

(PLATES VII.—XV.)

§ 1.—SCOPE OF EXCAVATION AND METHOD OF PUBLICATION.

THE excavations described in the following article were undertaken partly in the early autumn of 1907, partly in the spring of 1908.[1] Graves

[1] Rhitsóna was first visited by Professor Burrows in April, 1905, with the view of determining the site of Mycalessos. Two years later he obtained a grant from the Oxford Craven Fund with the primary object of making a further search for the Temple of Delium (see *B.S.A.* xi. p. 153, xii. p. 93). Ten days' digging at Dilisi showed no traces of the temple, and Professor Burrows transferred his camp to Rhitsóna, and dug there from September 3rd to September 14th, 1907. He was joined by Mr. P. N. Ure, at the time Lecturer at Cardiff, and now at Leeds, who was out in Greece with a grant from Caius College and the Worts Fund, Cambridge. In the following spring, from March 24th to April 11th, 1908, Mr. Ure continued the excavations with grants from the Cambridge Craven Fund and the Committee of the British School at Athens. Mr. Maurice Rackham was present during part of the second excavations. In preparing the finds for publication the writers have had the assistance of an old Cardiff student, Miss Grace E. Holding, now Classical Mistress at the North London Collegiate School, many of whose photographs and drawings, taken in the Museum at Thebes, are here reproduced. The remaining photographs were taken by the writers. The coloured illustrations are from water-colours by Monsieur E. Gilliéron. M. Pottier, Dr. Zahn, and Mr. J. H. Hopkinson have, among others, made valuable suggestions during the course of the work. Mr. C. H. Hawes has kindly reported on the scanty remains of bones.

The Excavators wish to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Dawkins, Director of the British School at Athens and of Mr. Hill, Director of the American School; of Mr. Byzantinos, of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and of the three Government officials who have been associated with them in their work, Mr. Tsamarelos, Mr. Keramopoullos, and Mr. Skias. It is due to the enlightened enterprise of Mr. Keramopoullos, now Ephor of the Museum at Thebes, that the excavators have been able to arrange the finds in their wall cases, grave by grave, and to exhibit in each case the total contents, and not merely the show vases of a grave. He has also given them ungrudging help by sending information on doubtful points while they were in England. Last, but not least, they wish to express their great indebtedness to Mr. Kavvadias, Ephor General of Antiquities, for the unfailing support he has given them in furthering the work of excavation.

1 to 22 were discovered in the autumn, the remainder in the spring. Autumn and spring finds will be treated together, as representing one season's work. Further excavation was undertaken on the site in the spring of 1909.

The chief importance of the Rhitsóna graves does not lie in the value of the individual vases, interesting as some of them are, but rather in the simple fact that for the first time in the history of Boeotian grave digging every vase from each grave opened has been preserved, and the full contents of each grave kept carefully separate. Boeotia has contributed not a little to fill the museums of Europe with vases and figurines, but their exact provenance and environment is in almost all cases unknown, and their date can only be judged from internal considerations of style. Current statements, for instance, as to the date of what we have decided to call the 'Boeotian Kylix Style,'[1] rest on almost entirely *a priori* arguments.[2] We feel therefore that our first business is to publish the total contents of

[1] Böhlau was the first to discuss this class of vases in a masterly article in the *Jahrb.* 1888, (pp. 325–64) entitled 'Böotische Vasen.' He gave the name 'Übergangs-stil,' and Holleaux (*Mon. Piot*, Vol. i. p. 29) followed him with 'le style dit de transition.' Such a relative term, however, could scarcely be maintained, and although Pottier in his text (Vol. i. p. 241) follows Böhlau and Holleaux, he gives in his Plates (Plate 21) the name 'Vases Géométriques de Béotie.' So Collignon and Couve (Pl. XVIII.) label the large series in the National Museum at Athens as 'Vases Géométriques, Style Béotien.' At the time when our coloured plate (VIII.) was struck off, we were still inclined, with misgivings, to follow the two catalogues, and used the words 'Boeotian Geometric.' Our analysis of the style, however, in § 6, showed us that the name was too misleading to perpetuate, classing as it does 6th and, at the earliest, late 7th century vases, which are under Oriental and perhaps Corinthian influence (see pp. 314 f.) both with (*a*) the local Geometric from which Böhlau (p. 345) derives them, and which Holleaux (p. 39, n. 1 and p. 40) believes he has found in his unpublished excavations at the Ptoön, and with (*b*) a group of Boeotian vases under Dipylon influence, for which see especially Wide, *Jahrb.* 1899, pp. 78–83, Böhlau, *ibid.* 1888, pp. 351–3. Still more serious objections could be raised to de Ridder's name (*B.C.H.* 1895, pp. 179–181), of 'Proto-Béotien.' The simple word 'Boeotian' on the other hand, in the sense of Boeotian 'par excellence,' would only have been a counsel of despair, and we have decided on 'Boeotian Kylix Style' as the clearest and most legitimate title available. Of the 72 vases of our style published by Böhlau (pp. 325–342), 55 are kylikes, and so are no less than 143 of the 152 Rhitsóna vases published in this article and in *J.H.S.* xxix, pt. 2. The addition of the word 'Style' was necessary in order to include the residuum of 17 and 9 vases which differ from the kylix in shape though not in style, as well as to facilitate reference to the corresponding figurines.

[2] Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 326, has nothing but hearsay to go upon for the Theban graves, and Holleaux (*Mon. Piot*, I. 1894, p. 32, n. 2) though he saw at Schimatári 'au moment de leur découverte' most of the Tanagra finds published in the Δελτίον Ἀρχ. for 1888, was, if we understand him right, not present at the actual opening of the graves, and has to fall back on hearsay evidence scarcely more accurate than that at the disposal of Böhlau. The Δελτίον (pp. 57, 61, 218), shows that those responsible for the excavations there recorded did not direct their attention to the questions of vase dating. For a discussion of the fragments found by Holleaux himself at the Temple of the Ptoan Apollo, see below, p. 313, n. 3.

as many graves as possible in catalogue form.[1] The great mass of our material, including as it does over 1,500 complete, or almost complete, painted vases of a date earlier than the fifth century, makes it necessary that we should confine within narrow limits both our accounts of the details of individual vases, and our discussions of the general questions involved.

It also compels us to divide our material among several journals. The present article contains the general introduction to the excavation, and a catalogue account of eight graves (49, 50, 51, 31, 26, 18, 22, 21), whose contents exceed in quantity those of all the others put together. Four other graves prior to the fifth century[2] will be published in the forthcoming number (vol. xxix. pt. 2) of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, together with a section on the meaning of our incised inscriptions and a discussion of the provenance of some of our vase-types. Coloured illustrations of the polychrome kantharos from Grave 18, and the Naucratis vase from Grave 50 will also appear there. Six still earlier graves,[3] and a separate article on the so-called kothons and vases of allied types will be published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxx. Cross references will be given wherever possible. Illustrations of certain individual vases from graves already published in catalogue form, a group of twenty Hellenistic graves,[4] and thirty-one small early graves[5] will be held over for later publication. Thirteen numbers given in the course of excavation, which it has been convenient not to change, belong either to graves without contents[6] or to pits that proved not to be graves at all.[7]

§ 2.—THE NECROPOLIS OF RHITSÓNA.

The district known by the name of Rhitsóna lies on the main road between Thebes and Chalcis. The Khan and the few cottages which form its centre are about 14 miles east of Thebes, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ west of the crest of

[1] In the final publication of the whole excavation the catalogue itself will be amplified, and doubtless corrected, in many particulars. The plain black ware, for instance, is not yet all mended. To wait for this would have unduly delayed publication.

[2] 12, 36, 40, 46.

[3] 1, 6, 13, 14, 74, 75.

[4] 8, 10, 29, 30, 33, 34, 38, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 (*a*), 61 (*b*), 66, 67, 68, 78.

[5] 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 15, 17, 24, 25, 27, 28, 28 (*a*), 32 (*a*), 32 (*b*), 32 (*c*), 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 53, 54, 64, 70, 71, 76.

[6] 62, 63, 65, 69, 72, 73, 77.

[7] 7, 11, 16, 19, 20, 23.

Anephorites, the pass by which the road from Thebes to Chalcis crosses the chain of mountains that bounds Boeotia on the north-east. They are thus about five miles from Chalcis itself. The bridge close to which the Khan stands is built over a stream that runs south-east round the north and east slopes of a long low ridge, which on its south side slopes down to the main road. The position of this ridge and of the stream that bounds it makes it natural to suppose that the road always ran, as it does now, along the south side of the ridge, although part of its course, as we shall see later, may have been slightly different.

The ridge is about 200 metres long, and below its south-west end, on the left of the road as one goes from the Khan towards Thebes, there stands a large fir tree (Fig. 5), a conspicuous landmark in a district which for thirty years has been almost denuded of trees.[1] A few metres south-west of this tree, the main road is joined by a rough winding cart track, which comes from Vathy, a village about four miles away to the east, near the site of the ancient Aulis. The area we have at present excavated lies between the two roads, and forms a kind of triangle, with its apex at the road junction (Fig. 1).

South of the Vathy road we have opened only three graves, and we have dug only a few trial trenches west of the road junction. Whether the necropolis stretches further to the east is uncertain, as we have noticed no sign of illicit digging in that direction. On the south-west, however, two lines of graves extend for 500 metres, north of the main road, and at a slight angle to it, to a point due south of the slopes of a low round knoll, which is separated by a hollow from the long ridge already mentioned on its north-east. The signs of digging all along this line are numerous, and although some of them are probably due to unsuccessful trial pits, the sherds that we have found on the surface, or as the result of re-digging, point to the existence of an extensive necropolis. In particular it should be noticed that early Hellenic graves are to be found far west of our triangle. We have, for instance, dug up fragments of Boeotian kylikes and Corinthian aryballoi more than 400 metres west of the road junction, and thus 600 metres west

[1] H. N. Ulrichs (*Reisen in Griech.* Pt. 2, p. 31) quotes Statius, *Theb.* vii. 272, pinigeris Mycalessus in agris, and remarks that in his day it was still true. This was seventy years ago, and since then the trees have been almost entirely destroyed. Their memory, however, is still green, and the peasants like to derive the name of the district from the *πεύκα* of its once famous firs. Not even the absence of the trees can destroy that 'Lebhaftigkeit' that attracted Ulrichs to Rhitsóna.

of Graves 74 and 75, which also contain vases earlier than the fifth century. The line of graves between these two extreme points is direct, and it cannot be doubted that here, as usually in classical times,[1] they ran beside an ancient road-way. Although Haussoullier[2] doubts the eight roads which

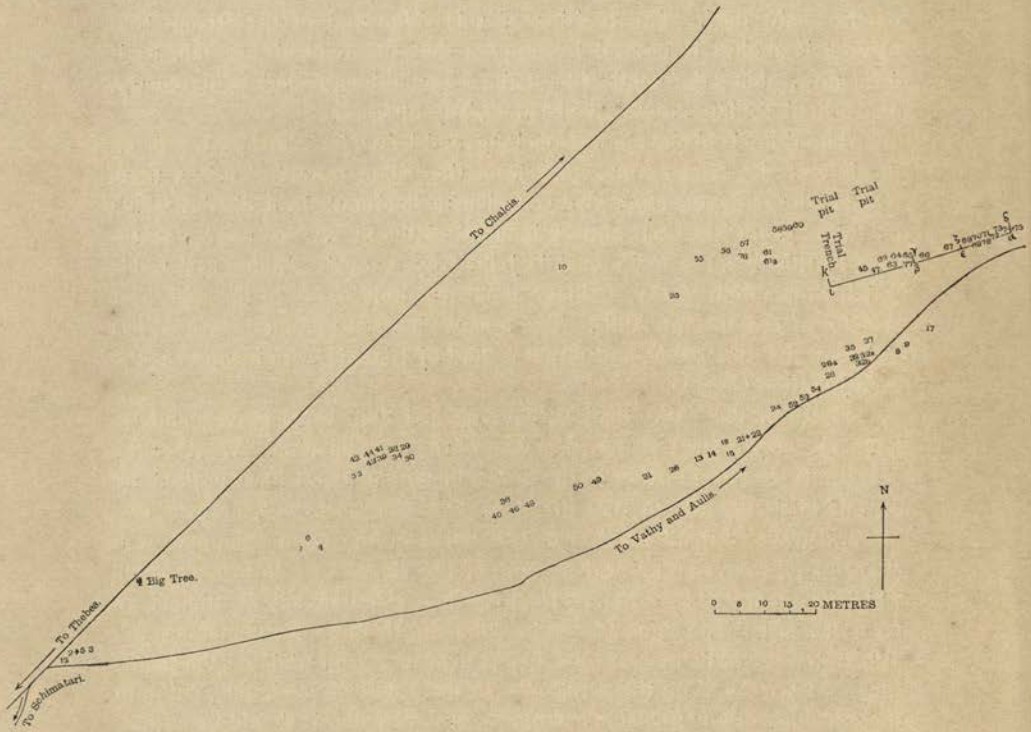


FIG. 1.—RHITSÓNA. GRAVE AREA EXCAVATED 1907-8. *a–α* ANCIENT WALL WITH OFFSETS.

Rayet postulated at Tanagra, and quotes the peasants as saying that they found the graves arranged on no principle, this is not the evidence that has reached us from the *τυμβωρύχοι* of the district. The method they use is to follow a double line, with an imaginary road-way in between. At some

[1] *E.g.* Eur. *Alc.* 835, 999, 1000.
[2] *Quomodo Sepulchra Tanagraei decoraverint.* Paris, 1884, p. 4. Cp., however, *ib.* p. 69.

points there are thick groups, and then a gap, perhaps for a hundred metres or so; but this is natural, and does not invalidate the principle. The original reason for choosing the roadside was probably that it was the only place where access to a grave was possible, and where the ground was not wanted for agriculture. There might, however, be special circumstances which would make the 'hinterland' of a road of little use for other purposes, and thus a fit place for graves. A space contained between two or more roads might well be subject to these special conditions, and we must draw conclusions with great caution as to the possible breadth of any given part of a necropolis.[1]

The exact determination of these road-ways is rendered difficult by another fact. We cannot be sure how many of the numerous pits opened by illicit digging proved to be actual graves. About 200 metres west-south-west of the triangle there are signs of a deep cut road[2] running almost parallel with the present road, but slightly further to the north, and the graves already opened lie on its north side. This may point to the fact that the ancient main road from Thebes at this part of its course ran more west to east than the present one. It would thus be nearer to the knoll and further from the ridge, and in its easterly course pass south and not north of the great fir tree. It is fairly certain that it would have room to pass between the group of graves numbered 29, 30, 42, etc., and the group numbered 1, 6, 4.

The junction of the roads to Vathy and to Chalcis, which, from the nature of things, must always have existed, may in this case have been altogether east of the triangle, or possibly between Grave 49 and Grave 31 where our trial trenches shew that there was room for a branch road to pass out to the south-east. It is possible, however, that the junction was either where it is now, or just east of the big tree, and that it is only from that point eastwards that the Thebes road took a more northerly course than it does at present. The Vathy road would in that case either have begun where it does now, or have passed between Graves 6, 4, 1, and Graves 29, 30, 42. Our discovery of a Hellenistic boundary wall,[3] using up older materials, near the base of the triangle, shews that it is dangerous to

[1] Cp. the plan of the Dipylon Cemetery in *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. Pl. VII.

[2] For some distance indeed there are traces of two road-courses, which from their position probably belonged to the same road at different periods. Even in winter there is no water in them and they cannot be stream-courses.

[3] 'Ancient Wall' of Fig. 1. Description to be published later.

attempt to determine the exact fifth- or sixth-century line of road without considerably more excavation. It should be remarked further that a little west of the fir tree a branch road must have run to Tanagra, as at the present day. Some pits dug by τυμβωρύχοι south-west of the fir tree may possibly point to a line of graves following this road. If, in conclusion, the city to which our necropolis belongs stood, as we shall suggest later, either on the long ridge or the knoll, or on both of them, there must have been short cross roads to its gates, which might themselves be bordered by graves, and thus further complicate the situation.

§ 3.—THE PROVISIONAL IDENTIFICATION OF RHITSÓNA WITH THE ANCIENT MYCALESSOS.

We have at present found neither inscription nor coin in our necropolis to identify the site,[1] but several considerations make it probable that it belongs to the ancient city of Mycalessos. Seventy years ago H. N. Ulrichs[2] saw that the narrative of Thucydides vii. 29, 30 required Mycalessos to be on the Boeotian side of the pass of Anephorites, close to the modern Rhitsóna. Frazer[3] has reinforced his argument, and shown that the sack of Mycalessos by Diitrephes and his Thracians, and its rescue by the Theban cavalry, would have been impossible if we followed Leake,[4] and placed the city on the steep hill of Megalo Vouno, above Aulis.

To ignore Thucydides' narrative is impossible. Where he got his information we do not know. Perhaps he was on the spot when the Thracians returned to their country, perhaps he met Diitrephes two years later, when—doubtless because of the local knowledge he had gained in this expedition—he was appointed to the command in Thrace.[5] In any case the barbarity of the slaughter, the death of the boys at school, the unexpectedness and completeness of the whole thing, impressed itself on Thucydides' imagination. He dwells twice in two chapters on its

[1] Our only two coins, found in the wall foundations, are both mediaeval.

[2] His journeys were finished before 1838. See Passow's *Introduction* to the second part of his *Reisen und Forschungen*, 1863, pt. xii. The chapter in which the account of Mycalessos occurs was first published in *Ann. dell' Instituto*, xviii. (1846), pp. 1–18.

[3] *ap. Paus.* vol. v. pp. 66–70. [4] As is done by both Baedeker and the *Guide Joanne*.

[5] Thuc. viii. 64.

FIG. 2.—THE EURIPUS AND CHALCIS FROM ANEPHORITES.

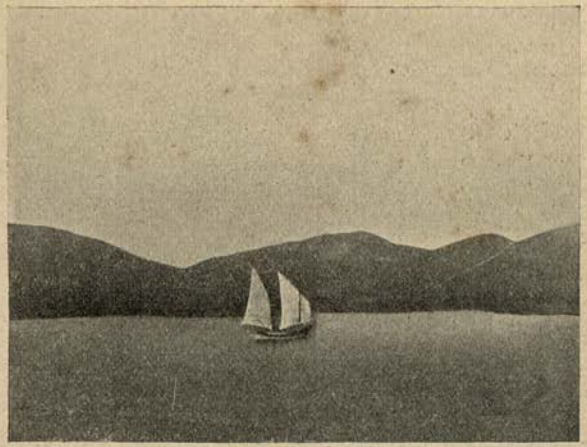


FIG. 3.—ANEPHORITES FROM THE EURIPUS.

FIG. 4.—RHITSÓNA FROM ANEPHORITES.

FIG. 5.—JUNCTION OF CHALCIS AND VATHY ROADS.

uniqueness. The sensationalism of his *litotes*, *τῶν δὲ Μυκαλησσίων μέρος τι ἀπαναλώθη*, is more than usually obvious.

It is easy to follow his narrative on the spot. On the day preceding his attack on Mycalessos, Diitrephes sailed up the Euboean channel, landed his Thracians on the flat land by Dilisi, and ravaged the *παραλία* of Tanagra; but he drew his men off on the approach of a force from that city, and sailed on in the afternoon to Chalcis. If the report was carried that night to Mycalessos or to Thebes it brought with it no alarm. From the land-locked harbour of Aulis to far north of Chalcis the Boeotian plain is separated from the sea by a high mountain line (Fig. 3).[1] Boeotia lived and lives its life regardless of the strip of land that stretches down from the other side of Galatsida and Messapion towards Chalcis and the Euripus. The mountain wall is its real frontier, and the few miles of flat land opposite Chalcis, though they may then, as now, have been used as grazing land by Boeotian shepherds, can never have been of value to the enemies of Chalcis. The mountain wall indeed is the reason that Euboea was held by Athens during the fifth century. The Euripus is so narrow that if Boeotia had in any real sense abutted on it, it would not have presented a sea-frontier. Euboea would in that case have belonged to the land and not the sea power. Mycalessos was in fact, as Thucydides says, an inland town, although at one point, on the side of Aulis, it was little more than four miles from the sea, and was only five miles from Chalcis itself. But Diitrephes, dashing cavalry officer as the *Birds* of Aristophanes represents him,[2] was not content with the ravaging of the Tanagra coast-land. He left Chalcis after nightfall and landed his men further north-west at the nearest point to the Anephorites Pass (Fig. 2).[3] Like Apollo, he went up from the Euripus to the *ὄρος ζάθεον χλωρόν, ἐς Μυκαλησσὸν ἰών*.[4] He bivouacked there for the night in what Thucydides calls the Hermaion, a shrine[5] which as Frazer suggests, may at that time have marked the legal as well as the natural frontier of Boeotia,[6] and waited for early dawn to fall upon the town (Fig. 4).[7]

[1] Anephorites is the Pass on the left of the photograph.

[2] 798, 1442.

[3] The Euripus is in the middle distance. The road winds down the pass till it reaches it.

[4] *Hymn to Apollo*, 224. [5] Where the roadside shrine now stands?

[6] Vol. v. pp. 70–1. The name Hermaion would be suitable for a boundary shrine.

[7] The photograph was taken from the same spot as Fig. 2, with camera reversed. Rhitsóna is the bare spot in the middle distance.

While, however, it is certain that Mycalessos must have stood within striking distance of Anephorites, the exact position of the city in the considerable district now known by the name of Rhitsóna is another matter. As has been shown in the preceding section, tombs both sixth-century and Hellenistic have been found for the better part of a kilometre along the line of ancient roads, from the slopes of the knoll to those of the long ridge. It is difficult to determine where exactly Ulrichs and Frazer would place the city. Frazer probably means it to lie on the knoll.[1] The foundations that he noticed there exist, and the number of red tiles on the surface point to the existence of considerable buildings on the site. Similar foundations, however, can be seen on the long ridge, and the few trial trenches that we opened there showed mortar or tiles in the lower courses of the walls. The surface appearance of foundations is often delusive,[2] and it is dangerous to draw inferences from them before complete excavation, especially in a country as thickly populated as Boeotia appears to have been during the Byzantine period.

Excavation alone can show whether Mycalessos in the Hellenic period had a long wall circuit, and stood on both these low hills, as Ulrichs apparently thought,[3] or whether it was confined to one of them. The present position of Megara on its two hills, and the great circuit of the walls of Plataea,[4] make the former alternative no impossibility. We have

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 66. He talks of the 'hamlet of Rhitzona' 'lying in the valley about a mile and a half to the east of the ruins.'

[2] Cp. *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 93, &c. with *ib.* xi. pp. 153, etc.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 30. His account is not clear, but he makes the city extend to the end of the ridge above the Khan. Indeed he found so many remains, that in Thuc. vii. 29, he preferred the reading *οὔσῃ μεγάλῃ* of most MSS. to the *οὔσῃ οὐ μεγάλῃ* of the Vaticanus (B), adopted by the editors. In regard to the frequency with which B inserts small words as against all other MSS. (see E. C. Marchant, Thuc. vii. p. xlii), Mr. H. Stuart Jones writes to us that he can only claim that 'it is more often right than wrong.' He adds, however, rightly, that from the stylistic point of view its reading seems the more natural one.

[4] We need not here enter into the date of the large circuit of Plataea. See Frazer, *Paus.* vol. v. pp. 11–12. As, however, Professor Beloch once remarked to one of the writers, so long as a wall was reasonably strong, it was good policy, before the development of the science of siege engines, to make its circuit as wide as possible. What was to be guarded against was not assault, but starvation through blockade. Garden and grazing ground had to be included. From the fourth century onward these reasons would operate less strongly. In support of Ulrichs' *οὔσῃ μεγάλῃ* (see note 3 above) it might be urged that Thucydides talks of *τὰ ἱερά*, and 'the largest school in the city.' If the city had been originally small, these plurals do not fit in well with the weakness and decay of the walls. But if it was originally an important city, with a long wall circuit, it would just be the walls which would be first neglected in the days of decadence, though the population was still not inconsiderable.

at present found it more urgent to dig for tombs, which may disappear, than for walls, which are happily not likely to do so.[1]

If, as is reasonable to suppose, the Hermaion was at the crest of the pass of Anephorites, the distance of either hill would suit adequately the measurement of sixteen stades which Thucydides gives us as the distance from the Hermaion to the city. The nearest point of the ridge is about fifteen, and the knoll is not more than twenty stades from Anephorites.

The chief new evidence that we can bring to support the identification of Rhitsóna with Mycalessos is, first, that history suggests that a city lying in this position should fall into decay after the beginning of the fifth century; and, secondly, that our graves seem to belong to such a city. Mycalessos is εὐρύχορος in the *Catalogue* of the Iliad,[2] and in the *Hymns*[3] is mentioned with Teumesa as a city that Apollo must pass on his way from the Euripus to Thebes. Yet at the end of the fifth century its walls were weak and had half fallen down, and it is not mentioned by the Oxyrhynchus historian[4] in 395 as one of the cities of the Boeotian League. The evidence of coins[5] shows that there must have at least been an attempt to revive it after the Peace of Antalcidas; but Pausanias[6] finds it in ruins.

The reasons why we should expect such to be the history of a city lying on the junction of the Chalcis and Vathy roads, are not far to seek. Such a city would be the frontier town of Boeotia towards Euboea, and the half-way house, not only between Thebes and Chalcis, but between Thebes and Eretria. Milesian goods landed at Aulis in Eretrian bottoms would meet under its walls the Samian trade that came from Chalcis over the Euripus. Tanagra would be the only city in Boeotia to which Eretria could send goods more easily, and Chalcis as easily, by another route.[7] In the middle of the sixth century, when, so far as our meagre evidence goes, it would appear that Thebes was in closer connection with Eretria than with Chalcis,[8] our city would have the full benefit of such a connection. When, again, towards the end of the century Thebes was

[1] The using up of stones for house building is a slow matter in so thinly populated a district.

[2] *Iliad*, ii. 498. [3] *Hymn to Apollo*, 224. [4] *Ox. Pap.* v. p. 225.

[5] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 293; Brit. Mus. *Cat. Coins of Central Greece*, pp. 51, xli.

[6] i. 23. 3; ix. 19. 4.

[7] There would be a road from Aulis to Tanagra, and probably a coast road from the Euripus to Aulis. Goods, too, could be landed at Dilisi for Tanagra.

[8] Ἀθ. Πολ. 15, Hdt. i. 61, where both Thebes and Eretria help Peisistratos in his return from his second exile, B.C. 539/8 (?). See Busolt, ii.[2] pp. 324, 376.

alienated from Athens,[1] and formed its famous alliance with Chalcis,[2] our city had nothing to lose by the change of policy. Rhitsóna is more closely connected with Chalcis than with any other city; though it still gets its fish from Eretria, Chalcis is its normal market town. But just as no city had so much to gain from friendship between Thebes and either of the great Euboean towns, none had so much to lose when the connection between Boeotia and any part of Euboea was suddenly broken. When Chalcis fell before Athens in B.C. 506,[3] our city had its life cut off at the roots. It had been a changing-house on a great high road of friendly commercial activity. The new commerce moved along the Euripus. Thebes and Tanagra, so far as they had commerce outside their borders, had to trade now by way of the Corinthian Gulf, or received what Attica sent them over Parnes or Kithairon. Our city was now in a side current. It was on the way to nowhere.

The battle of Hdt. v. 77, when the Athenians consecrated the bronze chariot to Athena, ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες, may indeed have been fought close to Mycalessos, and if so the frontier city must have taken its full share in it. The point about the Athenian expedition that impressed itself on Herodotus is that the Athenians succeeded in taking the allies separately. The Boeotians came ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον to help the Chalcidians. The Athenians on seeing them, decided to attack them at once before they joined forces, won a victory, and the same day crossed the Euripus and won another over the Chalcidians. The second battle was clearly fought in Euboea, and the epigram attributed to Simonides[4] was probably written over the Athenian dead:

Δίρφυος ἐδμήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί· σῆμα δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν
ἐγγύθεν Εὐρίπου δημοσίᾳ κέχυται.

The words Δίρφυος ὑπὸ πτυχί do not mean that the battle was fought inland. All the shore from Chalcis to Eretria can be said to be under Mount Dirphys, which, when viewed from the mainland, seems to rise up just behind the west Euboean coast; Simonides's second line, too, shows that the battle was near the sea. The question as to how far this was

[1] By the Athenian alliance with Plataea, B.C. 519 (E. Meyer, ii. p. 780) or 510/9 (Busolt, ii.[2] p. 399; and Macan, *ad* Hdt. vi. 108). For the question as to whether this brought with it estrangement from Eretria, as suggested by the quickly ensuing alliance with Chalcis, see below, p. 238.

[2] Hdt. v. 74–77. [3] Busolt, ii.[2] p. 442.

[4] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* iii.[4] pp. 448, 462.

from Chalcis depends on the more difficult one as to where the first battle was fought. Were the Chalcidians unable to prevent the Boeotians from being taken separately, or did they not know of it till the fight was over? On the first hypothesis we must imagine that something prevented the Chalcidians from crossing the forty yards of the Euripus channel. It has been suggested by J. L. Myres[1] that the Eretrian fleet played a part in the battle, and enabled the Athenians to cross the Euripus. The omission of Eretria in the Athenian account of the battle would be due to the deportation of its inhabitants in 480, and the inability of the remnant[2] to impress themselves on history. It would be easy to press Myres's view a little further and suggest that the Eretrian fleet prevented the Boeotian and Chalcidian armies from uniting. Unfortunately we know so little about the history of the time that it is dangerous to assume that the Eretrians would be sure to take an active part on the side of Athens. The traditional alliances of the war of the Lelantine plain may have survived in the main down to the end of the sixth century, and it is *a priori* probable that Chalcis and Eretria were themselves always hostile. The fact therefore that the Chalcidians were attacking Athens would predispose the Eretrians to help her. The internal dissensions, however, of that city, must have complicated the situation.[3] Eretria had committed itself to strong partisanship for the Peisistratids. Can we be sure that its citizens would give active help to the party that had expelled Hippias, when that expulsion was fresh in their minds? If the policy of Kleomenes had been to restore Hippias instead of Isagoras, Eretria might have been tempted actually to support Sparta, in spite of the irritating fact of finding itself on the side of Chalcis. Kleomenes' change of front a short time later (Hdt. v. 90) may even have arisen from a consciousness that he had made a mistake in choosing a candidate who had no traditional allies. There is only one point[4]

[1] *J.H.S.* xxvi. pp. 96–7. [2] Hdt. viii. 46; ix. 28; and Macan, *ap.* vi. 101.

[3] The Thessalians, for instance, who had helped Chalcis against Eretria, are allies of Hippias in his last years of power. Is this to be taken as meaning that the Thessalians were no longer pro-Chalcidian, or that Hippias was now estranged from Eretria? Or, more naturally, that the Hellenic world was temporarily regrouped? Busolt, i.[2] p. 456; Hdt. v. 63.

[4] The Peisistratid question prevents us from drawing a conclusion from the fact noted above (p. 237), that Thebes, when estranged from Athens, is found acting with Chalcis and no longer with Eretria. We cannot be sure whether this happened before or after the expulsion of Hippias. Similarly the co-operation of Eretria with the Athenian democracy in the Ionian revolt cannot help us here, as in the first place the bond of union was rather common friendship with Miletus than friendship between the two cities themselves; and secondly because the Hippias question had become by that time less prominent.

which suggests that Eretria at the time was not hostile to the democracy of Athens; and that is, that Hippias did not follow in his father's footsteps, and retire to Eretria after his expulsion. Even in regard to this point it might be argued that his choice of Sigeum as a place of retirement was not a second best, but was taken in concert with Eretria and Miletus, who would welcome the establishment of a strong friendly power at a spot that commanded the Black Sea, Miletus's special sphere of trade influence.

Whether or no Eretria entered the field on the Athenian side, our hypothesis as to the action of its navy is open to objection. The Euripus opposite Chalcis is so narrow that two armies, one on each side of it, could hardly be prevented from joining by a fleet. The small naval force that could be interposed between them could be reached by arrows, or even by javelin throwing, and would be soon crushed and made to give a passage to rafts, boats, or swimmers. It should be noticed, too, that in the earlier part of the campaign (Hdt. v. 74), the Chalcidians were able to ravage the Attic coast-land and return again to Euboea, which does not look as if the Eretrian fleet had control of the situation. If Eretria did play a part in the struggle, it must rather have been in drawing off the Chalcidian land forces towards Eretria, so that the Boeotians, though in sight of Chalcis, were without Chalcidian help. In this case the second battle was fought somewhere between Chalcis and Eretria. Indeed the words that the Euripus was crossed and the second battle fought *τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης* suggest a march and an achievement, not two battles close to the Euripus, one on each side of it. If the march of the Boeotians to help the Chalcidians *ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον* must be pressed to mean 'up to, as far as the Euripus,' this view that the second battle was fought between Chalcis and Eretria is the most probable. The words *ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον*, however, may better be taken as 'marched to the help of the Chalcidians who were by the Euripus,' defining the objective more closely than the simple *τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι* would have done. The Chalcidians, when last mentioned (Hdt. v. 74), were in Attica.

The *ἐγγύθεν Εὐρίπου* of the epigram supports this second interpretation. The word Euripus usually applies to the narrows immediately opposite Chalcis, and not to the whole channel from Chalcis to Eretria. It is possible that it was the first battle, and not the second, that was fought some distance from the Euripus. If the Athenians came by

land over Parnes—and at that date it is almost certain that they did so—they would pass Oropus before they attracted the attention of the Boeotians, as they did nearly a century later in the expedition against Delium. In the earlier part of the campaign the Boeotians (Hdt. v. 74) had crossed Kithairon and ravaged the Attic border, but it is probable that they, as well as the Chalcidians, had returned home again on hearing of the withdrawal of their Peloponnesian allies from Attica (Hdt. v. 74–76). Even if they were still in the field, their way from Kithairon would be by the road from Thebes to Chalcis. They would in any case gather their forces at some point on that road, perhaps at Harma, where the Tanagra levies would naturally come in. Confident that the Athenians would take the coast road by Aulis, they would naturally decide to march over Anephorites, and either intercept them or take them in flank. The Athenians may then have had a great strategical idea. Instead of continuing along the coast road, they may have turned to the left where the Vathy station now stands, and by a night march towards Mycalessos have got between the Boeotians and Anephorites. The battle would thus be completely hidden from the Chalcidians, and yet on the same day—one can walk it in two hours—the victorious army could march to the Euripus and win a second battle. The *τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης* would be feasible, and yet be a real feat of arms.

If this view were accepted we could see the appropriateness of the Athenian choice of a *ἅρμα τέθριππον*[1] for a memorial of the double victory. It was from Harma that the Boeotians would have advanced, and possibly on its borders that the battle would have been fought. An alternative would be to see a reference to the four-spoked chariot wheel of the Chalcidian *ἱπποβόται*. As has been convincingly shown by Babelon,[2] there exists in the Berlin cabinet a coin struck to commemorate the alliance which this double victory broke up. On the obverse side is the Boeotian shield, as well as the Ψ of Chalcis; on the reverse what we may reasonably take to be the city arms or *παράσημον* of Chalcis, the four-spoked wheel.[3]

[1] So Paus. i. 28, 2; Diodorus x. 24. Hdt. however (v. 77), uses the words *τέθριππον χάλκεον*.

[2] *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 6. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 303, published the coin as Chalcidian without seeing the special point.

[3] For the rarity of the dedication of chariots in war see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Indices. They were common for victory in the games (see *ibid.* p. 164–5). Of the two war dedications of chariots he mentions (pp. 107, 110) one seems to have been actual spoils, see

It can scarcely be a coincidence that these historical arguments are supported by the results of our excavations. The dominant date of our necropolis is the latter half of the sixth century.[1] Of our sixty-nine graves with contents, six[2] at least are earlier than this date, containing as they do no Black-figure, and no Boeotian kylikes, but only Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Early Corinthian. None of these, however, are so rich as the great series of sixth-century graves, 49, 50, 51, 40, 12, 46, 31, 26, 18. Grave 18, the last of this series, containing a red-figure kylix of the severe style, may be about B.C. 500, but it belonged to some one whose riches dated from the prosperous days before B.C. 506. The same may be true of Grave 22, which contains two red-figure vases of the strong style, and may stretch a decade or two into the fifth century. The three pieces of red-figure just referred to are the only ones that we have found among over 1,500 painted vases. More may of course be found later, but it does not look as if we had happened to hit upon the sixth-century part of the cemetery. It will be remembered that besides the earlier graves already mentioned we have found twenty Hellenistic graves in the same area.[3] All over the line of graves, too, from the knoll to the base of the triangle the extensive fragments left by the τυμβωρύχοι[4] show the same dominant date. We have picked up only one other piece of red-figure over the whole site. It is at least highly probable[5] that the city to

Plut. *Timol.* 27; the other, so far as can be gathered from *B.C.H.* iii. p. 471, has nothing to do with a chariot. The Chalcidians could not at this time have fought with chariots any more than the Athenians. If the allusion had been to the Athenian cavalry, who, if Bergk is right (*Poet. Lyr. Gr.*[4] Vol. iii. p. 462, *ap. no.* 108), distinguished themselves in the earlier part of the campaign, the offering would have been a horse, as it was in the case of the cavalry skirmish commemorated in *C.I.A.* iv. i. p. 184, 418 h. A war dedication, which did not consist of spoil, actual or typical, or of an image of a god, would presumably have some special significance. For a punning parallel to our Harma hypothesis compare the statue of Leaena on the Acropolis, the traditional explanation of which is rightly defended by Plew and Frazer (Paus. ii. p. 274). For the alternative suggestion see the many examples of dedication of city arms brought together by G. Macdonald in his *Coin Types*, pp. 62–5. If it is objected that our arms are not those of the dedicating state, we may find a parallel in the decrees of προξενία of the fourth and third centuries, B.C., when the arms of the state to which the foreigner belonged were generally engraved on the inscription. See Macdonald, *op. cit.* pp. 65, 70; Perdrizet, *B.C.H.* xx. p. 459, &c. The fact that it is the enemy who is alluded to, is a natural development of the custom of dedicating spoils, cp. the Bronze Horse and Captive Women of the Tarentine trophy at Olympia (Paus. x. 10) and their other trophy at Delphi (*id.* x. 13) with its horsemen and footmen, including Opis, King of the Iapygians, who fought against them.

[1] For the evidence see the catalogue *passim* and the concluding section, pp. 308 f.

[2] 1, 6, 74, 75, 13, 14. [3] See above, p. 228. [4] See above, p. 229.

[5] That caution is necessary, even when the case seems convincing, is shown by the fact that Orsi has never been able to find the Syracusan Necropolis of the fifth century, see *Mon. Ant.* xvii.

which our necropolis belonged was in decadence from the beginning of the fifth century. Such a city was Mycalessos.

§ 4.—METHODS OF BURIAL.

As has been already said, the dominant date of our cemetery is the latter half of the sixth century. For this period the commonest shape of grave is a deep oblong trench cut into the earth without lining or covering of stone or terracotta.[1] All the graves here published are of this type with the exception of 21, which is a pithos grave. We have twenty-two of these pithos burials, but none of them have rich contents. Of the earth cut trenches we have found altogether thirty-two[2] examples, of which five are certainly earlier than the second half of the sixth century, and one is probably Hellenistic. Only eight of the thirty-two are cremation graves, and in these the blackened vases, and, in the case of Grave 15[3], the charred bones, shew that the body was burnt on the spot.

The long iron nails found in all our large sixth-century graves (see Figs. 6 and 7) suggest the use of wood. That in that case it must have rotted away without leaving any traces need not present a serious difficulty when we remember how few bones (see below, p. 246) have been preserved in the damp earth.[4] The nails, however, do not of themselves[5] determine what was the nature of this wooden construction. To Brückner and Pernice the nails and fragments of wood which they discovered in the fifth- and fourth-century graves in the Dipylon cemetery suggested wooden coffins,[6] but Watzinger[7] rejects this inference, and thinks that they are traces of the bier or κλίνη, on which the dead was laid out in the house, carried to the cemetery, and placed in the grave. For the Dipylon graves of the

p. 533 (Gela). It cannot be pleaded in that case, as it is by Böhlau for Pitigliano in *Jahrb.* 1900, p. 156, that the city was abandoned from the sixth to the third centuries.

[1] Like modern English graves; 'shaft graves' is the name given them by Brückner and Pernice in their article on the Dipylon, *Ath. Mitt.* xviii.

[2] Disturbed graves are here included. [3] To be published later.

[4] In Grave 46 the small bronze nails may have belonged to a wooden box that has completely disappeared.

[5] The round discs that form the nail-heads in Grave 49 (see below. p. 256) are similar to those (·015 m. or some ·012 m. in diam.) that were used as nail-heads for the eighth or seventh-century wooden coffin from Gordion (see *Gordion*, p. 44, Abb. 6, *a* and *b*, and p. 98). This shows that such nail-heads were used in early wooden construction, but not that they were peculiar to coffins.

[6] *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. 1893, p. 186. [7] *Griech. Holzsarkophage*, 1905, p. 66.

Geometric period Brückner and Pernice do not suggest wooden coffins, but

FIG. 6.—NAILS FROM GRAVE 49. (1 : 2)

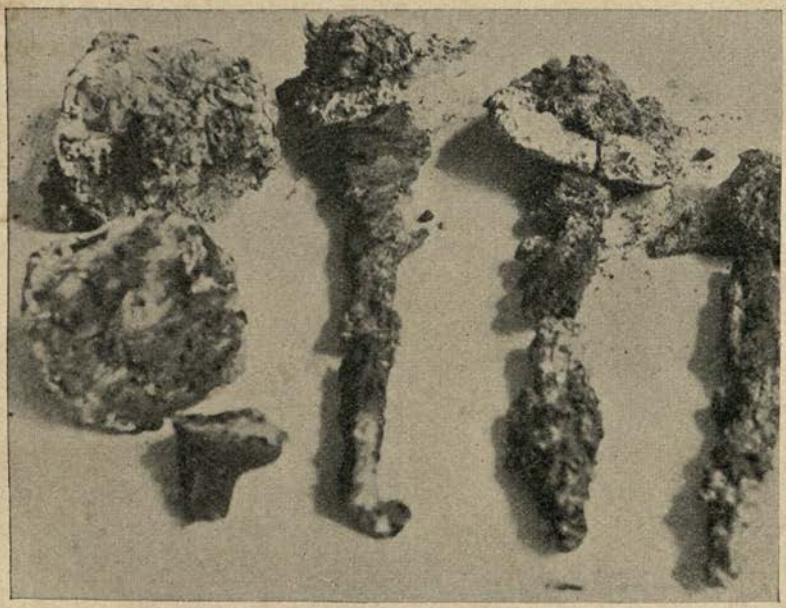


FIG. 7.—NAILS FROM GRAVE 50. (5 : 8)

rather wooden boards laid over the body and the grave furniture at a

height of about ·75 m. to ·80 m. They infer these boards partly from the fact that tall vessels,[1] and in one case a bronze tripod ·45 m. high,[2] were placed upright in Geometric graves, and partly from the existence of a ledge at about ·75 m. or ·80 m. from the floor. Traces of colour, and in one case of lime,[3] at the height of this ledge, suggest that painted or lime-washed boards rested upon it. Such a ledge of hard, undisturbed earth, from ·20 to ·30 m. broad, runs down both the long sides of our large graves about one metre from the bottom,[4] and it is natural to suppose that it served the same purpose as that in a Dipylon Geometric grave. The representations of the *ἐκφορά* on the Dipylon vases themselves also seem to support the view that in the Geometric period at Athens the corpse was placed in the grave on the *κλίνη* and not in the coffin.[5] At Rhitsóna, the large sixth-century graves present only one phenomenon that can help us.[6] In all of them there were masses of vases at the two extreme ends, beyond head and feet respectively; but in some of them, *e.g.* Graves 49 and 18, there were practically no vases at all except at the two ends, where they had been stacked to a considerable height. This on the whole favours the idea of a bier: if a coffin were used and the vases were two numerous to go inside it, the natural place to put them would be on the top.[7] If an open bier were used, the construction of an unusually long grave,[8] which would allow the vases to be piled up

[1] *loc. cit.* p. 150. [2] *ib.* p. 415, Plate XIV.

[3] Graves VI., XIV., and III. See F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber*, p. 22.

[4] In our Grave 46 a thin black stratum of earth was also noticed just above the ledge. There was no trace, however, of such a thing in any of the other graves, except possibly in 26.

[5] See *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. p. 151, and *Daremberg-Saglio*, ii. 2, p. 1375. Fig. 3342. It is possible, however, that this is an artistic convention. Even if closed coffins were actually used, the artist might have felt it proper that the corpse should be in view; cp. the Dipylon ship-scenes in *Ath. Mitt.* xvii. figs. 9 and 10, where a whole warrior, shield and all, is visible through each port-hole, and an interesting suggestion made by Mr. Way (see Prof. Rhys Roberts's forthcoming edition of Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* last chapter) that Simonides thought of the *λάρναξ δαιδαλέη* as a closed little Noah's ark, but that the artists would not consent to have Danae and Perseus invisible.

[6] At Rhitsóna the vases are considerably crushed and broken. A fall of earth caused by the decay of covering boards would account for this; but so, perhaps, would the steady pressure of three metres of earth shovelled in at the time. In either case the great mass of the vases and their careless stacking may have helped to account for the situation. Intentional breakage before deposition in the tomb (Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, p. 255) would not account for it.

[7] In our Hellenistic stone-slab graves this actually was the case, and the majority of the objects were on the top of the slabs, or round them. In Grave 13 (*J.H.S.* xxx), our only early stone-slab grave, two objects were outside, fifteen inside.

[8] See below p. 246.

beyond head and feet, would be a natural way of meeting this difficulty.[1] On the other hand we do not know enough of sixth-century customs to argue against coffins merely from the existence of ledges.[2] They may have survived for convenience in digging deep graves, though their original use was forgotten.

The very numerous objects[3] found in some of our graves naturally suggest two questions. First, did each of these graves, containing several hundred vases, belong to one individual or to several individuals? Secondly, supposing that it belonged to several, did the interments take place all at the same time or at various and perhaps considerable intervals? The two questions must be kept separate, as the first is, on its own merits, of comparatively slight importance, while the second is vital to the whole question of our vase dating, and decides whether the vases of a given grave are contemporary[4] or are the accumulated result of consecutive

[1] A coffin would certainly keep the vase mass in position, but the same purpose might be served by a bier with legs, such as we see on a Dipylon vase figured in *Daremberg-Saglio*, ii. 2. p. 1375. Fig. 3342. On some other representations (*e.g.* Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antique*, Pl. LXXV.) it is not clear what are the legs of the bier, and what the sides of the hearse. If the biers used at Rhitsóna were low, and without legs, like the kind of mattrass figured in *D.-S.*, p. 1374 (Fig. 3340, Black-figure kantharos), where a dead body is borne to the grave by four men, and not on a hearse, it might be argued that the vases could scarcely have been stacked to such a height without falling over the body. There may, however, have been some special contrivance to prevent this, which has left no traces, or perhaps the stacking was, after all, carefully done. With well preserved bodies, inferences may conceivably be drawn from their position as to how near the στέρεο they were originally placed; with our few decayed bones this would be out of the question.

[2] Wooden coffins may well, of course, have existed in sixth-century Boeotia. We see an undoubted closed wooden coffin being lowered into the grave by four men on a black-figure loutrophoros (*D-S.* p. 1378. Fig. 3346). In the Gordion coffin, too, mentioned above, bronze nails were used, though what Watzinger calls the 'organische Verbindung' of dovetailing, and the disuse of metal nails, seem to have begun in Greece in the fifth century (*Griech. Holzsark.* pp. 66–67), and became the rule from the fourth century to the present day. It should be noticed, if we are inclined to press such survivals, that in modern Thrace and Macedonia the side boards that enclose a corpse are nailed together, though the top boards that are laid upon them are not. This is, without doubt, because repeated interments in the same grave are still the rule there. Our informant is Mr. Ch. Giamelides, a native of Adrianople, now Ἐπιμελητὴς Ἀρχαιοτήτων in Greece.

[3] The figures for Graves 49, 50, 51, 31, 26, 18 are 447, 406, 321, 379, 245, 270. The figures for none of our other graves are as large as for these six. Those for Graves 46, 40, and 12 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2) are 159, 136, and 60. Those for the pithoi and for some of the other early graves are quite small.

[4] With the limitation that even in single interments the presence of an heirloom, *e.g.*, perhaps, the Vourva vase (cp. *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. Plate II., with *ib.* xv. Plate XI.) in the Marathon Soros, may introduce an earlier element. This question, however, does not affect the problems of our vase dating, as in every case the vases which some archaeologists might expect to be earlier than the rest occur in large numbers, and, further, are found in the same environment in nine different graves, see below, p. 248.

interments. It might be possible to answer the first question so decisively that the second would *ipso facto* fall. This, it should be at once said, it is not possible to do. In most of our large graves there were fragments of bones, and we have submitted them to the expert judgement of Mr. C. H. Hawes. All he is able to say is that in each case[1] the bones may have come from a single body, and that there is thus nothing to preclude the view that there was only one body in each grave. The remains are so slight that further conclusions are impossible. In Grave 31, where twelve teeth were found, we might perhaps have expected some reduplication if there had been more than one person buried in the grave, but this inference, which is perhaps the strongest that we can draw from the evidence the bones afford, cannot be pressed very far. It is difficult, again, to know how much weight should be attached to the fact that we have found one still earlier grave,[2] and numerous Hellenistic graves,[3] with undoubtedly single skeletons. The difference of date, and the fact that they were in every case stone-slab graves, render it possible to argue that the custom may have changed according to the date and the type of grave. The size of our graves points slightly, but not decisively, to their being meant for a single skeleton. Their length varies from 2·63 to 3·30 m., which seems too short for two bodies, although its fitness for one body is only justified on the probable assumption that the grave was deliberately adapted to give room for vases at either end.[4] The presence of masses of vases at either end, to which we have already alluded, confirms this view. The breadth of the graves, which varies from ·77 to 1·00 m., is distinctly too small for two corpses to lie in it without overlapping. On the other hand, we cannot argue that there were not two bodies in a given grave from the fact that, if there were, they would overlap. At Delphi, for instance, as Mr. A. D. Keramopoullos kindly informs us, he has discovered the bones of two corpses in an earth grave no larger than ours,[5] the two skeletons overlapping. In the Bologna Museum, again, of the ten graves so admirably

[1] For the details see the end of the catalogue of each grave.

[2] Grave 13, to be published *J.H.S.* xxx.

[3] To be published later.

[4] Grave 13 is 2·00 m. long by ·61 m. broad, and most of the Hellenistic graves are of about the same size, but some smaller. None of them contain masses of vases. A Dipylon Geometric grave (No. VIII, *Ath. Mitt.* xviii. p. 115), containing a single skeleton, was 2·55 m. long by 1·05 m. broad, but their usual length (*Poulsen*, p. 21) was about 2 m.

[5] ·90 m. broad, and at least 2·30 m. long.

exhibited as *in situ*, with bodies at full length, one[1] contains the skeletons of an adult and a child side by side, though the other nine contain single bodies. This is probably a case of parent and child who died together, perhaps in an epidemic, and when we read of the pre-fifth-century cemetery of Gela that 570 corpses were found in 496 graves,[2] we are safe in assuming that epidemics or other such special reasons would account for many of these exceptional double burials. Such double burials may well have happened at Rhitsóna in particular cases, but the fact that there is no evidence at all in favour of two skeletons, and several converging, though indecisive, lines of evidence against them, makes it probable that single interment was the general custom.

If we now turn to our second question, the answer is more decisive. That the mass of vases in our great graves is the accumulative result of a series of interments is out of the question. In rock-cut or chamber tombs the temptation to save labour by utilising an old tomb was natural.[3] In earth dug graves the only corresponding advantage would be the soft condition of the already dug earth. Where, however, the original grave was three metres or more deep, as ours are in every case, it was far more simple and effective for the second interment to be dug shallow, so as to avoid the muddle and unsightliness of coming into contact with the first body and its vases. Such was, in fact, done in the case of Grave 2,[4] which was obviously over Grave 5, and separated from it by a clear layer of earth. In our large graves, with the exception of a few stray fragments, such as would always be found in dug earth in Hellenic times, and, in certain cases, of one or two complete vases, such as we imagine might be thrown in, as wreaths now are, while the grave was being filled in, the earth was absolutely clean till we reached the great mass of vases resting on the *στέρεο*.[5] The subjoined photograph of the end of Grave 18 (Fig. 8), taken in the grave, three metres down, while the vases were still in position, illustrates the point. Though, too, as already stated, nearly all our vases,

[1] No. N, as opposed to Nos. S, T, U, X, Y, Z, A, I, O.

[2] *Mon. Ant.* xvii. pp. 234, 243.

[3] So at Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea (*Mon. Ant.* xvii. pp. 236–7), monolithic sarcophagi were generallly reopened for further interments. At Gela, though this was sometimes done (*e.g.* Sep. 81, p. 59), the more usual practice was to group other forms of grave round the sarcophagus, which thus, as Orsi suggests, may have contained the head of the family.

[4] To be published later.

[5] Contrast what we have called Grave 36 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2), where there was no doubt as to the objects having been disturbed.

except the strong and compact aryballoi, were found damaged by the mass of superincumbent earth, there is nothing to suggest that they were disturbed or thrown out of position by human agency. If we could allow it to be reasonably probable that for sentimental family reasons the skeleton and vases of a later interment were regularly placed on those of an earlier one without disturbance, it is barely conceivable that this should result in the conditions that are presented to us by the excavation of our nine large

FIG. 8.—GRAVE 18. VASES IN POSITION.

graves. The real strength of our argument lies in the cumulative effect of the similarity of the vase combinations in Graves 49, 50, 51, 31, 26, 18, 46 40, and 12. Between some of these graves we shall notice later certain differences of style that suggest differences of date. But it is just the combinations which at first sight may appear startling to some archaeologists[1] that are the most uniform and certain. Boeotian kylikes,

[1] We have had no opportunity of seeing the contents of the Pylaea Tomb (*Fouilles de Delphes*, Tom. V. Fasc. 2, 1908), which Perdrizet, on *a priori* grounds, regards as a mixture of interments of different epochs. The day-book apparently did not contain sufficient particulars, and he may be right. But *a priori* disregard of the *prima facie* evidence of excavation is dangerous in the present state of our ignorance as to the length of time during which some vase styles survived.

Corinthian aryballoi, kothons, Black-figure, black glaze kantharoi, are found in all these graves alike,[1] and in every case promiscuously, and without suggestion of strata. If we assume successive interments, we must further assume, not only that they occurred at about the same intervals in nine separate graves, but that in all of them the vases were mixed so carefully and delicately that no trace of the process can be discovered.

We have not included No. 22 among the nine graves which we claim as proving our point. The peculiar circumstances under which it was excavated are described below on pp. 299 f. The fact that the grave had the pithos burial of No. 21 in the middle of it, and that so little of its contents are at our disposal, places it[2] in a different category from the undisturbed graves. The problems connected with pithos burials, such as Grave 21, and a few terracotta-slab burials, will be discussed later. The stone-slab burials will also be described under the headings of their various graves; No. 13, the only early one, being the first to be published in *J.H.S.* xxx. The other stone-slab graves are all Hellenistic, and are the commonest type at that period.

It will be noticed that the preponderance at Rhitsóna of large earth cut trenches and small pithoi for the Hellenic period presents a contrast with Haussoullier's statement[3] as to the relative frequency of different classes of graves in the neighbouring cemetery of Tanagra. There, he says, the commonest type of grave was one built of stone slabs. It must be remembered, however, (*a*) that the Tanagra cemetery covers a great extent of time; (*b*) that if we can consider the known contents of its graves as a safe index of the comparative frequency or rarity of particular epochs, the late epochs, from the fourth century onwards, are in a great majority; (*c*) that if, as is probable, we ought to discount the predominance of the later finds by the fact that the majority of the graves were opened by illicit digging, and almost all with the object of securing show vases rather than of recording artistic periods, the same criticism will apply to the

[1] With the one exception that there are no kothons nor Black-figure vases in Grave 40.

[2] As also Grave 36 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2).

[3] *Quomodo Sepulchra*, p. 66. It is, of course, only the nearness of Tanagra which makes the point worth discussing. In different parts of the Greek world we should expect burial customs to differ. Thus in describing the Necropolis of Gela (*Mon. Ant.* xvii. 1907, pp. 234, 242), Orsi notices as in the natural order of things that the *fosse in nuda terra* belonged there only to the lowest order of society.

hearsay—for it is mostly hearsay—on which Haussoullier judged the comparative frequency of methods of burial. The peasants throughout Boeotia, although expert diggers and excellent judges of later figurines and lekythoi, have been till lately contemptuous of archaic work, and are only gradually realising that it has value for archaeologists. It is probable that numbers of seventh- and sixth-century graves have been ignored. Lolling, who was present at a large number of the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society, expressly says[1] that the majority of the most ancient graves were earth-dug trenches two to three metres deep without covering of stone or terracotta. Haussoullier, who admits elsewhere[2] that Lolling's is the only important first hand evidence for any considerable number of graves, does not mention this statement.

§ 5.—CATALOGUE OF GRAVES.

GRAVE 49.

(PLATE IX. *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*; PLATE XV. *b*, *c*, *d*; FIG. 6 AND FIG. 12, 1 to 3.)

Length 2·98 m.; breadth above ledge, 1·41 m.; below, ·77 m.; depth to ledge 2·24 m.; to where vase mass began 2·71 m.; total depth 3·20 m.; skull and teeth towards E.N.E. end; leg bones towards W.S.W. end.

Boeotian Kylix Style.

Nos. 1–8: High stemmed kylikes of type discussed pp. 308 f.. All four-handled. Height of largest ·16 m.; of smallest ·125 m. For the colouring of No. 7, see p. 310. The rest belong distinctly to what is there described as our Class I. Besides possibly the colouring of No. 7, the principal sign of the approach of our Class II. technique (p. 309) is the use on Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 of thick wavy red bands. Note also in No. 8, in the inner part of the complete triangles, the beginning of the use of colour in broad masses. All eight vases have a band of short vertical lines on a level with the handles. The inside of cups in this style is generally left in the pale buff colour of the clay, with a few broad concentric bands of red or black. Round the stems those from Rhitsóna nearly all have straight horizontal bands (Pl. XV.). Exceptions are noticed in the catalogue.

Nos. 1 and 2: design like Grave 26, No. 5 (Pl. XV. *m*). Colours red and black on clay ground colour. The leaves of the palmettes are red and black alternately. The red varies in parts to pink-purple, in parts to brick colour.

No. 3 (Pl. XV. *d*): the colours are faded, but appear to be black and purple. The thin wavy white line a little below the handles is on a band of undoubted purple colour (see p. 308).

[1] *Apud* Kekulé, *Griech. Thon. Fig. aus Tanagra*, 1878, p. 11.
[2] *Quomodo*, p. 63.

No. 4: low band of triangles round bottom of body with inner lines parallel to one side. Above this, two thick wavy red lines separated by thin straight black ones.

No. 5: like last, but only one wavy red line and two thick straight ones, and decoration all red.

No. 6: a band of bigger triangles, overlapping one another as in No. 8, but hatched and black; above them a single wavy red line.

No. 7 (Pl. XV. *c*): decoration all in red. For a discussion of the ground colour, see p. 310, n. 4. Below handles a wavy line (indistinct in illustration). Lower band of triangles (also indistinct in illustration) has a single zigzag line forming sides of both up-turned and down-turned triangles, and the triangles themselves not hatched but filled in with lines parallel to one side. Below this again a narrow band of short vertical lines.

No. 8 (Pl. XV. *b*): the decoration as it exists at present is in a dirty brick-red colour. In main zone (indistinct in illustration) the complete triangles each contain a smaller one on same base line, completely filled in with colour. The intervening lozenges each contain two smaller lozenges, with a common bottom angle for all three; the innermost has a central dot. A similar dot in each of the down-turned triangles left round top part of this zone. Small triangles of band just above stem, each simple with a central dot.

Small Skyphos of so-called Proto-Corinthian type.

No. 9 (Pl. IX. *e*): height ·03 m. Horizontal bands sole decoration round body. Vertical lines on level with handles.

Vases showing the approach or influence of the Black-figure technique, while preserving the traditions of Proto-Corinthian and other earlier styles.

Nos. 10, 11 and 12, hgt. ·04 to ·05 m.: same shape and decoration as No. 9, but handles start a little below the rim and slant a little upwards. Nos. 10 and 11 have decoration in brick-red on pink-buff (bad firing for black on ferruginous); No. 12 has black dots round top, then two thin purple lines, rest black on a pale ferruginous ground.

Nos. 13 and 14 (Pl. IX. *c*): small skyphoi with almost horizontal handles, height ·0425 m., diameter of mouth ·0675 m., main decoration a band of swimming water birds, upside down when the cup is right way up. Groups of short slanting lines used as fill-ornament, and band of similar slanting lines round the top of the outside of the cup. The decoration of 14[1] is in black on a ferruginous ground; 13 is badly fired and the colours brick-red on pinkish buff.

No. 15 kantharos (Pl. IX. *d*): height to top of body ·14 m. Round top half a naturalistic ivy garland[2] with wavy stalk and with small rosettes or groups of dots between the leaves; round lower part a frieze of birds (? geese) with slanting lines as fill-ornament, and, below this, thin black rays rising from foot. Where upper and lower parts join, on side illustrated a band of down-turned ivy leaves,

[1] Cp. for technique and decoration Ath. Nat. Mus. 11734 (bottom of case 18, Αἰθ. Α'), toy vases of various shapes.

[2] For ivy garlands cp. Grave 46, No. 81 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2); Louvre E 696, 698, 699, and F 67 (Pottier, Plate 68 and vol. iii. p. 743); Ath. Nat. Mus., Nos. 531 and 1105 (Collignon and Couve, Nos. 641 and 647); Paris, Bib. Nat. No. 178 (de Ridder, pp. 72, 84). See also Couve, *B.C.H.* 1898, pp. 297–9. For ivy as a Minoan motive see *Phylakopi*, Pl. XIX. No. 1.

on other side a band of short vertical lines; decoration in black (partly badly fired) on a dull ferruginous ground; inside a reddish brown. The total colour effect is too dull for black-figure, and is like that of the παπάδες, Nos. 426–430 from this grave, and Grave 51, No. 311.

Aryballoi.

Nos. 16–230[1]: round bodied aryballoi, hgt. about ·0675 m., with the familiar quatrefoil floral ornament with lanceolate leaves (of which the outer part is left in outline, the inner filled in), covering front half of body; 205 of these have concentric circles round the flat mouth, the rest a pattern of radiating petals.

No. 231[2]: round bodied aryballos, hgt. ·06 m., with double incised lines on the body arranged like the quarterings of an orange.

Nos. 232–239[3]: flat-bottomed, barrel-shaped aryballoi, hgt. ·10 m., quarterings as on No. 231; daisy pattern pointing downwards on shoulder, with horizontal bands below it. Concentric circles on mouth. Colouring black on clay-colour ground, the black sometimes faded to purple, sometimes quite gone.

Nos. 240, hgt. ·12 m.; and 241, hgt. ·125 m.; same shape as last, and same decoration on mouth and shoulder. On body a complicated floral ornament, now mostly red, apparently originally all black. The design covers more than half the circumference. On the back of 241 a pair of geese, averted.

Kothons.[4]

Nos. 242–245: ordinary size (diam. ·16 m.) shape and decoration.
No. 246: smaller, diam. ·11 m.

Kothon-rimmed black glaze vases with lid and central stem.

Nos. 247 and 248: usual shape and tongue-pattern decoration[5]; 247, hgt. ·19 m.; 248, fragmentary.

Kothon-rimmed tripod vase.

No. 249 (Pl. IX. *i*)[6]: hgt. ·115 m., diam. ·20 m., depth of interior ·08 m., depth of turned-in rim ·03 m. For feet cp. metal tripod of Grave 26 (No. 242, Fig. 16); tongue pattern on ring supporting body black and purple. For both shape and decoration of this ring also compare the Grave 26 tripod; bottom part of the actual body black glaze; band of double palmettes on bottom half of shoulder black and purple on buff ground. Another band of black and purple tongue pattern near mouth; flat raised moulding round mouth suggests a lid, of which, however, we have no remains.

[1] Cp. Orsi, *Gela, Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 634, Fig. 447, top pair. Louvre, Room L, centre table case, Nos. 144 and CA 809.

[2] Cp. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, V. 125 (case 2, 22); Louvre, E 328–331 and room L, case F, front corner of bottom case but one; Corneto, Museo Municipale, Stanza II.

[3] Cp., *e.g.* B.M., A 1091; Louvre, E 332 (Pottier, Pl. 39).

[4] A full discussion of these so-called kothons, and the allied types with kothon rims, will appear in *J.H.S.* xxx.

[5] For examples of these and kothons, see the extreme right and left vases of Fig. 15, and the text, p. 273.

[6] Pernice, *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 72, note 27, mentions, on authority of Loeschcke, a tripod vase at Bonn of which the body has, like the present one, a rounded vertical section.

Black-figure.

Eleven lekythoi, four kylikes, one skyphos, and two kantharoi. The lekythoi and kantharoi have all of them a dull ground colour, more brown than red; both subjects and treatment of decoration have an archaic effect. The kylikes are also archaic both in shape and decoration. Sphinxes and Dionysiac scenes occur very rarely (Nos. 266, 267). Much of the ware here described as black-figure would be classed as Corinthian by Collignon and Couve.[1]

Lekythoi.

Range in height only from ·14 m. to ·19 m., but in shape vary greatly.

No. 250 (Pl. IX. *g*): hgt. ·19 m. Only decoration on shoulder. Two swans facing one another in black with white and purple engobes and incisions. They are separated by a thin vertical line, with black dots on either side.

No. 251 (Pl. IX. *k*): hgt. ·16 m. Only decoration on shoulder, two primitive birds in black silhouette facing one another: between them a primitive tree; behind each bird, rising from bottom of handle, a simple black spiral.

No. 252 (Pl. IX. *h*): hgt. ·17 m. Runner in panel; below the panel two thin purple lines. It is difficult to see why the runner[2] should have a cloak over his arm.

No. 253: runner and two draped figures in panel; hgt. ·16 m., body almost round, diam. about ·11 m.; badly baked. The glaze varies from black to light brown. The bottom part of the drapery of the figures on either side of the runner is white.

No. 254: same shape and panel decoration as 252; hgt. ·155 m. On panel two draped figures, one bearded, facing one another. Incisions and purple. One figure holds large lotus (?) hanging downwards.

No. 255: hgt. ·16 m., shoulder almost flat, body fat, but tapering towards foot. On shoulder three birds like those on No. 250. On body a dancing maenad between two dancing ithyphallic satyrs; purple and incisions, but no trace of white.

No. 256: same shape as 253; hgt. ·145 m.; much damaged. On front of body large sphinx with outspread wings, apparently not in a panel.

No. 257: fragments of a flat-shouldered lekythos with a band of lotus flowers pointing outward on front part of shoulder.

Nos. 258, 259, 260: same shape as 252. Decoration too much damaged to distinguish.

Kylikes.

No. 261[3]: hgt. ·135m., diam. of mouth ·25m., depth of bowl ·09m. Inside, a naked running figure with purple hair and beard and purple chlamys on right

[1] *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Mus. Nat. d'Athènes.* See below, note 3. For a general discussion of the provenance of our black-figure ware, see *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

[2] Cp. below, No. 261.

[3] For shape cp. Paris, Bib. Nat. No. 314 (de Ridder, *Cat.* p. 206, Pl. III). For style cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 435 (from Boeotia) and 532. On problem of provenance, Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xix. pt. 2, p. 98; and cp. Collignon and Couve (*Cat. des Vases du Musée d'Athènes*) on Nat. Mus. Nos. 435 and 532 (just quoted), 1074, 1149, 1104, 535. For boxers cp. Nikosthenic vases, *e.g.* Vatican, room beyond Crescent. For a javelin represented by a single line, see *J.H.S.* xxvii. pp. 165, 171; and *ibid.* Pl. XX. Mr. E. N. Gardiner infers from the position of the right hand that our javelin probably had an *amentum*. For officials and friends carrying cloaks on their arms see *J.H.S.* xxv. Pl. XII. For runners doing so (as on inside) cp. No. 252.

arm, in a ring of purple and black tongue pattern. Outside, athletic scenes, (*a*) boxers, (*b*) javelin-throwing (Pl. IX. *a*).

No. 262: hgt. ·13m., diam. of mouth ·21m., depth of bowl ·08m., (*a*) satyric scene, (*b*) athletic scene with boxers. Shape like No. 261.

No. 263: inside a seated sphinx; outside Theseus *v.* Minotaur.[1] Shape like No. 261.

No. 264: on either side a horseman in *Kleinmeister* style. Usual shape of *Kleinmeister* kylikes. On lower part of body two apparently meaningless inscriptions (Fig. 12, 3).[2]

Skyphos.

No. 265: hgt. ·09m. Horseman with draped standing figure in front and behind. Under either handle a cock. The horse is spirited, the rider thin, with very long legs.

Kantharoi.

Nos. 266 and 267[3]: hgt. ·11m., about ·13m. across mouth; dancing figures in panels on either side. One man is playing the double flute; at least one woman is entirely undraped.

Black Glaze ware with linear decoration.

No. 268: same shape as No. 252; hgt. ·14m. No. 269 more barrel-shaped, hgt. ·138m., both black all over but for a few thin lines of purple.

Nos. 270 and 271: same style as the last two lekythoi, but much larger; No. 270 is somewhat the same shape as No. 252, but hgt. ·35m. No. 271, hgt. ·22m., has a wide flat mouth, and an almost round body.

Nos. 272–279[4]: black kantharoi, without stems, hgt. ·08–·10m.; shape and style like Grave 40, No. 105 (to be illustrated, *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2).

No. 272: hgt. ·0875m. Nos. 273 and 274, a little smaller and fragmentary; top part, groups of three thin vertical straight white lines; on a level with bottom of handles band of oblong white dots; half-way down bottom half, one thin white band; No. 272 is badly fired, ground colour dark purple.

No. 275: upper part, groups of thin vertical straight white lines (as on last), and groups of similar wavy lines alternately; fragmentary.

No. 276: on a level with bottom of handles, band of fine round white dots.

No. 277: hgt. ·10m., same as 274, but band of dots wanting.

No. 278: hgt. ·08m., top part only one thin wavy horizontal white band; rest of outside like 272–274; inside, several thin bands of white and purple red.

No. 279: hgt. ·08m., top part one wavy horizontal white band, thicker and lower down than on 278; on a level with bottom of handles a thin wavy white band; just below latter, a thicker straight band of red.

[1] For Theseus and Minotaur cp. Orsi, *Gela*, Tav. 30 and refs. on pp. 415–6.

[2] Note dominance of a very few letters, particularly Σ and Π, and cp. Bib. Nat. No. 315, (de Ridder, *Cat.* pp. 206, 210) 'où dominent Γ & O.' Does this mean that the inscriptions represent bars of music? Cp. also *Gaz. Arch.* 1888, No. XV, p. 204.

[3] Cp. Athens Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α' 1119, from Tanagra (Collignon and Couve, No. 617).

[4] Cp. *J.H.S.* xix. Pl. V. where note ornament round rim and round lower part of body of pictured kantharos on a black-figure amphora attributed by G. Karo (p. 135) to Amasis.

Plain Black Glaze ware.[1]

No. 280[2]: shaped like a large tumbler or tankard with mouth and bottom of same diameter, but slightly thinner half-way up; two broad vertical handles, of the same kind of section as broad kantharos handles, which start from the lip, and make (roughly) a semicircular curve downwards to rejoin the body about a third of the way down; badly baked.

Nos. 281 and 282: vases with handles like last, but placed horizontally.

Nos. 283–412: kantharoi; at least 110 of them have spurred handles (as in Pl. IX. *d*). None appear to have cross-pieces connecting handle halfway up with body. The commonest shape, *e.g.* Fig. 11, has a body which tapers sharply downward, foot tapering upwards, and no distinct stem. The usual height seems to be about ·15 m.; some must be much larger, a few are distinctly smaller. For inscriptions see Fig. 12, 1 and 2.

Nos. 413–417: skyphoi.

Nos. 418 and 419: small cups, ·04 m. high, ·055 m. diam. across mouth, with one handle rising just above rim.

Coarse brown ware.

No. 420: plain kantharos with unspurred handles, in a very coarse clay, not unlike that of the rough tripods from Graves 13 and 14 (see *J.H.S.* xxx.).

Figurines.

Black on brown or drab.[3]

Nos. 421–425:[4] horsemen; shape like Grave 31, No. 370 (Pl. XII. *e*), but rather more primitive and stoutly made, hgt. ·10–·12 m.

Nos. 426–430:[5] παπάδες, hgt. ·14–·15 m. General shape like Plate XII. *a*, but instead of the well moulded heads of even the roughest of these, nothing but rudimentary nose, and just above it an upward curling volute[6] on front of what is little more than an upward prolongation of a cylindrical neck. Decoration consists entirely of straight and wavy lines and dots.

Red, black, and yellow on white.[7]

Nos. 431–433: παπάδες.[8]

[1] This ware has not yet been fully mended. The numbers given for it in this and the other graves have been arrived at by counting the feet of the vases, and the handle fragments that showed the juncture with the body.

[2] Like our Grave 12, Nos. 49 and 50, to be illustrated in *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2. For shape cp. also *B.S.A.* vi. Figs. 31, 32, p. 103, late L.M. iii. verging to Early Geometric; cp. *B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 17, p. 318, from Palaikastro.

[3] Like Brit. Mus., B. 54 and 56.

[4] Cp. Louvre, L. 145. Athens, Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ. Α', case 94, top shelf but one. Schimatari Museum, stacked in large quantities.

[5] Like Grave 40, No. 129, to be illustrated in *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2; and *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 21, Abb. 4; cp. Athens, Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ. Α', case 94, top shelf; Schimatari Museum, stacked like the horsemen.

[6] See Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 342, No. 72, and Jamot, *B.C.H.* 1890, p. 205, and refs. there given. Both take it as part of head-dress. For a convincing example see *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 156.

[7] Like Brit. Mus. B. 30.

[8] Cp. Louvre, L. 136, and (in same case) MNB 538.

No. 431: hgt. ·26 m., elaborate pointed head-dress with a volute in front of bottom part, and a small moulded disc above and on either side of the volute. Face long and thin; nose and chin pronounced; red blotches on cheeks, and red ear-rings. Hatching across arms.

No. 432: another head of a similar figure, with less elaborate head-dress.

No. 433: the body of a third, with red bands on white, running vertically down lower part of body, which has a bordering of slanting lines. A yellow band above arms.

Nos. 434–437[1]: horsemen like Pl. XII. *e*; hgt. ·12 to ·16 m.; faces birdlike. Legs (of horsemen) sometimes partly indicated, sometimes not at all. Two have hats.

Nos. 438–444: horses without riders. Three show bands of yellow as well as red. One has a large yellow blotch on each shoulder.

No. 445: dove,[2] hgt. ·10 m., in red and white, on a foot like that of a vase. Something inside the dove that rattles.

Metal Objects.

No. 446: fragments of a silver phiale, including the whole of the outer rim, diameter ·195 m. Fragments of the embossed bowl are still attached to the rim.

No. 447: a number of iron fragments apparently of large nails (see p. 243, and Fig. 6). They include five discs ·03–·04 m. in diameter, that appear to be part of the heads of nails, see above, p. 242, n. 5. Some have a kind of knob on one side, and on the other the beginning of the actual nail, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a centimetre in diameter. The longest fragment is ·08 m. long; several others are not much shorter. The two long nails in Fig. 6 are fragments placed together conjecturally. Also two more or less rounded iron discs, diam. about ·06 m., each forming a single head to four nails, one in the centre and three round the outside. The heads of these quadruple nails appear on the top side of the disc as knobs, like those of the single nails.

Inscriptions.

Incised on bottom of feet of kantharoi.

Fig. 12, 1, Δα; *ib.* 2, A.

For inscription painted on No. 264 see note *ad loc.* and Fig. 12, 3.

Bones.

Fragments of long bones. They were examined by Mr. C. H. Hawes, who reports that they may belong to a single skeleton. Nothing more definite can be determined, owing to their bad preservation.

[1] Cp. Louvre, L, 148.

[2] Cp. Grave 40, No. 136 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2); and Athens, Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ Α', one which has Boeotian yellow, as well as red and white of our example.

GRAVE 50.

(PLATE X. AND FIGS. 7, 9, 10, 11 AND FIG. 12, 4 to 7.)

Length, 2·63 m.; breadth above ledge, 1·22 m.; below, ·82 m.; vase finds began at depth of 2·25 m.; ledge at depth of 2·35 m.; total depth, 2·75 m.; skull at E.N.E. end of grave.

Boeotian Kylix Style.

Three kylikes (Nos. 1, 2, 3) and four kantharoi (4, 5, 6, 7), all in our earlier (Class I) style (see pp. 308 f.).

No. 1: hgt. ·15 m. Boeotian flying birds alternating with palmettes much like Grave 51, No. 2. Below this, rising from top of stem, band of small triangles, each triangle with two interior lines parallel to left side. Decoration in black and red on pale buff ground.

No. 2: hgt. ·15 m., same colours; two bands of triangles; lower, smaller, and filled in with smaller triangles, on the same base line; as on Nat. Mus. Aἰθ. A′, No. 243 (Collignon and Couve, No. 442); upper, larger, and filled in with hatching. Between the triangles of the upper row segments of concentric circles.

No. 3: hgt. ·11 m. Only three equidistant handles, of the ordinary type, but a little below the rim instead of being on a level with it. Stem unusually slender. Decoration in a firm red, inclining to light purple on a firm pale buff with an inclination to pink. On lowest part of body a band of triangles, each with a smaller triangle inside it with part of same line for base: smaller triangles have dot in centre: on a level with handles, groups of vertical lines; rest of body thin and thick straight bands, and one very narrow band of short vertical lines.

Nos. 4, 5, 6: hgts. ·17 m., ·12 m., ·075 m.; kantharoi;[1] (for shape and decoration see Pl. X. *b* = No. 4) pale buff clay, decoration in a colour that varies from red to black through brown and purple. The decoration includes horizontal bands, bands of vertical wavy lines, and triangles filled in as on the kylikes; on the handles, horizontal bands; inside, three thick red bands as in the kylikes.

No. 7: kantharos; hgt. ·065 m., no stem, handles not rising above mouth, ground colour a dull dirty buff; inside, five black bands; outside, a bold black zigzag.

Small Skyphoi of the so-called Proto-Corinthian type.

Nos. 8–12: typical pale clay with typical decoration, squat shape as in Grave 49, No. 9 (= Pl. IX. *e*); hgt. ·024 m., diam. of mouth ·05 m., including handles ·08 m.

[1] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 953 and 954 (= Collignon and Couve, Pl. XVIII. No. 454 and Böhlau, *Jahrb.*, 1888, Fig. 15); same shape; decoration of lower part thin horizontal lines, of upper, palmettes on spirals as on normal Boeotian kylix type. Also cp. *ibid.* No. 964, on upper part vertical, straight, and zigzag lines and form of herring-bone pattern as on Boeotian kylix, Grave 26, No. 1; *ibid.* Aἰθ. A′, case 10 bottom, Boeotian birds round top part. For shape cp. also Nat. Mus. Aἰθ. A′, 738, Geometric from Kerameikos.

Vases showing the influence or approach of the Black-figure style, and continuing Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, or other earlier traditions.

Nos. 13–15 :[1] hgts. ·12 m., ·09 m., ·08 m., diam. of shoulder of largest ·08 m. Small amphorae recalling shape and size of glass amphorae from Graves 26 and 46 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2). Neck and handles small, shoulder broad and flat, body tapering to extremely small foot. They are a brownish black all over but for a thin band of ground colour round shoulder.

Nos. 16–22 : skyphoi ; hgt. ·042 to ·048 m., same shape as 8–12, except that handles start a little below rim and turn a little upwards : on a level with handles groups of irregular lines resembling bad commas ; colouring black on ferruginous.

No. 23 : another, a little larger, with handles slanting somewhat upwards, all covered with black glaze, except for two bands of ground colour ; this approaches somewhat the black-figure skyphos. Cp. No. 27 and Grave 31, Nos. 203 and 204.

No. 24 : hgt. ·11 m., diam. of foot ·08 m., diam. of mouth ·145 m., handles

FIG. 9.—GRAVE 50. NO. 28. (4 : 5.)

quite horizontal and a little below rim ; general style like that of Grave 51, Nos. 43 and 44.

Nos. 25 and 26 : small skyphoi with swimming birds (upside down) and slanting lines as fill-ornament in black on ferruginous, like Grave 49, Nos. 13 and 14 (= Pl. IX. *c*). With the birds on these skyphoi we may compare those on No. 28 (Fig. 9).

No. 27 : a skyphos, hgt. about ·10 m. ; horizontal handles a little below rim ; covered with a red (bad baking for black) glaze, except for a band of dull buff ground colour on a level with handles : at regular intervals on this band, a pair of oval blotches in colour of lower part of body. Cp. No. 23.

[1] Cp. Louvre, F 1971, in good black glaze : a common Corinthian shape, cp. Bari, Museo Provinciale, case 16, with frieze of Corinthian animals ; Athens, Nat. Mus. A′, No. 917 (Collignon and Couve, Pl. XXVI. No. 628) ; Louvre, E, Nos. 442, 444–9 (see Pottier, Pl. 41, E 445) ; Bologna, Room vi ; Wilisch, *Altkorinthische Tonindustrie*, Taf. II. 21, and p. 24.

No. 28: small vase (Fig. 9); hgt. ·05 m.; diam. ·05 m.; with a flat-sectioned vertical handle at back, round-sectioned handles at either side attached to the side of the vase, and a little spout in front, behind which the rim of the mouth passes without a break. The material is very thick. Inside, black glaze. Outside, round neck or top part of body a zigzag line with dots in the angles. In each of the four fields, formed by the three handles and the spout, a little black naked figure in silhouette, running or dancing. One holds a kantharos and a round bowl (?). Under the spout a ring of dots. Round bottom of body, thin rays. On back of flat handle three Geometric birds in black silhouette, one above the other. (For discussion of use, see article on kothons and allied types in *J.H.S.* xxx.)

Aryballoi.

Nos. 29–243: round-bodied aryballoi like Grave 49, Nos. 16–220; hgt. about ·07 m. (except 241–243, just under ·06 m.); same floral ornament on body; concentric circles round flat mouth. Also many small fragments of aryballoi of the same kind.

Nos. 244–246: hgt. ·08 m., flat-bottomed aryballoi with double incised vertical lines arranged like the quarterings of an orange as in Grave 49, Nos. 232–239.

Nos. 247–251: like 244–246 but ·10 m. high. Colour dun brown, varying in parts to black. Two have patches of purple varying to black.

No. 252: same shape as last, hgt. ·09 m.; in front a large sphinx with spread-out wings. Colours gone, but design easily distinguished by incisions.

No. 253: like 252 but ·10 m. high. Sphinx seems to be entirely in black with incisions.

Nos. 254–257: flat-bottomed aryballoi, mostly rather more squat than 247–251, with an elaborate tetrafoil of two large and two small palmettes. In two the colour is all gone, in two there are considerable remains of black.

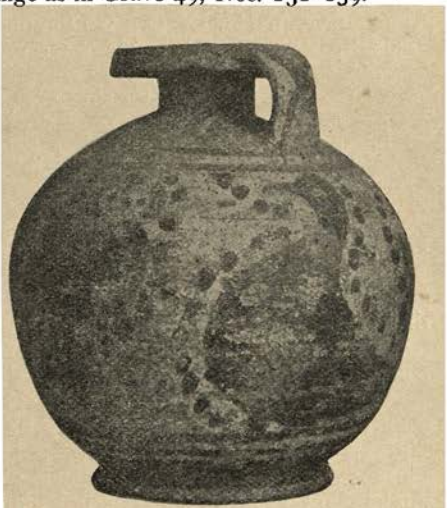


FIG. 10.—GRAVE 50. NO. 258. (1:2.)

No. 258 (Fig. 10): flat-bottomed aryballos; hgt. ·125 m. In front same tetrafoil ornament as 254–7: colours well preserved: petals red and black alternately. To right of this ornament a primitive owl: body in silhouette, face in outline. To left of it an eight-legged swastika: at the back, under the handle, a pouter-pigeon (?) in black silhouette. The outlines of the pigeon, the owl and the swastika, are surrounded by black dots.

No. 259 (Pl. X. *h*) and No. 260 (fragmentary): bombylii; hgt. ·17 m. On front of body a palmette resting on an inverted lotus.[1] To right a swan, to left another bird too much damaged to identify. Palmette is in black and purple, but vase is badly baked, red, purple, and black running into one another haphazard.

[1] Cp. No. 265, bottom zone.

Kothons.

Nos. 261 and 262 : ordinary shape and decoration, the latter entirely linear; one in fragments, other ·16 m. diameter.

Kothon-rimmed tripod vase.

No. 263 (Pl. X. *c, d, e*). The feet consist of three oblong panels ·09 m. high and ·075 m. broad. Each leg has a loop-shaped terracotta support, round in section, joining centre of bottom of body of vase to point just above middle of bottom of each leg. From the point where they meet there is a pendant of the same section and colour as the three supports.[1] Ground colour is pale dirty buff; decoration is in purplish brown and brownish black, with thick incisions that show the ground colour. The mouth has a turned-in rim ·03 m. deep; total depth of inside ·05 m. Both the outer and inner rim of the top of the vase are formed by a square moulding coloured brown. The lid has an inner rim ·012 m. deep. Hgt. of vase to rim of body ·13 m., to top of button of lid ·17 m.; diam. of top of body ·17 m., of mouth ·09 m. On the three feet are (*a*) Gorgon[2] (Pl. X. *c*); (*b*) nude dancing man (Pl. X. *d*), like those on top zone of No. 265; (*c*) seated roaring lion (Pl. X. *e*) as on bottom zone of No. 265. For palmettes on body cp. tripod vase from Grave 49 (Pl. IX. *i*). On top of button, not visible in the illustration, is a 'daisy' pattern; on the inside of turned-in rim are black rays.

Black-figure.

Two kantharoi, one skyphos, ten lekythoi, no kylikes.

Kantharoi.

No. 264: only decorated round upper part of body with a band of lotus buds and flowers in black and purple on light ferruginous; rest black. Inside has purple bands. Handles spurred.

No. 265[3] (Pl. X. *a, f, g*): hgt. to rim ·185 m., to top of handles ·245 m.; diam. of mouth ·21 m. Inside black with thick red bands. Ground colour dull pale ferruginous. Purple is used for wings and faces. Incisions show ground colours. Decorated in two zones.

For one side see Pl. X. *a*, and for two figures on extreme left of its bottom zone Pl. X. *g*. The man seems to be cutting off the sphinx's wing; possibly a burlesque of Oedipus and the Sphinx contaminated with reminiscences of Perseus and the Gorgon. The figure on the extreme right is a roaring lion not unlike that on No. 263. It is not impossible that both were made by the same artist for the same occasion, which supports the suggestion that we may see a

[1] Cp. *Arch. Zeit.* xxxix (1881), Taf. IV.

[2] Perseus appears on the similar vase from Tanagra published by Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxix. pp. 29–52. Cp. also *Boston Museum Report*, 1898, p. 58, No. 24; Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 12037; Louvre, E 874.

[3] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 623 (=Collignon and Couve, Pl. XXVI. No. 630, classed as Corinthian). The Athens example has handles like Rhitsóna, Grave 18, Nos. 233 and 234; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 264; Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 42. Cp. also Louvre, CA 1339, Salle L, from Boeotia. For floral ornament cp. Nat. Mus. 325 and 624 (Collignon and Couve, Pl. XXII. No. 534, Pl. XXIV. No. 601); Louvre, MNB 1729 (trefoil mouthed oinochoe of Corinthian style found in Greece). For squatting ithyphallic figure in centre of top zone of side illustrated cp. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α', No. 938 (tripod vase), (=Collignon and Couve, Pl. XXV. 616).

reminiscence of the Perseus and the Gorgon legend in the present vase. The central floral ornament appears with variations on vases of various styles. On top zone of other side seven naked male dancing figures. At extreme right a man playing a harp (Pl. X. *f*). The man on the extreme left holds a small kantharos. Bottom zone, on left a seated animal full-face, with back to handle, then floral ornament as on the other side, then two seated sphinxes back to back, then a lion looking backwards with back and face to handle (cp. foot of No. 263).

No. 266[1]: tongue pattern in black and purple on ferruginous ground colour round top of outside. Thick bands of red inside. These thick red bands recall those on the inside of Boeotian kylikes.

Skyphos.

No. 267: panel in which a siren faces a lion (?) with stag-like legs, and thin curly tail. Siren has white flesh and red hair. A few careless red blotches meant for rosettes in field. Ground colour pinkish, probably due to bad baking.

Lekythoi.

No. 268: hgt. ·17 m., same shape as 269. Lotuses with interlaced stalks on shoulder. Five male figures on body, only centre one draped. One seems to carry something like a hoop. Pointed noses as on kantharos. Purple for hair and drapery. Beneath the figures two purple lines.

No. 269[2] (Pl. X. *k*): hgt. ·14 m.; shoulder as 268. On body two cocks facing one another, black and red with incisions. Behind each cock a naked running figure. Three lotus flowers with conventionally arranged stalks form an artistic substitute for the fill-ornament of No. 271.

No. 270[3]: on shoulder lotuses with outside petals white; on front of body three animals, one on right a panther full-face after the Corinthian manner.

No. 271: hgt. ·18 m.; shape like 269, but tapering less downwards; on shoulder a bird like Grave 49, No. 250, with a cock facing it on either side. On body two cocks facing one another. Rosettes in both fields.

No. 272: hgt. ·16 m.; same shape, decoration, and panel arrangement as Grave 49, Nos. 252 and 254. In panel two male beardless figures facing one another. Execution somewhat careless. Fragments of two other very similar lekythoi.

No. 273 (Pl. X. *i*): hgt. ·175 m.; panel with large floral ornament: so 274.

No. 275: hgt. ·11 m.; shape like 273, but bulging more downwards. In front and at back, linear floral ornament. Facing front one, on either side, a stork in silhouette. In field as fill-ornament a star recalling No. 276.

The lekythoi that have not the panel arrangement have the foot and the bottom part of the body covered with black, except for two lines of purple at bottom of main zone.

Naucratis Ware.

No. 276: chalice; hgt. ·18 m. Almost whole. Of style classified by Prinz, *Clio*, *Funde aus Naukratis* (p. 92), as Local Naukratite, Group B. To be described and published in colours in *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

[1] For difficulties about classing this vase and others (*e.g.* No. 264 and Grave 51, No. 51) see *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

[2] For arrangement of lotuses and stalks cp. Louvre, E 646 (Pottier, Pl. 51), *ibid.* E 695, which has however between the cocks a floral ornament like No. 273 of this grave, also E 808, 809, 810, and F 380 (Pottier, Pl. 87).

[3] For style cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 1074.

Black Glaze Ware with linear decoration.

Nos. 277 and 278 : cups shaped like Grave 49, No. 280, decorated inside with purple lines.

No. 279 : fragments of several kantharoi decorated with thin purple bands.

No. 280 : kantharos with white vertical lines on upper part.

No. 281 : kantharos decorated with white dots.

Plain Black Glaze ware.

Nos. 282–363[1] : kantharoi with spurred handles ; No. 282 = Fig. 11.

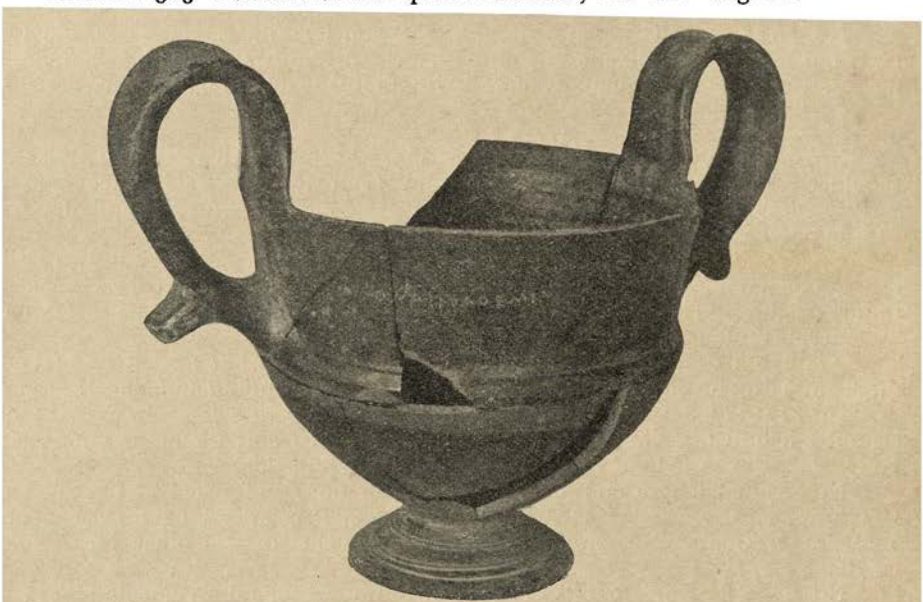


FIG. 11—GRAVE 50. NO. 282. (*c.* 1 : 2.)

Nos. 364–382 : kantharoi without spurs on the handles.

No. 364 : hgt. ·20 m ; has cross-pieces joining handles halfway up to body. Some of these kantharoi are quite small, and have handles almost round in section. Average size probably about the same as in Grave 49. Most of them are without stems ; a few have stems not particularly long. For inscriptions on No. 282 and others see below, p. 264.

Nos. 383–385 : skyphoi.

Nos. 386 and 387 : cups with handles of same shape as 277 and 278, but placed horizontally.

[1] The numbers here given are only approximate. They are probably underestimated. The large number of kantharoi in this and other graves shows that the statements in Walters-Birch, *Hist. of Anc. Pottery*, i. 187–8, that the kantharos was 'never a very popular shape,' and that 'probably it was considered a difficult shape to produce in pottery, and was commoner in metal examples,' must be modified.

Figurines.

Black on brown or drab.

Nos. 388–390: horsemen, like Grave 49, Nos. 421–425, usual type and size; hgt. ·12–·13 m.

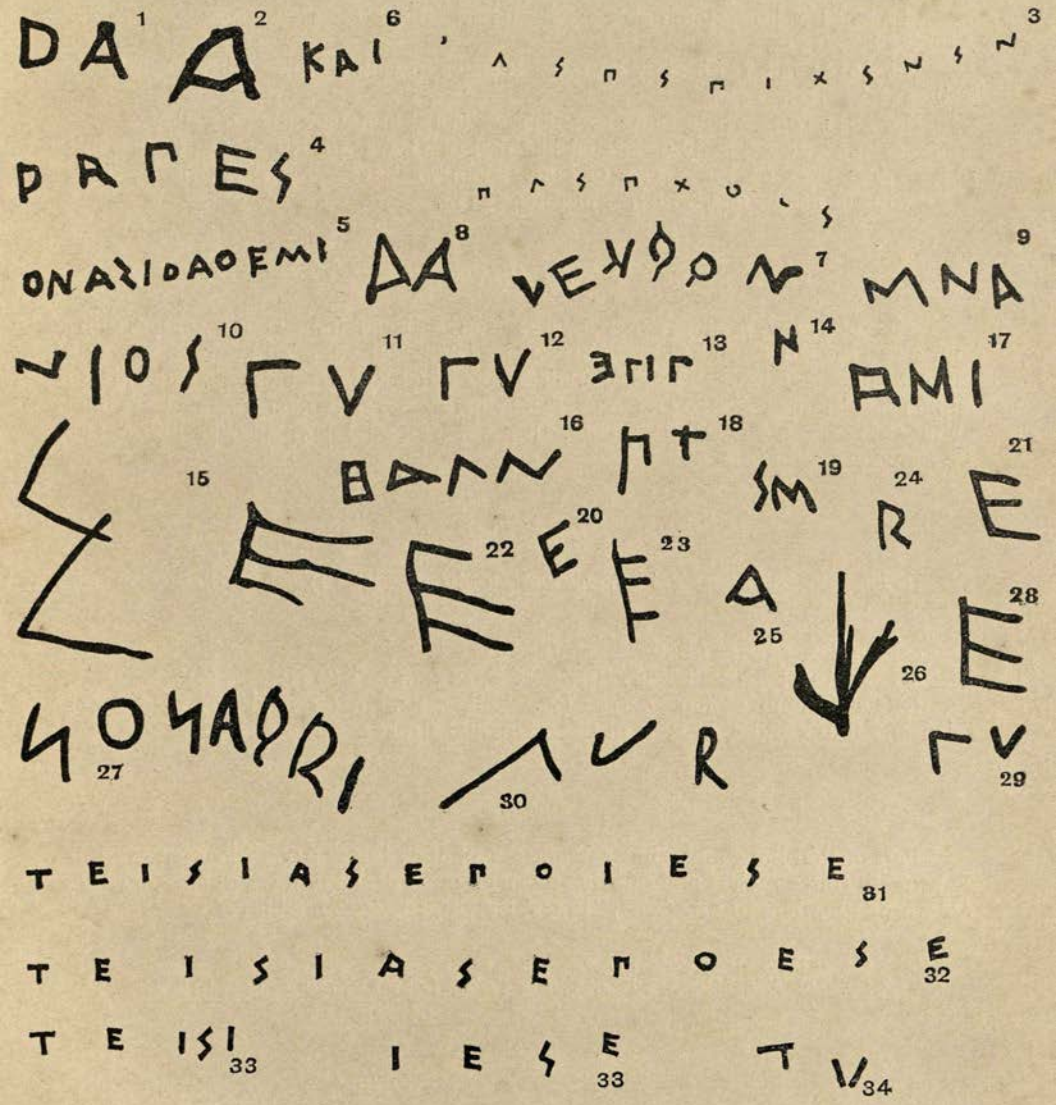


FIG. 12.—INSCRIPTIONS ON VASES FROM GRAVES 49 (1 TO 3), 50 (4 TO 7), 31 (8 TO 26), 26 (27 TO 30), 18 (31 TO 34). (1 : 1.)

Red, black and (sometimes) yellow on white.

Nos. 391 and 392: horsemen, ·10 m. and ·07 m. high, like Grave 49, Nos. 434–437. Both horsemen (unlike 388–390) have rudimentary legs. 392 has a round shield,[1] white with a red cross. The rider wears the usual red jacket.

Nos. 393–402: horses without riders. Decoration mainly in red horizontal bands, much closer together on some examples than on others. Some have a red, one a brownish yellow blotch on each shoulder. Black lines comparatively scarce. Average hgt. ·15 m.

No. 403[2]: ram (with curly horns). Black and yellow bands fairly plentiful as well as red. Hgt. ·12 m.

No. 404: cow or bull, same technique as last, but apparently no yellow.

No. 405: *παπᾶς*, body decorated like that of Grave 49, No. 433. Faded, but red vertical lines on lower part of body seem to have alternated with yellow. Hgt., without head-dress, which is missing, ·23 m.

Metal Objects.

No. 406 (Fig. 7): fragments of large iron nails as from Grave 49, including four discs, probably nail heads, about ·04 m. diam., with rounded knob on one side and beginning of nail, about ·5 cm. diam., on other. Several other fragments of similar heads, three with ·04 m. of nail attached. Several other fragments of nail about ·04 m. long, one a little thinner than the rest and curling over like a nail whose point has been hammered down.

Inscriptions.

Incised on different plain black kantharoi (see Fig. 12). For discussion see *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

(*a*) On lower part of body Δάπης (4).

(*b*) On upper part of body Ὀνασίδαό εἰμι (5 and Fig. 11); Και (6).

(*c*) On bottom of foot Λεύκων (7). The fourth letter is clearly *κ*, and the third and fifth *ν* and *ο*, in spite of the accidental strokes.

Bones.

Part of shin-bone and similar fragments of long bones; one fragment of skull. Four teeth (three molars and one pre-molar) a good deal worn. Size and way they are worn, according to Mr. C. H. Hawes' Report, suggest an adult.

[1] Cp. *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 219, Fig. 7.

[2] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ. Α', No. 4608. Louvre A, case F, from Cyprus.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

GRAVE 51

(PLATES IX. *b*, *f*, *l*; XV. *a*, *e*; FIGS. 13 AND 14.)

Length, 2·84 m.; breadth above ledge, 1·31 m.; below, ·88 m.; depth to ledge, 1·78 m. Vase mass began 2·24 m. Total depth, 2·80 m. The Grave, of which the number has unfortunately dropped out of the Plan (Fig. 1), lies between Graves 48 and 50.

Boeotian Kylix Style.

Twenty-six four-handled kylikes (Nos. 1–26), and one stemless kylix with a single handle. The largest, No. 2 (one of the two that have the typical Boeotian birds), is ·20 m. high, ·10 m. deep inside, ·24 m. across the inside of the mouth, and ·33 m. extreme width, including handles. The corresponding measurements in the second largest (No. 18) are ·17 m., ·09 m., ·19 m., ·27 m. The rest of the twenty-six four-handled cups range in hgt. from ·15 m. (Nos. 4, 12, 13, 17, 23) to ·11 m. (Nos. 20 and 22). They vary slightly in proportion; *e.g.* the same four measurements in the same order as above are ·15 m., ·08 m., ·21 m., ·29 m., for No. 13; ·15 m., ·09 m., ·21 m., ·28 m., for No. 23.

The vases all show the earlier (Class I. of p. 308) Rhitsóna technique. White occurs only on two vases (Nos. 12 and 15), and there only as thin wavy lines laid on top of thicker bands of red or black. Nos. 4 and 15 have four concentric bands on the inside instead of the usual three. Nos. 5 and 17 have two, and a big red centre. All have on the stem the straight horizontal bands that are found almost invariably in that position on the Rhitsóna vases, and a band of short vertical lines, generally in groups, occasionally (11 and 18) continuous, on a level with the handles. (See Pl. XV.) The only vase of the twenty-six that shows possible traces of a white ground colour is No. 9. This has as its main decoration a rosette that we have only found elsewhere on three vases of the later Grave 26.

The chief features of the main zones of decoration are as follows:—

No. 1: panels with Boeotian birds.

No. 2 (Pl. XV. *a*): five panels; two have Boeotian birds, three an eleven-petalled palmette turned downwards, resting on a double spiral.

Nos. 3, 4, 5: panels each with a palmette turned downwards, resting on a double spiral (cp. No. 2); each palmette has nine petals on No. 3; twenty on No. 4; eleven on No. 5.

No. 6[2]: five-petalled palmettes pointing up and down alternately: each palmette rests on a double spiral. The spirals are prolonged into stalks which form one continuous wavy line.

No. 7: panels, each with a conventional flower somewhat like a lotus.[3]

No. 8: panels, each with a ring of small spirals springing from a central circle: very faded, possibly a rosette.

No. 9: panels, each with a round conventional rosette. No. 10, very faded, seems to have same decoration.

[2] Cp. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, Πίν. 8 and 9, top band of neck.

[3] To be illustrated subsequently. It is something like Ath. Nat. Mus. 248 (Collignon and Couve, Pl. XVIII. No. 440=Böhlau, No. 44 and Fig. 10): cp. also Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α', No. 859 ('Phaleron' style)=Collignon and Couve, No. 418; Louvre, room A, sherd from Clazomenae, black on cream ground, in case behind catalogues.

Nos. 11, 12 (very faded), 13, and 14: panels each with a hatched triangle pointing upwards. The triangles are slightly broken into by the vertical wavy lines which separate the panels.

Nos. 15, 16 (Pl. XV. *e*), and 17: a continuous band of hatched triangles pointing upwards: between each pair of triangles a spiral curling downwards from top of zone in 15 and 16, upwards towards it in 17.

No. 18: two bands of hatched triangles, pointing upwards; between each pair of triangles of the lower band, two small concentric circles; between those of the upper band a spiral curling upwards and to the right.

No. 19: a continuous band of triangles, each with two smaller ones inside it, all three having their bases on the bottom line of the zone. Between each two adjacent largest triangles are parts of three similar triangles, forming, with the sides of the latter that they touch, three lozenges, with a common bottom angle for all three: so Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, except that in 20, 22, 23, the complete triangles are hatched instead of having smaller ones inside. The intermediate lozenges are as in No. 19. No. 22, very faded, has small spirals curling downwards between the apexes of the triangles.

No. 24: a slight variant on No. 22.

No. 25: a more striking variant. The hatched part of each big triangle only forms a lozenge, leaving along the base of the main zone a band of small plain triangles, each with a dot in the centre.

No. 26: is hopelessly faded.

No. 27[1]: vase of shape much like Pl. XV. *l*; hgt. ·08 m., diam. ·185 m., with no stem to foot, which is like that of a skyphos; one handle, and opposite it the familiar projection like a bird's tail. Colours red on pinkish buff; the red seems firmer than on the stemmed cups; decoration in thin bands of geometric ornament, short upright lines, horizontal wavy line, horizontal band of chevron (forming a variety of herring-bone pattern), and stumpy rays.

Skyphoi and Pyxides of Proto-Corinthian (?) *Style.*

Nos. 28–32[2]: skyphoi of shape and style of Pl. IX. *l* (= No. 31). Nos. 28 and 29 (hgts. ·16 m. and ·15 m.) have only a single broad band round the middle: above the floral pattern they have a band of wavy vertical lines. Nos. 30–32, all about ·12 m. high, are as in Pl. IX. *l*. Colours purple and brick red on a creamy yellow ground.

No. 33[3]: hgt. ·10 m.; same style as last, but on upper part three sphinxes; background entirely filled with rough crescents and dots.

Nos. 34 and 35: just like 33, but colours entirely gone.

No. 36: same style as last, but in place of sphinxes a frieze of bulls and geese, and above main frieze a band of wavy lines as on Nos. 28 and 29.

Nos. 37 and 38[4]: pyxides with round body, narrow mouth turning up

[1] Cp. Louvre, A 570 and A 571.

[2] For bottom part of decoration cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 528; Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* i. vase figured p. 854.

[3] Nos. 33–36 are Corinthian according to Pottier, *Cat.* vol. i. pp. 421–9, but Nos. 28–36 seem a single series. Cp. Pallat, *Ath. Mitt.* xxii, pp. 315–320. For a discussion of provenance see *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

[4] For shape cp. Orsi, *Gela*, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 138, Fig. 101; Collignon and Couve, Pl. XXIII. No. 588. Wilisch, *Altkorinth. Tonindustrie*, Taf. i, Fig. 11, and p. 21.

vertically from the shoulder, and two handles placed vertically on the shoulders. Decoration all in straight bands of black or brick-red on cream ground.

Nos. 39 and 40: skyphoi: hgt. ·04 m.; usual decoration of bands of black and purple on creamy-yellow ground colour.

No. 41: hgt. ·025 m.; like last, but squat: cp. Grave 49, No. 9.

Vases showing approach or influence of the Black-figure style, while continuing earlier traditions.

No. 42: several skyphoi, all very fragmentary, like 39 and 40, but with a slightly ferruginous colour, and handles in some cases starting a little below the rim, and sloping upwards.

Nos. 43 (hgt. ·14 m.) and 44[1]: (hgt. ·10 m.): like 28–32, but above the rays merely a brownish-black all over, with a few thin purple lines.

No. 45[2]: hgt. ·10 m.; skyphos of Proto-Corinthian shape, but decoration in dark

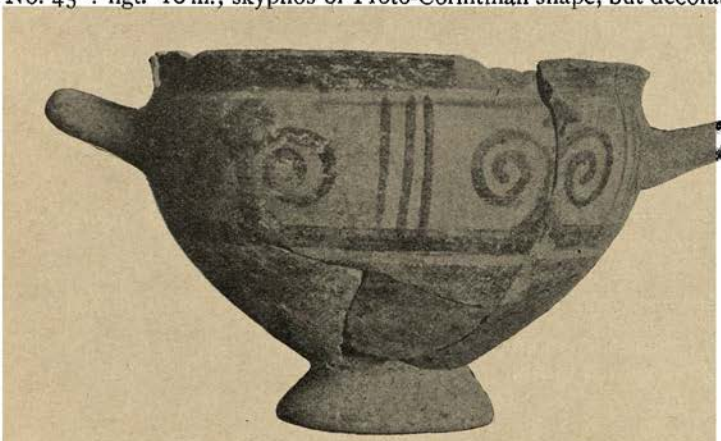


FIG. 13.—GRAVE 51. NO. 49. (5 : 12.)

brown on dull light brown. Groups of vertical lines rising from foot, groups of short straight and short wavy vertical lines on a level with mouth. Horizontal bands, rather streaky, round middle. No. 46, fragments of similar vase.

No. 47: like last, but no vertical lines rising from foot, lower part being left in ground colour; middle, one solid band of streaky black and dark brown.

No. 48: pyxis; hgt. without lid ·13 m.; same colours and style of decoration as skyphos No. 45.

No. 49 (Fig. 13): hgt. ·125 m.; diam. of mouth ·17 m., of foot ·075 m.; handles less developed and more horizontal than in No. 43. Bottom part of vase, black; upper, dull buff. The two simple back-to-back spirals[3] in each panel give the

[1] Cp. Bologna Museum, Room vi. (Pellegrini, *Cat.* Nos. 21 and 28).

[2] Cp. Grave 40, No. 18, illustrated in *J.H.S.* xxix, pt. 2.

[3] For spiral ornament cp. also odd-shaped vase of Boeotian kylix type in Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 12878; Louvre, CA 1583, early Boeotian amphora; and *ib.* F 226, blazon on Boeotian shield on b.-f. amphora. On *ib.* E 703, woman at altar fleeing from two warriors holds object of this shape; a bird is on the altar. Is there a contamination here with the Minoan double axe? See the altar scene on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, *Mon. Ant.* xix. pt. i. Tav. II.

effect of an Ionic capital, or a Late Minoan II. conventional *fleur-de-lys.*[1] Cp. Nos. 238, 239, below, and Grave 26, No. 35.

No. 50: large pyxis, with body and lid each almost hemispherical. On lid bearded sphinx and naked man facing each side of tripod. Second naked man pursuing large bird. Open lotus between men. To be described and illustrated shortly.

No. 51: small kantharos, hgt. ·07 m.; handles spurred and with black oblong blotches in front on a dull buff ground. Upper part of body, black lotuses and palmettes (?) with interlaced stalks on same dull buff ground; rest black. The side petals of the lotuses are formed by prolonging the stalks.

Aryballoi.

Nos. 52–218 (like Grave 49, Nos. 16–220): ordinary round-bodied shape, and ordinary size, with usual floral ornament on body, and concentric circles round mouth. Fragments of a good many others.

Nos. 219–224: flat-bottomed barrel-bodied aryballoi with concentric circles on mouth, 'daisy' pattern on shoulder, orange quarterings on body, with two incised lines dividing each pair of quarterings. Nos. 219 and 220 are ·09 m. high; Nos. 221–224, about ·10 m.

Kothons.

Nos. 225 and 226: ordinary shape; colours very faded. One (No. 225) ·16 m. diam.; other in fragments.

Kothon-rimmed black glaze vase, with lid and a central stem.

No. 227: usual shape and decoration, like Fig. 15; hgt. ·12 m.; interior depth, ·06 m.; depth of turned-in rim, ·025 m.

Black-figure.

Three lekythoi, five kylikes, two skyphoi.

Lekythoi.

Nos. 228 (Pl. IX. *f*), 229: about ·14 m. high, flat shoulders, body tapering downwards. Shoulder, two lotus flowers and two buds placed alternately, outside petals of flowers white, rest black. No. 228, body, leopard and goat facing one another; leopard has head full face, goat, which is bigger, has head turned back. Style archaic. Incisions show ground colour. A few black dots in field. No. 229, body, three draped human figures, central one[2] running to right with face to left. Side figures both face centre. White for under garments of side figures, and for ornament of upper outer garment of central figure. Incisions and dots as in 228. The ground colour is continued all round main zone of both vases, but the backs are quite plain.

No. 230[3]: hgt. ·12 m., body more barrel-shaped. Shoulder and bottom of

[1] *E.g.* the collar on the gesso-duro torso, *B.S.A.* vii. Fig. 6, p. 16. For the approximation to this design of a debased papyrus spray there is an early example, perhaps before the end of L.M. II., in Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, Fig. 143, p. 158; cp. *ib.* p. 126.

[2] To be published subsequently. For central fig. cp. Louvre, A 478 (Pottier, Pl. 17).

[3] Cp. Grave 31, Nos. 209–216. Also p. 261, note 1.

neck left in ground colour, rest black. Only decoration a few thin bands of uncertain colour low down on body.

Kylikes.

No. 231[1]: hgt. ·11 m., diam. of mouth ·21 m., depth of interior ·065 m. Inside, black with one red band. Outside (Pl. IX. *b* and Fig. 14), decoration all in black. Note archaic character of zone of alternate lions (? leopards) and birds in black silhouette. The vase is apparently meant to be seen upside down, like many Boeotian kylikes. Well glazed.

No. 232: hgt. ·115 m.; inside black with centre left in ground colour. Outside main decoration on zone ·025 m. wide, on level with bottom of handles. On either side of either handle a little upright palmette in black and purple, resting on a double spiral of which the stalk starts from the handle. Between

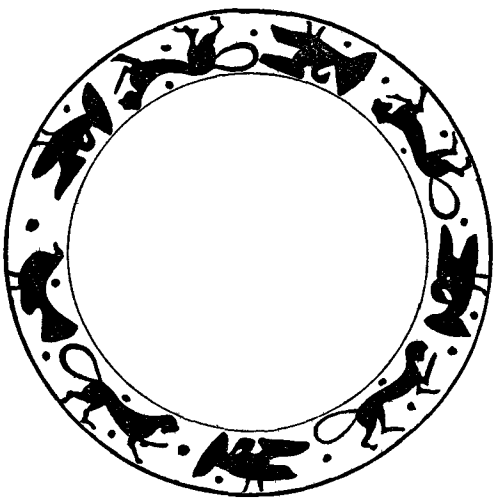


FIG. 14.—GRAVE 51. DESIGN ON NO. 231.

the palmettes there are on one side three sirens, on other two sirens and a sphinx. Faces black. Incisions and purple. Well glazed.

No. 233: hgt. ·135 m.; same disposition of decoration as in 232. Main scene on one side Theseus *v.* Minotaur, on the other side central figures missing. Theseus wears purple shirt reaching knees, and bends forward and seizes Minotaur by a horn. Behind each of two central figures are two others, nearest standing, furthest seated, both facing centre.

No. 234: same shape and size as 231. Decoration of outside like 231 without the animals and birds. Inside and stem a bright salmon colour, due probably to bad firing. The handles and upper part of body vary spasmodically from salmon to black.

No. 235: hgt. ·07 m.; diam. of mouth ·14 m., of foot ·07 m.; inside and foot

[1] For an almost identical vase cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 12847, from Tanagra, incised PΥLOATIAEMI. For frieze cp. *ib.* Αἰθ. Α', 475 (Collignon and Couve 837) cover of pyxis, and Louvre, Room F, kylix (pencil-marked) S 1292, also meant to be seen upside down.

black glaze; outside on either side, a sphinx in centre with two men on either side of it, nearest naked, furthest draped. Incisions, white, purple. Execution coarse; noses abnormally long.

Skyphoi.

No. 236[1]: hgt. ·125 m.; diam. of mouth ·17 m., of foot ·10 m.; on either side of either handle a large black palmette lying horizontally. The two palmettes fill about two-thirds of either side of the vase. Between the palmettes on either side a naked satyr in black and a maenad with black clothes, and white face, arms, and feet.

No. 237: (fragments only): same palmettes, but pointing downwards, with only a black circular ornament, a star or rosette in between. Colours dull.

Black Glaze ware with purple or white decoration.

Nos. 238 and 239: small black kantharoi; hgt. ·095 m.; in middle of top part on either side an ornament in white something like that on Fig. 13 (No. 49. See note *ad loc.*) and Grave 26, No. 35.

No. 240: similar kantharos, ornamented on either side with a single elaborate swastika.

No. 241: fragments of kantharoi decorated with thin purple lines.

Plain Black Glaze ware.

Nos. 242–295: kantharoi, with spurred handles, average size as in Graves 49 and 50. One unusually big, a few quite small. Nos. 296–307: handles without spurs; same usual size as last; one quite small, ·05 m. high.

Most of these kantharoi have bodies tapering downwards, foot tapering upwards, and no distinct stem, like Fig. 11. Three have distinct thinnish stems.

Figurines.

Black on brown or drab.

Nos. 308–310: horsemen, hgt. ·11 m., like Grave 49, Nos. 421–425.

No. 311: παπᾶς, hgt. ·16 m., like Grave 49, Nos. 426–430.

Red, black and (sometimes) yellow on white.

Fragments of five horses (Nos. 312–316), like Grave 49, Nos. 438–444.

Fragments of at least two παπάδες: one head (No. 317) ·08 m. from chin to top of hat, which is like Grave 49, No. 431, but not so high, and with much larger top disc; earrings, red cheeks, prominent chin. Fragments of two bodies (Nos. 318 and 319) decorated like Grave 49, No. 433.

No. 320: figurine of human form, hgt. ·12 m., colours gone. Closely fitting headdress. Usual arm-stumps. Lower part of body almost cylindrical.

Metal Objects.

No. 321: one nail head ·005 m. thick, covering three nails side by side, circ. ·006 m. in diam. The cores of two of the nails have become hollow, and the metal is thickly rusted. A fragment of actual nail, tapering, ·005 m. diam. and ·025 m. long.

Bones.

Fragments of skull unrecognisable in greater detail.

[1] For palmettes cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 1150 (Chalcis or Tanagra.) (=Collignon and Couve, No. 810.)

GRAVE 31.

PLATE VII. A; PLATE XI. *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *i*; PLATE XII. *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *h*; PLATE XV. *f*, *g*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *n*, *q*; FIG. 12 (8 to 26) and FIG. 15.)

Length, 3·30 m.; breadth above ledge, 1·40 m.; below, 1·00 m.; depth to ledge, 2·78 m.; vase mass began at depth of 3·48 m.; total depth, 3·88 m.; skull ·65 m. from E.N.E. end of grave.

Vases of Boeotian Kylix Style.

(*a*) Ordinary technique.

Fifteen stemmed four-handled kylikes, and one stemless kylix with single handle.

Of the fifteen vases first mentioned, three (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) belong to our Class I. (p. 308). The rest show more affinities with Class II. The brilliant masses of yellow that are such a feature of Graves 18 and 26 are however wanting, though found on the figurines in this grave. The largest (No. 15) is ·16 m. high, ·075 m. deep inside, and ·19 m. diam. across mouth. The corresponding measurements of the two smallest (Nos. 10 and 12) are ·11 m., ·05 m., ·16 m. Most of the rest vary from ·12 to ·14 m. in hgt.

No. 1[1]: panels with flying birds as on Grave 51, No. 2 (Pl. XV. *a*): necks short, beaks hooked. White only used in a thin wavy line running over one of the thick horizontal red bands (as in Pl. XV. *d*, on dark band below handles).

No. 2: panels, each containing a conventional triangular floral pattern, and separated by vertical bands of hatching: cp. Grave 51, No. 7. Decoration all same red colour. Clay particularly coarse and gritty.

No. 3[2]: same scheme of decoration as 2, but in alternate panels triangular floral pattern is replaced by nine-leaved red palmette, resting on double spiral and pointing downward.

Nos. 4 and 5: hatched triangles (red) and upright palmettes (with three petals, central dark red, outer light red), arranged as Grave 18, No. 1 (Pl. VIII. A).

No. 6: like last, but inner lines of triangles do not cross one another.

No. 7: upper part two wavy lines, top red on ground colour, lower white on black. Near bottom of body a band of red triangles, with interior lines parallel to one side.

Nos. 8 (Pl. XV. *f*), 9 (Pl. XV. *o*), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15: decoration entirely linear (see p. 309). On a level with handles all have usual band of vertical lines except No. 12, which has a red wavy line; the rest of the body is covered with linear horizontal bands, one or two wavy, the rest straight. Nos. 9, 12, and 13 have lines that incline to orange. No. 15 (decoration in a particularly heavy red) has a band of red dots just above foot. No. 12 has no signs of the usual thick bands inside. No. 11 has circles of white dots with white centre on one of the red bands.

No. 16[3] (Pl. XV. *l*): hgt. ·06 m., diam. of mouth ·15 m., of foot ·065 m.; outside, bands red and orange alternately; inside, two red bands; the small projections opposite the handle are a degenerate variety of the bird-tail moulded ornament of Grave 51, No. 27.

[1] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. Room I., Nos. 240, (= Collignon and Couve, 434, Pl. XVIII.), 241, 245, 250, 955, 963.

[2] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 248.

[3] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 246.

(*b*) Various departures from ordinary technique.

Nos. 17 (Pl. XV. *n*) and 18[1] (Pl. XV. *i*): the decoration is in brick red, varying in 17 to reddish black on a pale ground of the natural colour of ordinary Boeotian clay, but the surface is smooth and slightly lustrous, and the colours do not rub. The total effect, especially of No. 17, is slightly reminiscent of Mycenaean. No. 17 is ·07 m. high, ·032 m. deep inside, ·12 m. diam. across mouth. Inside and handles perfectly plain. The wavy lines cover the whole body. No. 18, hgt. ·07 m., depth of inside ·04 m., diam. of mouth ·10 m.; inside, rough streaks of red more or less petal-shaped, radiating from centre. Outside, the main decoration consists of rough petals like those inside, rising from the bottom part of the body to a little below the handles: similar streaks are arranged vertically round foot. On a level with handles a band of rough blotches.

Nos. 19 and 20 (Pl. XV. *k*, *g*): quite different in style from the last two. No. 19: hgt. ·11 m., depth inside ·06 m., diam. of mouth ·20 m.; ground colour a dirty buff like that of skyphoi, Nos 40, 41, but a little lighter; inside, broad bands of black, dirty white, and ground colour. For outside decoration, which is in same colours, see Pl. XV. *k*. Both ground colour and decoration are firm, not powdery. The black shines dully, like blacklead. The white is laid on very thin. The vase may be compared for some details of decoration with No. 42. No. 20: hgt. ·14 m., depth of inside ·07 m, diam. of mouth ·16 m. The ground colour, as the vase is now, is a dirty black, hardly much lighter than the black of the decoration, which is partly like blacklead, partly a dull sooty colour. The colours were meant to be those of No. 19, but have been injured almost all over by heat, probably in the firing. One of the handles is buff, the other three black. The blotches, too, on a level with the handles, are partly black on buff, partly dark red on sooty black. Inside, three concentric bands usual in Boeotian kylikes, but sooty black on sooty buff. For outside see Pl. XV. *g*. The white of the dots is like that of No. 19. The white dots themselves are painted over black lines, of which one runs downward from below each handle, with three branches (?) springing out on each side. The branch effect is only seen when the vase is upside down. On either side of each of these white dotted branches is a row of black dots. For total branch effect cp. branches in field of black-figure. For dots on level with handles cp. No. 18 (indistinct in both illustrations.)

Nos. 21 and 22: small kantharoi; 21 unglazed buff, decorated inside with bands of black and white; outside, upper part wavy white line; middle, band of dots white and black alternately; lower, straight bands of black and white. Colours and scheme of decoration exactly as in No. 19. No. 22, partly plain unglazed buff, partly black glaze.

Corinthian (?) *Oinochoe.*

No. 23[2] (Pl. XI. *e*): hgt. to mouth ·07 m., to top of handle ·08 m. Ground colour buff: decoration in black, in some parts inclining to red. The petal decoration of the shoulder of this vase recalls that of the body of No. 18.

[1] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 962 (=Collignon and Couve, 451), four handles; black on ferruginous; body wavy lines as in 17, but more regular; with decoration of foot cp. decoration of foot of 18.

[2] Cp. for shape and decoration of shoulder, Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 116, Fig. 85; also Bari, Mus. Prov. No. 2727 (case 16). The body of the Bari vase has a band of double palmettes recalling the floral decoration of some of our black-figure ware, and below this a band of degenerate ivy leaves recalling our kothons; cp. also Louvre, L 199, with main band, however, like Grave 51, No. 31, and ivy leaves (?) on shoulder like kothons, Grave 26, Nos. 78 and 79. For check pattern on Boeotian kylix type cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. 244, but both may of course inherit it from early Geometric: *e.g. Jahrb.* 1899, p. 201, Fig. 69=Ath. Nat. Mus. 804; *ibid.* p. 211, Fig. 87=Ath. Nat. Mus. 722.

Small Skyphoi of the so-called Proto-Corinthian type.

Nos. 24–39: hgt. about ·04 m. Thick and thin horizontal bands covering whole body, except for bands of short vertical lines, zigzags, etc., on level with handles.

Vases showing approach or influence of Black-figure style, and most of them continuing Proto-Corinthian traditions.

No. 40: hgt. ·095 m., diam. of mouth ·14 m. Ground colour a dirty pale buff. (For decoration and colour cp. Apulian amphorae with handle across mouth.) Decoration as in 24–39, but the band of short vertical lines round top of body is repeated round bottom.

No. 41: like last, same size, but only one very thick black band round middle: rough stalkless ivy leaves on a level with handles.

No. 42[1]: hgt. ·12 m., diam. of mouth ·17 m., of foot ·07 m.; like Grave 26, No. 38 (= Plate XI. *g*). Ground colour a dirty buff. Decoration all in black except for a few thin horizontal bands of purple. In place of the maeander with white dots, a form of rough cable pattern[2] in white over a thick black band. As in the Grave 26 example, the handles have a flat section like plain kantharos handles, and are placed horizontally.[2]

No. 43: hgt. ·045 m., diam of mouth ·065 m. Water (?) birds[3] in black on ferruginous. Slanting lines as fill-ornament, like Grave 49, No. 14 (Pl. IX. *c*), but degenerated. Only two of four birds have heads and necks. None have legs. The birds of the Grave 49 skyphos are also legless, but as they rest on the bottom (really top) of the zone they seem to be swimming. In this vase the bodies are nowhere near the bottom of the zone, and the effect is grotesque. Cp. Böhlau, *Aus ion. Nekr.*, Taf. V., No. 5.

Aryballoi.

Nos. 44–130: all like Grave 49, Nos. 16–230, with usual floral pattern on body. On flat mouth one (No. 130) has daisy pattern; rest have concentric circles. Sixty-eight of them are about ·05 m. high; the rest vary from ·07 m. to ·09 m.

Kothons.

Nos. 131–142: diam. of middle from ·14 m. to ·165 m., of mouth ·08 m. to ·095 m.; hgt. ·045 m. to 06 m.; depth of turned-in rim hardly varies from ·02 m. Ground colour of six vases slightly green, of three slightly brown, of one slightly pink. One or two are partly covered with a white incrustation. Decoration purely linear. (For No. 131 see Fig. 15.) No. 141 has, just outside turned-in rim, a thin band of decoration consisting of groups of six short lines running to centre, each two groups separated by a big dot surrounded by a ring of small ones. No. 142, flatter than usual, turned-in rim only ·015 m. deep, not going down straight but turning distinctly inwards; just outside rim a band of rough tongue pattern.

Nos. 143–150: like 131–141, but in fragments, mostly incrusted with white.

[1] For style cp. Nos. 189, 190, 203, 204, 207, 208, classed below, p. 277.

[2] As on *Ath. Mitt.* xxii, p. 288, Fig. 14 (Proto-Corinthian from Aegina).

[3] For same birds and fill-ornament still more degenerate, see Ath. Nat. Mus. (oinochoe), No. 690.

Kothon-rimmed black glaze vases on a central stem.

No. 151 [1] (Fig. 15): hgt. ·105 m.; diam. of body ·20 m., of mouth ·105 m., of foot ·115 m.; interior depth ·06 m., depth of turned-in rim ·035 m. Stem very short and thick; no lid and no ledge round top of rim to receive one. Covered with a heavy black glaze. Only decoration a few thin purple bands, generally in pairs. Its weight is remarkable.

No. 152 (see Fig. 15): like No. 151, but with higher and slenderer foot. It has a handle of the one-handled kothon shape (Fig. 15) and no lid. Round mouth

FIG. 15.—GRAVE 31. NOS. 131, 151, 152, 153. (*c.* 1 : 6.)

a raised moulding as in Grave 49, No. 249. Hgt. ·14 m.; diam. of body ·20 m., of mouth ·09 m., of foot ·11 m.; interior depth ·085 m., depth of inner rim ·035 m.

Nos. 153–156 (for 153 see Fig. 15): usual size, shape and decoration, with lid and high central stem: hgt. of No. 153 is ·16 m.; diam. of body ·23 m., of mouth ·10 m.; interior depth ·07 m., depth of inner rim ·03 m.

No. 157 is smaller: interior depth ·06 m., depth of turned-in rim ·01 m.; diam. of body ·145 m., of mouth ·08 m. The tongue pattern is not on the usual ferruginous ground, but on one hardly darker than that of kothon No. 142. Lid and knob not quite usual shape.

No. 157 *a*: human and animal figures in late Corinthian style.

Black-figure.

Nine lekythoi, 5 kylikes, 16 skyphoi, 1 kantharos, and 27 vases in black-figure technique with purely linear or floral ornament.

Lekythoi.

Purple and incisions are generally employed; in Nos. 158, 160, and 163 white is also used. The main theme is not, as often in the earlier graves, confined in a panel. Several of the designs are graceful (Nos. 161 and 166), but the execution is always coarse and careless in detail. On the shoulder No. 158 has palmettes, Nos. 159, 161, and 162 palmettes and two upright draped figures in black, Nos. 160 and

[1] Cp. a similar vase Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ. Β′, case 109 bottom, with lid that does not seem to belong. For a discussion of Nos. 151 to 153 see article on kothons in *J.H.S.* xxx.

166 a cock and stemless ivy leaves, No. 164 four stalkless ivy leaves, Nos. 163 and 165 lotuses. The main subjects are as follows :—

No. 158: hgt. ·19 m.; bearded Dionysos and woman on couch playing double-flute coloured black and purple in alternate lengths: behind the woman a naked satyr holding black kantharos. A black object (? wine-skin) hung up above woman.

Nos. 159 and 160: hgts. ·18 m. and ·16 m.; two warriors fighting; on either side of them a rhabdouchos. No. 159, oblong shields; No. 160, round shields, one with white ladder as device.

Nos. 161 and 162: hgts. ·18 m. and ·16 m.; warriors in pose of aryballoi warriors, with two draped beardless figures with wands on either side.

No. 163: hgt. ·14 m.; two naked figures running to right.

No. 164: hgt. ·12 m.; three draped standing figures. No purple.

No. 165: hgt. ·18 m.; four dancing men, one with chlamys, rest naked.

No. 166[1] (Pl. XI. *b*): hgt. ·13 m.; woman's bust. Eye incised. στεφάνη of purple spirals. On either side of bust an erect serpent with gaping jaws and purple streak going the whole length of the body.

Kylikes.

Nos. 167, 168, 169: fine large vases with good glaze; slender stem; inside plain but for red centre.

No. 167: hgt. ·155 m.; depth of inside ·08 m., diam. of mouth ·28 m.; main zone ·05 m. high. On either side a four-horse chariot with driver in white chiton with shield and spear slung behind. On either side of either chariot, warrior fighting Amazon. One oblong shield has star and crescent as blazon. Next each fighting group, a large horizontal palmette, with stalk proceeding from handle. Horses spirited. Heads of all four visible. Amazons have white flesh and huge crested helmets. Purple used and careful incisions. Below main zone, a double row of black dots joined up by lines.[2] Above foot, rays black and in outline alternately, as on Louvre, F 130 and 133 (Pottier, Pl. 74), 132, 135, etc.

No. 168: hgt. ·15 m.; depth of inside ·075 m., diam. of mouth ·27 m.; like 167, but only one horse's head seen of each team. Each pair of warriors seems to have but one shield. Blazon on one of these, a flying eagle in white on black. Beaten warrior of each pair has now black face, but same huge helmet as in 167. Averted sphinxes in place of palmettes of 167. Between each charioteer and his team, a warrior on foot with spear. Below main zone a double band of small stemless ivy leaves with line down centre. Rays above foot all black.

No. 169: hgt. ·16 m.; depth of interior ·08 m.; diam. of mouth ·27 m. Main zone much like 168, but no figures on foot in front of charioteer. Three shields have white blazons, eight rays or spokes with a dot between each pair. Fourth blazon obliterated.

No. 170: hgt. ·09 m.; depth of interior ·06 m.; diam. of mouth ·14 m.; very thick foot, stem only a large purple moulding[3]; on either side a narrow zone with two satyrs with purple tails creeping in the same direction: for attitude cp. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 97, Fig. 29. Rest of vase black glaze; careless work.

[1] Cp. *J.H.S.* xx. p. 106, Fig. 2; Louvre, F 311; J. Harrison, *Prolegom. to Study of Gk. Relig.* pp. 279, 305–6, 326–332.

[2] For this ornament, see Grave 51, No. 50; Louvre, Room L, CA 823 (*Rev. Arch.* 1899, p. 4, Fig. 8), lekythos found in Boeotia; cp. also 'pomegranate' ornament of Kyrenaic, *e.g.* Louvre, E 673, and Sparta (*Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1908, Plate II.).

[3] Cp. moulding on stems of Teisias kantharoi, Grave 18, Nos. 133 to 135.

No. 171: hgt. ·05 m.; depth of interior ·03 m.; diam. of mouth ·11 m.; on either side two eyes separated by a down-turned arrow (?).

Skyphoi.

Heights: Nos. 172 and 173, ·16 m.; No. 176, ·14 m.; No. 175, ·12 m.; Nos. 179, 182, 184, 185, 186, ·11 m.; Nos. 174, 178, 183, 187, ·10 m.; No. 177, ·09 m. Diam. of mouth: Nos. 172 and 173, ·22 m.; No. 184, ·20 m.; No. 176, ·185 m.; Nos. 180, 181, 185, 186, ·16 m.; Nos. 175 and 187, ·15 m.; Nos. 174, 177, 179, 183, ·14 m.; No. 178, ·13 m. Where not otherwise stated the main subject is the same on both sides, purple and white are used for details, and there is a plain black band below the mouth, as in Pl. XI. *d*. On the main zone, besides the figures described below in detail, there are on Nos. 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, and 185 upright black palmettes on either side of either handle, with stalk springing from handle[1]; on Nos. 175, 179, 180, 185 two sphinxes on either side, each pair back to back facing the palmettes.[2] In No. 177 sphinxes' faces turn towards palmettes, bodies towards centre. In 178 the sphinxes face one another and there is nothing between them. In No. 183 we have the sphinxes next the handles, and no palmettes.[3]

All these sphinxes and palmettes are extremely carelessly drawn. In No. 178 the palmettes are mere blobs, and the four sphinxes have only one nose between them, and no eyes or mouths at all. The main zone on each of the above vases is comparatively narrow: *e.g.* ·04 m. on No. 175. On Nos. 172, 173, 174, 176, and 182 the scene occupies nearly the whole height of the cup. On Nos. 176 and 182 we have large flat palmettes as on Grave 51, No. 236. Just above the foot No. 177 has a band of big black blotches.

Main subjects (excluding thesphinxes and palmettes) are:—

No. 172: Dionysos on ithyphallic ass, faced by woman playing double-flute. Behind Dionysos woman playing harp. Behind each woman a naked satyr, one ithyphallic. Branches in field. Other side, satyrs replaced by maenads completely clad in creamy white. Women have bright red eyes.

No. 173 (Pl. XI. *i*): Dionysos partly draped on side illustrated, naked on other, reclining on white cushion, holding white kantharos, and wearing turban in red, white, and black. At his feet stands a woman with harp. Behind his head a woman playing double-flute. Behind each musician a cream-robed maenad as on No. 172. For turban Mr. J. H. Hopkinson compares *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, Taf. XIII. and XIV., and *Wiener Vorlägeblätter*, 1889, Taf. I. Both 172 and 173 have a dolphin under either handle, and rough band of ivy leaves below mouth.

No. 174 (Pl. XI. *d*): woman playing double-flute; on either side of her two dancing women with cream-coloured clothes and red eyes as on 172. Under each handle a bird in black.

No. 175: single figure, draped one side, naked the other. Execution very coarse.

No. 176: warrior with white oval shield, white shoulder straps, purple girdle, helmet covering face, kneeling before draped standing figure.

No. 177: one side degenerate white thunderbolt (?); other side three white dots one above the other. No purple.

[1] Cp. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii., *Gela*, p. 103, Fig. 66, and *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 899, note 1.

[2] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α′, No. 518, from Eretria.

[3] For sphinxes cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α′, Nos. 636 (provenance unknown), 360 (Tanagra), 12265 (Boeotia); Bologna, Room X., case L (Zannoni, Tav. IX. Figs. 12, 13, Sepolc. 4; Tav. CXXXIII. Figs. 4, 5, 6, Sepolc. 38); Brit. Mus. B 92 (85), B 90 (83), B 93 (91), also cases 31, 32, 38, and B 390 and 399.

No. 178: nothing between sphinxes: see above.

No. 179: youth with staff, in himation of black, white and red, seated on chair.

No. 180: full-face lion walking to right, Corinthian in attitude.

No. 181: (from left to right) draped standing man, warrior with oval shield, naked horseman (these three facing right), draped standing figure (facing left). Other side instead of warrior seated woman with white wreath in either hand and face much too big. Shield has blazon,[1] which Mr. J. H. Hopkinson thinks may be meant for a bucranium.

No. 182: three naked figures in black silhouette. No indication of sex.

No. 183: two thin figures in black silhouette, except for a little red in hair; apparently beginning to wrestle. To left a man with staff, seated, to right a man with staff, standing.

No. 184 (Pl. XI. *a*): flatter in shape than the average; reclining figure with white club: large eye on either side. Drawing very careless; black of figure almost thins off into ground colour; below rim a double row of rough dots (= ivy leaves ?).

No. 185: two naked figures carrying white cocks.

No. 186: naked figure with white club attacking centaur fallen on knees. Beyond centaur a fleeing woman. All are garlanded. Drawing very careless. Hands resemble fishes' tails.

No. 187: shape, colouring, and decoration somewhat unusual. Main zone long frieze of Dionysiac figures, the women dressed in a sheath-like or Directoire costume. To be discussed and illustrated shortly.

Kantharos.

No. 188[2]: fragmentary, diam. of mouth ·19 m.; black and ground colour both dull, as often in earlier graves. No incisions. Traces of white for clothes, purple for manes. On each side a panel with two horsemen facing one another. Horses wooden; no suggestion of riders' legs except on one, who has rudimentary white ones: cp. Boeotian horseman figurines; one horse has a white cross on buttock.

Vases in Black-figure technique with purely linear or floral ornament.

Twenty of these are cups, varying greatly in shape. Nos. 197, 200, and 201 are kylikes with slender stems, hgt. ·08 m. to ·09 m. No. 191 has a fairly slender stem, hgt. ·095 m.; Nos. 192–196, 198, 199, 202, and 203 are kylikes with short thick stems, hgt. ·045 m. to ·09 m.; Nos. 189, hgt. ·07 m., and 204, hgt. ·06 m., should probably be called skyphoi; No. 190 is normal skyphos shape, hgt. ·09 m.; Nos. 207 and 208 are intermediate in shape between Proto-Corinthian and Black-figure skyphoi, ·15 m. diam. at mouth.

Where not otherwise stated the only decoration is in black on a zone of ferruginous ground colour on a level with the handles. The rest of the vase is covered with black glaze, often dull or streaky. The decoration consists of:—

Nos. 189, 190, 191: lotus buds with interlaced stalks. No. 189, the stalks are continued to form outer petals (?) to every other bud; Nos. 189 and 190, a short cross-line below each bud or flower; No. 191, white engobe. Beneath lotuses, a triple band of black and white dots, and beneath these small rough black rays springing from stem. Red centre inside.

[1] For blazon cp. Orsi, *Gela*, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. Pl. XXIII., and perhaps Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. XXI.

[2] Exactly like Ath. Nat. Mus. Nos. 12261 and 12262.

Nos. 192–200[1]: very rough palmette alternating with staff or club-shaped ornament, probably (cp. No. 201) a degenerate lotus. Nos. 192–194 and 200, palmettes purple (or purple red) and black; Nos. 198 and 199, palmettes white and black; No. 195, white dots along base of palmettes. On 197–199 the palmettes, etc., rest on a rough cable pattern.[2]

No. 201[3]: palmettes in black and purple alternating with distinct degenerate lotus in black and white. A semicircular line over each palmette to nearest leaf or lotus on either side.

No. 202: double row of rough ivy leaves with wavy line between: cp. Böhlau, *Aus ion. Nekr.*, Taf. VIII., No. 20. The present vase has a thick stem, but Böhlau's figure gives a good idea of the effect of the vases of this class.

Nos. 203 and 204: oval blotches of black.

Nos. 205 and 206: purple foot (broadening from bottom to top; no stem). Above foot two bands of black dots separated horizontally by thin red and black lines. On a level with handles on No. 205 a band of curves each like the letter S reversed; on No. 206 band of short vertical lines, alternating with dots. Black rim; hgt. of both ·05 m.

Nos. 207 and 208: decoration, in poor black on drab or buff, a double band of leaves on a level with handles. The leaves have no stalks of any kind.

Besides these twenty cups there are seven lekythoi in the same style:—

Nos. 209–215: body in plain black glaze with a few thin purple bands, shoulder left in the ground colour, and decorated with lotus leaves and blossoms with interlaced stalks; hgts. of Nos. 209–214, ·12 m. to ·10 m.; of 215, ·08 m.

Black Glaze ware, with simple ornamentation in purple or white.

No. 216: lekythos; hgt. ·08 m. Body black glaze with a few thin purple bands; shoulder left in ground colour, but absolutely plain. Cp. Nos. 209–215.

No. 217: skyphos, black-figure shape, ·15 m. high; fine black glaze all over except for band of leaves in purple, with outline carefully incised. Between each pair of leaves a pair of little round white objects, joined, like the leaves, to a central straight band or stalk of purple by a simple incised line. Inside, one thin purple line. To be discussed and illustrated shortly.

Nos. 218–223: small kantharoi (·06 m. to ·07 m. high) with good black glaze and a few thin purple lines. Underneath part of feet glazed black.

Nos. 224–227: fragments of larger vases with same glaze and purple.

No. 228: kylix decorated with thin purple lines.

Plain Black Glaze ware.

No. 229 (Pl. XI. *f*): miniature black glaze jug,[4] ·04 m. high.

Nos. 230–349: kantharoi. Nos. 230–259: with spurred handles, most about ·15 m. high, one or two over ·20 m. high with cross-pieces halfway up handles,

[1] Cp. Bologna, Room VI. central case nearest Athena head; Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 848, Megara Hyblaea, Grave XCIV., where note context of find.

[2] The palmette and degenerate lotus on a cable, occur on an amphora in the Vatican, Room VII., signed by Nikosthenes.

[3] Cp. Louvre, Nécropole de Myrina, No. 526 (5).

[4] Cp. miniature vases from Boeotia, Brit. Mus. Room I, case D; and from Eleusis in the Eleusis Museum; Ath. Nat. Mus. Room III., case 64, with Kabeiric fragments, numbered 10493; Bari, Mus. Provin. case 3.

joining them to body. Nos. 260–349: handles without spurs,[1] same height as usual, one over ·25 m. high with cross-pieces to handles.

Nos. 350 and 351: short stemmed kylikes, dull black glaze.

No. 352: shaped like Grave 49, No. 280, but bigger. For inscription see Fig. 12, 24.

Nos. 353–355: large cups with moulded grooves producing a crenellated effect.

Nos. 356 and 357: skyphoi, hgt. ·07 m. and ·08 m. No. 356 mainly dull black, rest dull buff; No. 357, inside salmon; outside, top part black, middle dark salmon, bottom light salmon. Tricolour effect probably unintentional. The black does not go all round.

No. 358: fragments of a cup with handle (or handles) of round section, burnt completely black.

Coarse heavy unglazed ware.

Nos. 359 and 360: small kantharoi, coarse material. No. 360 very coarse and heavy. Leaden grey colour: flat bottom without foot. Handles scarcely rise above rim.

Glass.

No. 361: many very small fragments of a glass vase in black and white, presumably of about the size and shape of the vase in blue and white from Grave 26 (No. 235). The white is in thin wavy lines.

Figurines.

A very fine series in the later red and white Boeotian technique (see pp. 309 f.). None in earlier black and ferruginous. One fine equestrian figure in the good archaic style of sculpture.

Nos. 362–366 (Pl. XII. *a*): παπάδες, in numerical order from left to right. The finest is No. 364, which is illustrated in colours on Pl. VII. A., and requires no description.[2] Hgt. ·26 m. Note the liberal use of yellow, and the style of the face, which recalls the genial type of archaic sculpture.

No. 362: practically the same as last, but shoulder-pins wanting.

No. 365: hgt. ·22 m.; like last two, but both earrings and shoulder-pins wanting. No yellow. Decoration of lower part of body purely linear. Face not so good as in last two. Note extremely wide parting of hair in all three examples.

Nos. 363 (hgt. ·28 m.) and 366 (hgt. ·23 m.): altogether thinner. The faces are long and thin, with pronounced chins and noses. Both have earrings, but no shoulder-pins. The decoration of No. 363 is entirely in red and black on white; so also No. 366, except for object[3] hung round neck, which is yellow. The decoration of the lower part of body of No. 366, which is not plain in photograph, consists of vertical red bands on white ground, with edging as in other four. All five have a bright red blotch on each cheek.

No. 367: in same style as above. Nut-cracker face, like those of Nos. 363 and 366. White round earrings with yellow borders. Elaborately moulded head-dress

[1] The spurs often break off very cleanly; a certain number of these 90 kantharoi classed as without spurs probably had them.

[2] For Maltese cross see Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, pp. 341–342, No. 70.

[3] This object (which occurs frequently) looks like a vase. Cp. however Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 326, No. 5, and Holleaux, *Mon. Piot.* i. p. 30.

with a thick band of red round bottom, then five thin red bands, interrupted by circular depressions filled in with yellow. The top part has deep vertical indentations producing the appearance of a series of up-turned crescents.

No. 368: seated *παπᾶς* with baby in arms,[1] hgt. about ·18 m. Hat truncated-cone shape, broadening upwards; round top part semicircles of red and yellow alternating, with black bordering. May be meant to represent same original as semi-circular depressions of No. 367. Below this, horizontal bands of red and yellow. Features prominent. Hair, earrings, throat ornament as in previous examples; arms not stumps, but moulded to carry baby. This part of the body covered with vertical red lines. Lower part much damaged; red and yellow; perhaps three rows of downward-turned palmette leaves.

No. 369 (Pl. XII. *h*): squatting ithyphallic Silenus,[2] hgt. ·09 m.; ears yellow, head white, with red band from ear to ear in front, and black lines coming over the head to meet it. Eyes and eyebrows black, nose and mouth red, beard yellow with black lines like those representing the hair, arms white with horizontal red bands following direction of bones. Body and feet and end of phallus red: rest of phallus and legs white with black spots: colours typical Boeotian and powdery. Not coloured behind. The figure is hollow. Note that he is squatting, not, like most examples,[3] sitting on his tail.

Nos. 370 (Pl. XII. *e*) and 371: horse and rider; hgt. about ·15 m., red and white technique. No. 370, horse has red hatching on breast. No. 371, yellow used for mane of horse and jacket of rider. Note high flapping cap. Fragments of a third horseman, No. 372, in same style.

No. 373[4]: Boeotian horse, hgt. ·13 m., same technique, yellow mane.

Nos. 374 and 375[5]: rams, hgt. ·075 m., colours injured. Ground colour white, traces of red.

No. 376[6] (Pl. XII. *d*): flying dove on stand, hgt. ·06 m. Photograph, aken before mending, shows bird without stand resting on a piece of stone. Colours, red and white; there seem also to be traces of yellow.

No. 377[7] (Pl. XII. *c*): red and white technique; neck suggests that of a bird, and is bored where the eyes should be. The hole does not admit into the interior of the object, which is hollow. Remains of red and black colour, more like that of dove figurines from Grave 18 than ordinary Boeotian figurines; length ·16 m.

No. 378 (Pl. XII. *f*): mounted cavalier in good archaic style. The horse is covered with a powdery white; body and top of legs and arms with a greenish blue. Flesh red, like the Cook from Grave 18, No. 267 (Pl. VII.). Colour of beard and hair not distinct, but darker than that of flesh. Horse's nostrils and rider's hands have holes to receive bronze reins. Tail of horse and tip of rider's nose missing. Base about ⅓ centimetre thick, covered like horse with powdery white. Hgt. of horseman, from bottom of base, just under ·17 m.; of horse, to top of ear ·145 m.; length of base ·11 m.; breadth, ·06 m.

[1] Supports the theory that *παπάδες* were Eilithyiae, advanced by Wolters in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, pp. 212–239. Perhaps cp. also Oxford, Ashmolean, 2, 8, seated figure with small one on either side; and Jamot, *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 214 and Fig. 4.

[2] On type see Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xv. p. 359. Cp. *Mon. Ant.* i. p. 849, Grave CXX., and Orsi, *ad loc.* (*Παίγνια* or *ἀποτρόπαια*?)

[3] *E.g.* Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ. Α′, No. 4350, from Tegea; *ibid.* case 101; *ibid.* case 97; *ibid.* Αἰθ. Β′, case 108 (from the Kabeirion); Αἰθ. Πηλ. Δ′, case 140, Nos. 3930, etc.

[4] For Nos. 370–373, cp. Ashmolean, 2, 20, middle shelf.

[5] Cp. Grave 50, No. 403; Louvre, Room A, case F, bottom shelf, from Cyprus.

[6] Cp. Louvre, Nécropole de Myrina, Nos. 382–387 (all smaller).

[7] For shape cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 477 (b.-f. with *πρόθεσις* scene), and Bologna, Room VI.

Metal.

No. 379: six fragments of rusted iron (one with hollow down middle) like those from Graves 49, 50, and 51, but in a more damaged state. Two bulge greatly at top. Total length of all six fragments about ·25 m. Probably nails.

Inscriptions.

Incised on plain black kantharoi: see Fig. 12. Only one inscription on each.

(1) On upper part of body, Ἀγν (16), Μνα (9), Ἀμι (17), νιος, fragment broken off on left (10), Ε (22), Ν (14), Σμ (19).

(2) On the lower part of body, Ρ (24).

(3) On handles, Δα (8), Α (25), Ε (20).

(4) On bottom of foot, Σε (15), Γυ (11), Γυ (12), Ἐγιγ[?], or Γιγε(?), or possibly the fourth letter from left might be a π (13), Πτ (18), Ε (21), Ε (23), Χ (26).

For discussion see *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

Bones.

Teeth, according to Mr. C. H. Hawes's report, may all belong to a single individual; 3 molars, 2 pre-molars, 7 canine and incisors. Fragments of long-bones, including those of femur, which suggest a muscular person. Fragments of frontal malar and wing of sphenoid bone. Fragments do not allow a determination of sex: no great development of brow. Fragments of calvarium not more than go to make up one skull. No reason to assume two skeletons. No reduplication. Slight frontal development may well be associated with rather muscular long-bones.

GRAVE 26.

(PLATE VIII. B, PLATE XI. *c*, *g*, *h*; PLATE XII. *b*, *g*; PLATE XV. *m*; FIG. 12 (27 to 30) and FIG. 16.)

Length 2·80 m.; breadth 1·04. Vase mass began at depth of 2·13 m. Total depth 2·70 m. Fragments of skull ·46 m. from E.N.E. end of grave. No bones were found more than 1·14 m. from E.N.E. end.

Boeotian Kylix Style.

The twenty-six Boeotian kylikes from this grave all belong, as in Grave 18, to our Class II. of p. 309. Only a few (Nos. 1–6) preserve the panel arrangement. The largest (No. 8) is ·175 m. high. The smallest (Nos. 17 and 19) are ·095 m. high. Most range in hgt. between ·12 m. and ·15 m.

No. 1 [1] (Pl. VIII. B): the white slip is distinct on the outside and ends plainly on the top of the rim. The white of M. Gilliéron's drawing has unfortunately come out rather yellow in the reproduction. The bird is more naturalistic than the ordinary Boeotian bird; *e.g.* the outer lines of the wings do not coincide with the boundary lines of the panel.

[1] It recalls Ath. Nat. Mus. 2257 from Mycenae. Cp. also Wolters, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, Πίν. 10, Figs. 1 and 1*a*. For plate heading see p. 227, note 1.

Nos. 2, 3, 4: round rosettes panelled off by vertical bands like those of No. 1. Petals of rosettes red and yellow, bordered at a slight distance in 2 and 4 (but apparently not in 3) with a line of black.

No. 5 (Pl. XV. *m*): palmettes (nine petals) in red, black, and yellow, resting on naturalistic double spiral; panelled by vertical bands as on No. 1. Cp. Grave 49, Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 6: much worn. Palmettes in red, black, and yellow, panelled by similar vertical bands. Palmettes seem to point some up, some down.

Nos. 7–15: palmettes and hatched triangles arranged and coloured as Plate VIII. A (=Grave 18, No. 1); wavy line on level with handles. No. 12 has one triangle reddish: on No. 15 the red is purple crimson instead of brick scarlet.

Nos. 16–20, cp. Pl. XV. *f* and *o* (=Grave 31, Nos. 8 and 9): the common late linear type, see p. 309. Decoration in indeterminate shades of red and black. On a level with handles No. 18 has a band of short vertical lines, the rest a wavy line. The rest of these five vases is covered with horizontal bands, mostly straight, a few wavy.

Nos. 21–26: fragments of at least six more vases of the two types last described.

Small Skyphoi of the so-called Proto-Corinthian type.

Nos. 27–32: hgt. ·04 to ·05 m. On a level with handles 27 and 28 have zigzag band; 29 and 30, band of oval dots; 31 and 32, band of short vertical lines, thick and careless in 32. Decoration in black or brown on clay that in present condition is either buff or greenish.

Vases showing approach or influence of Black-figure technique, and most of them continuing Proto-Corinthian traditions.

No. 33: skyphos, hgt. ·07 m.; short vertical lines of top band as we find it in 31 and 32 have coalesced into a single mass; technique of this and 34 much nearer Black-figure.

No. 34: skyphos, hgt. ·10 m.; purple black on dirty buff; on level with handles alternate groups of vertical straight lines and (shorter) vertical wavy lines; round bottom part of body groups of vertical straight lines.

No. 35: skyphos, diam. of mouth ·15 m.; lower part missing. Handles transitional between Proto-Corinthian and Black-figure types; on either side on a level with handles two panels divided by vertical lines; in each panel two spirals back to back, with an arrow-head (?) design on top, giving effect of *fleur de lys* as on Grave 51, Nos. 49,[1] 238, 239: ground colour dull buff; rest of vase poor black glaze.

No. 36: skyphos, band of leaves in black on pale ferruginous, on a level with handles. Rest black.

No. 37: kantharos, moderate size, has black glaze only on the lower part; upper part and handles buff, with simple maeander on body, black herring-bone pattern on handles.

No. 38 (Pl. XI. *g*). Cp. Grave 31, No. 42: hgt. ·13 m. Same ribbon-shaped horizontal handles. For top band of decoration cp. Grave 51, Nos. 28–32. Decoration is dull black on dull ferruginous except for zone below handles. Where the maeander bordered with dots (damaged in centre of side illustrated) the decoration is in a thick white.

[1] See references *ad loc.*

Aryballoi.

Nos. 39–66: round bodied aryballoi with usual floral pattern on body. Concentric bands round mouth. All of same small size; hgt. ·05 m.

Kothons.

Nos. 67 *a–h* and 68–78: ordinary size, form and technique. Diam. of vase ·14 to ·15 m., interior depth ·04 to ·05 m., depth of turned-in rim ·02 m. Decoration consists entirely of concentric linear bands, except that 68–75 have a band of thin stemless leaves on top; No. 76, groups of short lines in the direction of the centre, alternating with rings of dots; Nos. 77 and 78, a pattern of stemless ivy leaves in two rows, with tips facing inwards. The tips of one row face the gaps between the tips of the other.

No. 79: same pattern as 77 and 78, but colours brighter. Purple red on yellow buff. Much smaller than rest; diam. ·075 m., interior depth ·03 m., depth of rim ·015 m.

Kothon-rimmed black glaze vases, with lid and central stem.

Nos. 80–83: hgt. about ·15 m., interior depth ·07 m., depth of inner rim ·03 m.

Black-figure.

Six lekythoi, fifteen skyphoi, no kylikes or kantharoi.

Lekythoi.

None of good and careful workmanship. White, purple, and incisions freely used, but not on all the vases. Some have branches on field.

No. 84: hgt. ·28 m., shoulder flat, with palmettes opposite way up alternately, connected by stalk. Fountain scene. Four figures with hydriae resting horizontally on heads. Fountain has two steps, black Doric pillar in front, lion's head spout at back. Front woman's hydria under spout. Pad on her head. Simple black Doric pillar behind hindermost figure.

No. 85[1]: hgt. ·30 m., body fat; lower part tapers almost like a truncated cone with scarcely any curve. No stem. Foot formed by rim round bottom of body. On shoulder upright palmettes, and large thin single leaf (probably = lotus, cp. Grave 31, Nos. 92–200, and 201) alternately. The whole on a band of small black circles each with a dot in centre. On body beardless figure, face now black, purple wreath, reclining on bed. Figure has long robe, black with large coarse purple spots and hanging sleeves reaching only to the elbow; holds a black rhyton. Riding towards this figure a man with similar wreath, and purple beard, on ithyphallic horse. Branches with grape clusters in field.

No. 86: hgt. ·15 m.; shoulder, lotus buds pointing outwards with interlaced stalks. Body, bull fight; bull down on knees; hind legs upright, head on ground, with horns in front, and face looking towards tail. Naked beardless man stands over bull with left hand on its shoulders, while with right he pulls a double rope[2] that goes round one of the bull's hind legs. On either side of him a vine with branches and grape clusters. On branches above bull's shoulders, drapery; above

[1] For shape cp. Louvre F 71 (Pottier, *Catalogue*, Pl. 69).

[2] For use of rope cp. Brit. Mus. B 474 and J. A. Monro, *J.H.S.* xii. p. 311 (Brit. Mus. E 442). For rope and for colour and position of horns cp. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. *Gela*, p. 382.

tail, bow and quiver. For meaning and development of scene cp. Grave 18, No. 50 (Plate XIII. *e*). Plentiful use of white for horns, grapes, and in patches on bull.

Nos. 87 : hgt. ·14 m. (Pl. XI. *h*), and 88 : hgt. ·13 m. On shoulder cock in black in silhouette with ivy-leaf on either side. Warrior of 87 [1] has round shield, two spears, helmet, and greaves, as frequently on Corinthian aryballoi. 88 like 87, but warrior holds shield almost horizontally on extended arm, and decoration on shoulder too careless to be identified with certainty.

No. 89 : hgt. and shoulder as 87. Body, seated figure with an eye on either side.

Skyphoi.

Nos. 90–104 : usual shape given in Pl. XI. *c*. All have deep black band round top as there, except Nos. 92, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102, which have a double row of black dots on the ground colour. The carelessly drawn upright palmettes with stalk proceeding from handle are found on Nos. 90, 91, 93, 94, 101, 102, 104. Sphinxes facing away from central scene towards the handles are found in the place of the palmettes on Nos. 92, 98, 99, 100. Most of them lack noses or some other feature. No. 101 has both sphinxes and palmettes. Purple and white are employed on many, but not all, of the vases. Effect sometimes good ; details nearly always careless. The scene is the same on both sides, where not otherwise stated.

No. 90 : hgt. ·115 m. Leopard (?) in archaic posture, with face turned back over back, and grazing stag.

No. 91 : hgt. ·09 m. One side prancing horse, other hydra : [2] one branch over each.

No. 92 : hgt. ·14 m. One sheep : ground colour a better red than most.

No. 93 (Pl. XI. *c*) : hgt. ·10 m. ; figure seated on folding-stool ; so careless as to be burlesque.

No. 94 : flatter than rest ; hgt. ·10 m., diam. of mouth ·18 m. On either side a naked figure stooping over a big bowl, and a draped figure with rhyton. Branches and large black and white dots in field.

No. 95 : hgt. ·115 m. Four dancing figures, two satyrs and two white-faced maenads ; big purple dots on dress.

No. 96 : hgt. ·17 m. Three satyrs and two maenads dancing ; one satyr obviously partnerless and disconsolate.

No. 97 : hgt. ·055 m. Dancing satyr with purple hair and tail, holding white sash. In field one branch and a few white dots. Near each handle an upright ivy leaf on a stalk.

Nos. 98, 99, 100 [3] : hgt. about ·16 m. Quadriga driven and attended by Amazons ; white flesh and peaked hats.

No. 101 : hgt. ·145 m. Group of figures, two seated, three standing.

No. 102 : hgt. ·165 m. Biga with white-robed charioteer between large eyes.

No. 103 : hgt. ·13 m. Decoration in narrow band. Running warrior in middle on one side, running woman on other. On either side of central figure a large eye.

No. 104 : hgt. ·10 m. A running man with wings, apparently holding a στέφανος in his outstretched hand.

[1] For warrior cp. Brit. Mus. B 291 ; Bari Museum, case 16, top shelf. Cp. also Louvre, L 9, shaped, however, like No. 85 from this grave.

[2] For hydra, cp. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xvii., *Gela*, Tav. XIII. lower figure (white lekythos), and p. 346.

[3] For these cp. Louvre F 409.

Black Glaze ware.

(*a*) With linear decoration.

A number of the black glaze fragments are decorated with thin purple lines.

(*b*) Plain.

Nos. 105–194: kantharoi: seventy-one have handles without spurs, nineteen have spurred handles: largest kantharos about ·30 m. high. A few of both sorts, including the largest, have cross-pieces connecting the handles halfway up with the body; sixty-four have short stems, two in superior black glaze with the bottom of the foot glazed as well. Eleven have no stem, but foot narrowing upwards and body downwards; eleven others (Nos. 184–194)[1] have no distinct foot at all, but bottom of body flat and almost as broad as mouth; of these last eleven, biggest ·135 m. to top of body, and ·115 m. across bottom; smallest ·08 m. across bottom and ·09 m. high.

Nos. 195 and 196[2]: two kantharoi, in fine black glaze ware with a wave or ripple on top part of bodies, imitating glass (such as No. 235), or possibly repoussé metal work. Hgt. of bigger to top of body ·14 m.

Nos. 197–234: skyphoi, squat shape; some have a little buff rectangle between the joints of each handle. Most about ·075 m. high, diam. of foot ·08 m., of mouth ·14 m. One of the biggest ·10 m. high, diam. of mouth ·18 m., of foot ·10 m. No. 197 has E incised on the bottom. These plain black squat skyphoi seem characteristic of this grave.

Glass.

No. 235 (Pl. XII. *b*): small 'Rhodian' amphora,[3] hgt. ·11 m.; dark blue with white horizontal lines, straight on neck and top of body, wavy on lower part. A ripple, or shallow vertical fluting round body.

Figurines.

Comparatively few. None in brown and black technique.

No. 236: παπᾶς, hgt. ·25 m.; from chin to top of hat ·07 m. Hat plain, broadening upwards, with horizontal bands of red and black on white. Usual black wavy hair with huge parting, falling to arm stumps. Red blotch on each cheek. Round earrings with red edge, yellow centre and black dots between. Vertical red lines on arm stumps; lower part faded, with edging of red horizontal lines and possibly red *loulouthia* placed one above the other in between.

No. 237: παπᾶς, larger than No. 236. Upper parts spoilt. Red hatching on

[1] Cp. Bologna, Room VI., central case nearest Athena head; Ath. Nat. Mus. 2240 (Tanagra).

[2] For imitation of repoussé, cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α′ No. 159, Geometric from Kerameikos (Collignon and Couve, No. 282); also Etruscan *bucchero nero*, Pottier, Louvre, Pl. 23, C 16, C 25, etc. and Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1900, p. 170, Fig. 12, 4. None of this is anything like so fine as our ware, which resembles repoussé work inside as well as out. It will be illustrated shortly. That the beginnings of such a motive in pottery could (apparently) come without imitation of metal is suggested by the 'ripple' ware of Neolithic Knossos, continued in Early Minoan. See D. Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* xxiii. pp. 160–169.

[3] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus., Αἰθ Γ′, central case 77, Nos. 3085 (Eretria), 2709 (Athens), 2899 (Galaxidion) and 2939, 11727, 12773, etc., provenance not stated. Numerous examples in Brit. Mus. (68 of them from Kameiros, according to Froehner *ap.* Perrot and Chipiez, iii, p. 737); Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli; Louvre; Orsi, *Gela*, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. p. 514 (see esp. note 1), from a group of graves dating from end of 6th century to end of 5th.

arm stumps. Body has edging of red lines slanting downwards, and straight lines running all the way down in between, apparently all red. At bottom, going right across, a band of short vertical lines, red and black alternately.

No. 238 : small face of *παπᾶς*, smiling archaic type.

No. 239 : dove in red and white, resting on its two legs and tail. Thin red lines across back. Colours recall Acropolis statuettes rather than latest Boeotian. (Cp. Grave 18, Nos. 259 and 260.) Hgt. ·06 m. ; from tail to beak ·085 m.

No. 240 : fragments of another larger bird in same style.

No. 241 : (Pl. XII. *g*) : archaic protome.[1] Hgt. ·10 m. ; hair black with a thin red fillet above moulded blobs. Details of eyes all black. Mouth red. Rest white recalling white of Acropolis statuettes.

Metal Objects.

No. 242[2] : bronze tripod (Fig. 16). Hgt. ·062 m. ; diam. of top ·09 m. ; distance between feet ·10 m., depth of ring ·016 m., outer part of ring decorated all round with perpendicular grooves, except over feet, where there is a double band of incised tongue pattern.

No. 243 : two bronze handles (extreme right and left of Fig. 16) to iron vessel that stood on tripod ; length ·08 m., width ·045 m. One of them has fragments of iron still attached, where it was joined to the iron vessel. Two further fragments of bronze (each side of tripod on Fig. 16), exactly the same size and shape as those on the inner parts of the two handles, each with traces of iron all down one side.

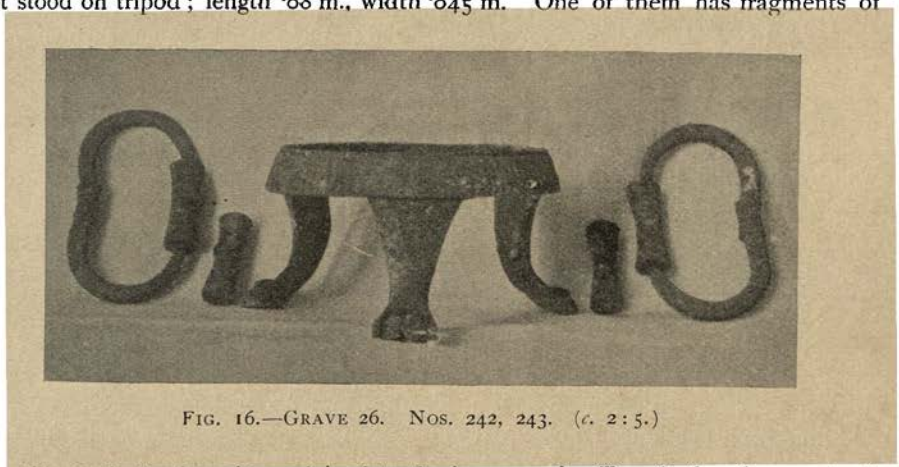


FIG. 16.—GRAVE 26. NOS. 242, 243. (*c.* 2 : 5.)

No. 244 : fragments of the iron vessel itself. It appears to have a turned-in rim like Pernice, *Jahrb.* 99, p. 65, Fig. 6, but it is very fragmentary. Nos. 242–4 will be discussed in article on kothons, etc., in *J.H.S.* xxx.

No. 245 : fragments of iron that appear to belong to nails like those from Graves 49, 50, 56, and 31. One ·065 m. long.

[1] For style, especially that of hair, cp. *B.C.H.* 1897, Pl. VII., female marble head from sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos.

[2] Cp. Olympia Museum, No. 997, flatter than ours. For handles cp. Olympia, No. 940. For similar tripod with bronze vessel (without handles) cp. Bari, Mus. Prov. Nos. 3063 (top), 3064 (tripod) : for tripod cp. also Nat. Mus. **Αἰθ. Καραπάνου**, Nos. 390, 391, and 392 ; for handles cp. *ibid.* No. 384.

Inscriptions.

Incised on plain black glaze vases. (See Fig. 12.)

(*a*) On bottom of feet of kantharoi: Γυ (29), Σωσαδρι (?) (27). The tracing of the latter is made from a photograph, and not, like all the others, from the vase. The scale is therefore in this case not exact. The fifth letter might be a koppa, as in Λοϙρός (*I.G.A.* 321 = Collitz-Bechtel, 1478), but it is more probable that it is a δ and that ν has dropped out before it as in Ἀταλάτη (François vase), Ἀδρομάχη, Νέαδρος, and other Attic examples quoted by Kretschmer, *Griech. Vaseninschrift.* pp. 161 fol. G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* p. 382, gives also examples from Corinthian and other dialects, and notes them as 'orthographische Fehler nach dem gehörten Laute.' We have not noticed any Boeotian examples. For general discussion see *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

(*b*) On main zone of small kantharos Γυρ (30). It is broken off on right and there was certainly one letter beyond ρ, possibly more.

(*c*) On bottom of foot of skyphos No. 197: Ε (28).

Bones.

Fragments of skull, two teeth, and very small portions of bones. Mr. C. H. Hawes writes:

> 'It is impossible from the fragmentary nature of these remains to identify or piece together more than a few of the portions of the skull; but this done there appears to be no reason to assume that more than one individual is represented here.
>
> 'Indications suggest 30–35 years as the age at death, and probably, though not certainly, the deceased was a male.'

GRAVE 18.

(PLATE VII. B; PLATE VIII. A; PLATE XIII. *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*; FIG. 8, FIG. 12 (31 to 34) AND FIGS. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.)

First vase found at depth of 2·60 m. Total depth 3·50 m. Breadth below ledge ·98 m. Remains of decomposed skeleton with head to E.N.E. end, and arms by side.

Boeotian Kylix Style.

Nos. 1–14: all kylikes belonging to Class II. of p. 309 and probably representing the latest phase of the style.

No. 11, ·065 m. high, No. 12, ·08 m, No. 13, ·09m., the rest range from ·12 m. to ·175 m. All shaped like Pl. VIII. A, with same wavy band on a level with handles, and same straight bands round foot.

As main decoration of body No. 1 (Pl. VIII. A)[1] and Nos. 2 to 8 have black hatched triangles alternating with five-petalled palmettes in red, black, and yellow. This type is confined to the latest graves of our Group B (p. 309), such as 26 and 46 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2).

Nos. 9–14: also a late type, body entirely covered with straight and wavy horizontal bands in black and red and occasionally yellow. No. 9 has also several bands of dots. The white ground is best preserved on No. 14.

[1] For Plate Heading see above note 1 on p. 227.

Small Skyphoi of so-called Proto-Corinthian type.

Nos. 15–20: hgt. ·035 m., diam. of mouth ·054 m. Clay yellow; bands of short vertical lines or a continuous zigzag line on a level with handles; brick-red and black bands round body.

Vases showing approach or influence of Black-figure technique, but continuing Proto-Corinthian traditions.

No. 21: pyxis; hgt. ·075 m.; two high handles on shoulder with large wart on either side of each; small mouth and foot; bottom part a poor black, toning off in part to red; upper, pale buff with three rows of big dots, upper two rows separated by a line: lid, which is missing, probably like Bari, Case 7, No. 61.[1]

No. 22: skyphos; hgt. ·05 m.; bottom part black, upper buff, with a rough herring-bone pattern on a level with handles and square pot-hooks round rim.

No. 23: flat bowl; hgt. ·04 m., diam. of mouth ·11 m. Bad black glaze with a single skyphos handle.

Aryballoi.

Nos. 24–40: round bodied; concentric circles on lip; usual floral pattern on body. Some show distinctly ferruginous clay.

Kothons.

Nos. 41–46: diam. of 41 is ·18 m.; 42 and 43, ·14 m.; 44, ·125 m.; 45 and 46, ·07 m. On top, outside turned-in rim, No. 41 has tongue pattern in purple and black; Nos. 42, 43, 45, and 46, a sort of degenerate ivy leaf; No. 44 tongue pattern occasionally interrupted by rings of dots.

Kothon-rimmed black glaze vases with lid, central stem, and no handles.

Nos. 47–49: hgt. of 47 and 48 is ·16 m.; of 49 is ·125 m. Usual shape and tongue pattern.

Black-figure on yellow ground.[2]

Two skyphoi, one lekythos.

No. 50 (Pl. XIII. *e*): hgt. ·098 m. Walls thin and fine. Drawing careless. On side not illustrated Dionysos seated on stool, before him maenad offering kantharos. Purple for beard of Dionysos, etc. Face of maenad, as of Dionysos, black. For side illustrated cp. Grave 26, No. 86. Quiver and straps hanging with mantle from boughs over bull[3] leaves undecided whether representation is

[1] Cf. also Bari, Museo Provinciale, case 7, Nos. 117, 264; Brit. Mus. A 1633 (Kameiros); Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* i. pp. 804, 819, etc., who calls these vases stamnoi; Louvre, E 791.

[2] For this style at its best see Louvre, *Cat.*, Pottier's Text pp. 753–8, on the workshop of Nikosthenes. See esp. F 116, 117, 119. For examples more like ours see *ib.* F 475, 476. Others are in the Castello and Poldi Pezzoli at Milan.

[3] Possible that hanging down of quiver straps right over bull's back, as occurs on other representations of this or kindred subjects (Brit. Mus. B 350, B 462, B 447; Louvre F 453), may have been misunderstood to have reference to capture of bull, and given rise to trapping by rope, as we see it on 26, No. 86. Cp. also Louvre, F 455, bull's head large and indistinct and covered with white dots (?=meshes of a net); also B.M. B 474, where Herakles uses noose from

of Herakles and Cretan or of Theseus and Marathonian Bull, the two legends being contaminated.[1]

No. 51 : hgt. ·098 m.; like last, but only a single draped standing figure (of Dionysos) on either side (*a*) holding rhyton, (*b*) holding kantharos.

No. 52 : lekythos;[2] hgt. ·16 m. On shoulder outward pointing rays, starting from ring of dots. On body man mounting four-horse chariot : old beardless man by tails of horses, two more figures behind their bodies, satyr in front.

Black-figure on ordinary ferruginous ground.

Twelve lekythoi, five amphorae, twenty-eight skyphoi, two kylikes.

Purple is abundantly employed; white and incisions very frequent; very many of the vases have branches in field. Where not otherwise stated amphorae, skyphoi, and kylikes have same scene on both sides.

Lekythoi.

On shoulder Nos. 53, 62, 64, and 65 have lotuses with interlaced stalks; No. 54[3] palmettes turning up and down alternately; Nos. 56–60, 63 and 64, outward pointing rays; No. 55 two animals in silhouette facing one another; No. 66 cock and two ivy-leaves. On body the designs are :—

No. 53 : hgt. ·23 m. Fountain scene; early Doric pillar in white with black lion's head on either side spouting water from mouth. Dancing nymph on either side of pillar. Unusual position of jets, apparently attached directly to a pillar instead of to a back wall.[4]

Nos. 54, hgt. ·20 m., and 55 : hgt. ·12 m. ; four dancing figures, satyr and maenad alternately.

No. 56 : hgt. ·14 m., bearded Dionysos stands with kantharos in hand ; draped male figure on either side.

No. 57 : hgt. ·13 m. ; two seated figures with Athena standing between them.

No. 58 : hgt. ·19 m. ; three running female figures with pointed hats.

No. 59[5] : hgt. ·185 m. ; Herakles facing Athena (?). Female figure behind Herakles, male behind Athena.

No. 60[6] : hgt. ·10 m. ; head of Athena with large eye on either side.

No. 61 : hgt. ·13 m. ; nude beardless man carrying off woman : on either side nude youth with cloak over arm.

behind ; nothing hanging up. For another line of degeneration, where the cloak hangs on nothing, see below, Grave 18, No. 96. For the bull scene in same technique cp. Hermitage Cat. No. 184. For general references on Herakles and Theseus with Bull and Lion see Walters-Birch, *Hist. Anc. Pottery* ii., pp. 96, 109 ; *A.J.A.* 1908, pp. 302 fol.

[1] Not only when Theseus and Minotaur are on the same vase, as is suggested by Pottier on Louvre F 238. In *J.H.S.* xii. p. 311, J. A. Munro suggests that where two scenes are on same vase (b.-f. kylix from Cyprus) it is Theseus who is beardless and without club. See, however, Brit. Mus. B 441.

[2] Cf. for ground-colour and style, Bologna, Museo Civico, Room VI., case F, fifth shelf from top.

[3] For shoulder decoration see Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, *Catalogue*, Fig. 22, No. 250.

[4] Cf. Grave 26, No. 84 ; for column *J.H.S.* xx. p. 106, Fig. 2. For head *ibid.* xiv. Pl. III. 9. There seem to be no other vases where the jets are on the actual capitalled column. In Louvre F 296 (case I.) two pillars flank the two sides of a wall, and lions' heads may seem attached to pillar merely from bad perspective ; cp. also a large hydria in Vatican, Room VI.

[5] Cp. Brit. Mus. B 498.

[6] Cp. also Grave 31, No. 166 ; Brit. Mus. B 335 ; perhaps large female heads on Melian amphorae as *J.H.S.* xx. p. 52 ; also *ibid.* p. 106, Fig. 2.

No. 62[1]: hgt. 23 m.; greaved and helmeted warrior carrying off female figure with high cap and tunic (?) with incised pattern. (Degradation of scene of Aeneas and Anchises?)[2] On either side a large palmette, top one sloping downwards, bottom one upwards, each framed in a black line.

No. 63: hgt. ·15 m.; biga with charioteer.

No. 64: quadriga; robed bearded charioteer. Female figure behind horses; seated figure in front.

No. 65: hgt. ·26 m.; two draped figures facing one another with a tree stump (?) between. Behind each, a much larger figure also draped.

No. 66: hgt. ·13 m.; four figures, two seated, two standing; no noses, eyes much too low down; probably negroes.

Amphorae.

On neck Nos. 67, 68, and 69 have a single upright palmette; No. 70 has three, central one turned up, other two turned down. White and purple abundantly used. Nos. 67 and 68 have dots of white both on robes and in the field.[3] Main scene:—

No. 67: hgt. ·20 m.; (*a*) Dionysos garlanded and with long robe. On either side of him two palmettes, top one turned straight down, bottom one straight up, connected by curving stalks with turned down lotuses under handle; (*b*) nymph with white flesh, similar palmettes.

No. 68: hgt. ·18 m.; Dionysos robed and bearded with rhyton in hand, and naked satyr, both running. Under each handle a piece of drapery.

No. 69[4] (Pl. XIII, *d*): hgt. ·20 m.; hippalektryon with horse's (*not* cock's) legs. Style better than most of the b.-f. from this grave.

No. 70: hgt. ·135 m.; imperfect; naked male figure struggling with an opponent who appears to be neither a human being nor an animal.

Kylikes.

No. 71. hgt. ·075 m., diam. of mouth ·19 m. Inside, single satyric figure; outside, satyr pursuing maenad between two large eyes.

No. 72: hgt. ·09 m., diam. of mouth, ·24 m. Inside, single satyric figure; outside, bull-headed figure holding rhyton; two women, one holding mirror, other wreath; two satyrs (one by each handle).

Skyphoi.

Five have double row of dots round rim, rest have plain black band. The main scene is frequently on a narrow band on a level with the handles. Many have branches in field.

Nos. 73 and 74: hgt. ·06 m.; technique recalls 49, No. 13. Single figure between upright palmettes, in 73 running, and naked; in 74 standing, and draped; under each handle an ivy-leaf. Below main scene, black wavy line with white dots.

[1] Cp Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.*, Taf. 51; Brit. Mus. B 173; for head-dress (*κυρβασία*), *ibid.* B 630 from Kameiros; Thebes Museum, relief of a fallen Amazon, *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 375. For palmettes Ashmolean, V 512.

[2] For the Aeneas and Anchises scene see Louvre, F 122 (signed by Nikosthenes) and other references *ap.* Walters-Birch, *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, II. p. 135.

[3] For white dots in field cp. Brit. Mus. B 585 (Kameiros); B 276; B 238; Oxford, Ashmolean V 239. For palmettes, etc., *ibid.* 211 (*Cat.* Pl. I. A. Gela) and 214.

[4] Cp. boy on hippalektryon with horse's legs, Harrison and MacColl, Pl. VIII (= *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1874, Tav. d'Agg. F; amphora frag. Museo Greco-Etrusco, Florence), where, p. 16, it is noticed that it is a favourite motive with Nikosthenes.

No. 75: hgt. ·08 m.; shape like last, but decoration in narrow band, all in black silhouette; lion with upraised paw; before and behind him draped figures facing one another; upright palmettes with stalks coming out of handles.

Nos. 76 and 77; hgt. ·075 m.; two thin naked figures with a large white cock; large horizontal palmettes on either side.

No. 78:[1] hgt. ·09 m.; decoration in narrow band, naked figure diving into water, top waves white, rest black. Clothes hung up on branch in field.

Nos. 79–82: squat shape; hgt. ·10 m., diam. of mouth ·19 m.; decoration in narrow band with upright palmette at either end. No. 79 Herakles *v.* Nemean lion; No. 80 Theseus (or Herakles) *v.* bull; No. 81 quadriga; No. 82 draped figure on mule riding towards reclining figure with rhyton.

No. 83: hgt. ·10 m. (Fig. 17); (*a*) owl, (*b*) rook, both between upright palmettes; ivy-leaf under handles.

Nos. 84–86: hgt. ·11 m. and No. 87 hgt. ·13 m.; upright palmettes and averted

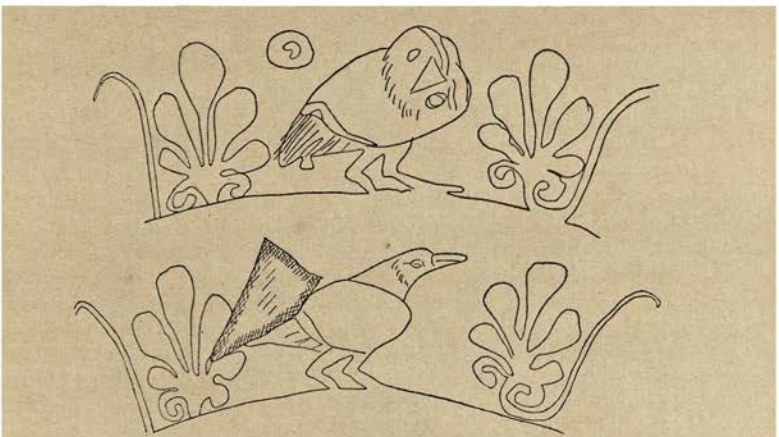


FIG. 17.—GRAVE 18. DESIGNS ON NO. 83, *a* AND *b*.

sphinxes, with a single human figure in between, sitting draped in Nos. 85–87, crouching naked in No. 84; whole composition extremely careless and crowded.

No. 88: like No. 87, but with two human figures between the sphinxes, one draped, one naked.

No. 89: hgt. ·13 m., and No. 90 hgt. ·14 m.; maenad and two sileni (no tails) between averted sphinxes; no palmettes.

Nos. 91 and 92: hgt. ·15 m. and ·16 m.; silenus and maenad between upright palmettes; no sphinxes; tail of silenus white.

No. 93: like 91 and 92, but only one maenad.

No. 94: like last, but with two sileni and one maenad.

The main zone of all the above series with palmettes and sphinxes only occupies the upper part of the vase.

No. 95: hgt. ·16 m.; (not complete); man seizing woman. In front of woman a tree, and beyond tree another woman running away. Under each handle a dog.

[1] For motive cp. r.-f. Andokides amphora, Louvre, F 203.

No. 96 : hgt. ·15 m. ; Herakles and Nemean lion (?) ; above the lion, drapery, hanging on nothing.[1] (*a*) Behind Herakles a naked standing figure ; behind lion, Hermes looking back on scene : (*b*) behind Herakles, Hermes with rhabdos ; behind lion, naked bearded figure with club seated on (?) rock, black with horizontal white streaks.

No. 97 : hgt. ·09 m. ; extremely careless palmettes, between them a black object with white engobes, probably an owl very carelessly drawn.

No. 98 : hgt. ·18 m. ; four grotesque figures playing a game resembling skittles.

No. 99 :[2] hgt. ·18 m. ; four old men with white hair and beards ; under each handle a white stork.

No. 100 : hgt. ·16 m ; four men at some occupation ; perhaps another stage of the game depicted in No. 98, perhaps stoking a fire.[3]

Black Glaze ware with simple linear decoration.

Nos. 101–139. Vases decorated with horizontal lines of brick-red or purple.[4] Various shapes, not all yet fully mended, including :—

Nos. 101, 102, 103 : pyxides ; body shaped like black-figure skyphos with similar handles, lid rising in a low curve with a broad flat knob.[5] Hgt. to top of lid, No. 101, ·10 m. ; No. 102, ·12 m. ; No. 103, circ. ·11 m.

Nos. 104–107 (Pl. XIII., *g*, in order 106, 107, 105, 104, from left to right, excluding vase on extreme right) : oinochoai ; hgt. to mouth of No. 107, ·20 m. ; No. 104, ·11 m. ; No. 105, ·12 m. ; No. 106, ·085 m. No. 106 has also tongue pattern on shoulder in purple and white with incisions.

No. 108 (Pl. XIII. *g*, extreme right) : lekythos : hgt. ·09 m.

Nos. 109–113 : kantharoi ; hgt. ·06 to ·08 m.

Nos. 114–119 : skyphoi ; hgt. about ·07 m. Some have effective deep red band just above foot. Fragments of several larger skyphoi in same style.

No. 120 : single handled cup (kyathos [6]) ; hgt. to top of rim ·045 m., to top of handle ·08 m., diam. of mouth, ·16 m.

Nos. 121 and 122 : cylindrical mugs ; hgt. ·085 m. with vertical handles of kantharos section but forming an almost semi-circular curve with body, not rising above rim, and reaching about halfway down. Fragments of a third similar vase, No. 123.

No. 124 : a large jar with same thick handles as last, but body rounds off at base ; fragmentary.

Nos. 133–139 ; a group of vases of delicate fabric, highly lustrous black glaze, and very thin purple lines.

Nos. 133–135 : three kantharoi signed by Teisias. See Fig. 12 (31 to 33) and below under *Inscriptions*. No. 133 (Fig. 18) and No. 134 : hgt. to rim ·145 m.; to top of handles ·21 m. ; diam. ·13 m. No. 135 has corresponding measurements ·15, ·215, ·14 m. In all three purple line round top of rim, below inscription, and on moulding round stem. Base of finely moulded hollow stem reserved in natural

[1] See note on No. 50.

[2] To be published separately by Miss G. E. Holding.

[3] For b-f. representation of flames cp. Orsi, *Gela*, *Mon. Ant.* XVII. Tav. XIII. lower figure ; Bologna, Room X, fragments in case opposite door, unedited, from necrop. pred. Arnoaldi.

[4] For style cp. Louvre, F. 1971, 1997, 2000.

[5] Cp. Brit. Mus. Room III., Case 47, two top shelves unnumbered. This shape is called by Orsi, stamnos.

[6] For shape and name cf. Louvre F 153, 163–5, 433 ; Brit. Mus. B 463–4, 467.

colour of clay. Handles triangular in section, inner side flat, two outer sides convex. The triangular section is gradually flattened towards the bottom of the handles. At the top of the curve its apex is cut sharply off, producing a flat diamond shaped facet.

Nos. 136–137: kylikes unsigned, but like Nos. 133–135 in fabric and lustre; thin purple lines (round base), moulded hollow stem, base reserved in natural clay. Hgt. ·08 m.; diam. ·15.

Plain Black Glaze ware.

Nos. 138–139: handleless cups of same fine ware as Nos. 133 to 137, in shape somewhat like Eucharistic Chalice. Hgt. ·062; diam. ·064 m. To be described and illustrated shortly.

Nos. 140–235: kantharoi. Nos. 140–224, usual hgt. to rim about ·18 m.; handles without spurs; Nos. 225–232, largest, hgt. about ·24 m., spurred handles, with cross-pieces connecting handles halfway up with top of body.

FIG. 18.—GRAVE 18. NO. 133. SIGNED BY TEISIAS.

Most of the above have stemmed feet of the usual kantharos shape. Only three examples of the type with no stem, but lower part of body tapering downwards and foot upwards. On two the glaze varies on different parts of the vase, chocolate-brown and lead colour being contrasted with the black of the rest. The sharp line of division makes it difficult to believe this is only due to a mistake of firing.

Nos. 233 and 234: large kantharoi, handles with hexagonal section [1] (cp. those

[1] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 623; also *ib.* case 42, No. 1118, same fabric and similar facet at top; incised inscription.

of Nos. 133–135), but the facet at top is sunk not flat, and is oval in shape. Ordinary coarse fabric and glaze.

No. 235: kantharos without stem or separate foot, like Grave 26, Nos. 184–194.

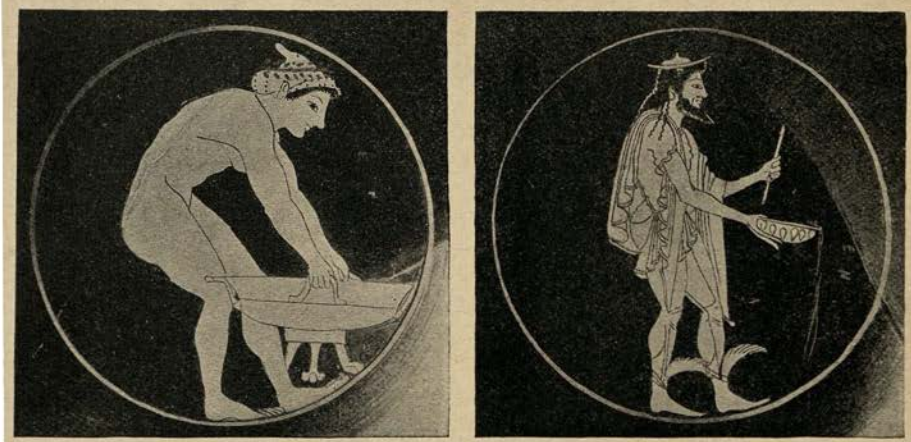
Nos. 236–247: other shapes, including (Nos. 243–247), squat shaped skyphoi like Grave 26, Nos. 197–234.

Black Glaze Kantharoi with polychrome decoration on white.

Nos. 248 and 249; figured scenes in bright red and yellow-brown on flaky white ground. No. 248 hgt. to rim ·16 m.; No. 249 hgt. to rim ·23 m. An apparently new type of painted vase. No. 248 will be published in colour with full description in *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. ii.

Black Glaze Kantharoi with decoration in white.

Nos. 250–254: No. 250, hgt. to rim ·19 m.; round top of body a deep tooth-pattern[1] pointing downwards, round bottom of body the same pointing upwards.



a *b*

FIG. 19.—RED-FIGURE KYLIKES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM SIGNED BY HERMAIOS. (1 : 2.)

Traces of human figures[2] in white, almost obliterated, others possibly only had tooth or similar patterns.

Red-figure.

No. 255 (Plate XIII. *a*): kylix; hgt. ·085 m., diam. ·20 m.; of the archaic or severe r.-f. style. A kylix in the British Museum, Room III. E 34 (Klein, *Meistersig.* p. 221, No. 2), in the same style with a similar nude stooping figure carrying a similar tripod vessel,[3] is signed Ἑρμαῖος ἐποίεσε. It was found in

[1] As seen in red on Nos. 248 and 249; see *J.H.S. ad loc.*

[2] Cp. the vases treated by Six in *Gaz. Arch.* 1888, pp. 193 f., 281 f.

[3] A footbath, which also appears on the Παναίτιος καλός kylix attributed by Hartwig (Pl. XLIV. 3, p. 457) to Euphronios.

Cyprus in the same tomb as a Chachrylion kylix. The eye, which is wanting in our vase, is noted in the Brit. Mus. *Catalogue* (Vol. iii. p. 61) as 'archaic.' By kind permission of the Keeper, Mr. A. H. Smith, it is here reproduced in Fig. 19, *a*, with another r.-f. kylix (Fig. 19, *b*) bearing the same signature. This latter (Klein, *ib.* p. 115) came into the Brit. Mus. in 1896 in a fragmentary condition, without the top part of the κηρυκεῖον of Hermes, the ἐποίεσε of the inscription, and the foot. Yet, when discovered, the vase was apparently perfect. It must be the same as that described as a 'tazza graziosa' in *Bull. dell'. Inst.* 1842, p. 167 and figured as perfect in Lenormant et de Witte, *Élite des. Mon. Cer.* 1858, Vol. iii. Pl. 73. Though the reproduction is there in any case inaccurate, the description in the text (*ib.* pp. 244–245) is detailed and precise [1] and makes it almost inconceivable that the vase when figured was merely restored.

Though our vase is extraordinarily like Fig. 19, *a*, it is not a replica of it, but marks a different stage of the process of carrying the vessel. Our figure is clearly beginning to deposit it, while that of Fig. 19, *a*, as the *Catalogue* says, may be either raising *or* depositing it.

For another pair of vases not replicas, but similar in style and subject, and clearly from one workshop, see Louvre, G 90 and 91 (Pottier, *Album*, Plate 98.)[2]

Figurines.

No. 256: Boeotian παπᾶς, faded and fragmentary, red, white and yellow technique, hgt. ·14 m.

Nos. 257 and 258: heads of similar παπάδες, larger; hgt. of heads ·08 m.; No. 257 elaborate head-dress with discs and front spiral.[3]

No. 259: dove,[4] white except for light purple band across tail; hgt. ·08 m.; length from tail to beak ·10 m.; hollow.

No. 260: dove, head and breast white, wings and back pale purple, band of white across tail, remains of inner markings in thin black lines; hgt. ·085 m.; from tail to beak ·11 m.; hollow.

No. 261: tortoise, length ·07 m.; breadth ·045 m.; hgt. ·04 m.; covered with a powdery white.

No. 262: frog, white; length ·045 m.

No. 263: dog,[5] rabbit tail, long ears lying back along neck, only fragments, all now covered with powdery white.

No. 264: quince (?)[6]; hgt. ·07 m. Brown clay now showing through powdery white. Hollow, with small hole at top.

[1] Walters-Birch, *op. cit.*, i. p. 424, and note 2, has not noticed that this and the Brit. Mus. fragment are the same vase. Branteghem, *Cat.* 28 (=Klein, *Meist.* p. 221, No. 3) is, however, not the same as Boston Museum *Report* No. 52. There are thus four known vases signed by Hermaios, not five.

[2] In his text (iii. 1906, p. 925) Pottier regards these vases as only showing that 'des modèles couraient dans les ateliers et étaient librement interprétés par les décorateurs'; but we are inclined to say of them what he himself (*ib.* p. 661, referred to *ad loc.*) says of Louvre F 387, 388, G 529, 530, that there are cases of pairs of vases made in one workshop, 'et par conséquent aussi semblables que possible,' but that the examples known to us are never identical.

[3] See note on Grave 49, Nos. 426–430.

[4] For dove being offered at grave cp. Brit. Mus. F 19; as domestic pet, *Gaz. Arch.* 1879, Pl. X.; *Él. Cer.* IV. Pl. XXXIII b. Cp. Ashmolean 2. 22, bottom shelf, from Naukratis; Louvre, Salle III. Case J.

[5] Cp. Ashmolean 2. 22, bottom shelf but one, extreme left, and 2. 18, pencilled 'Siana 151'; Louvre, Salle A, Nos. 49, 50, and 51, from Rhodes.

[6] Cp. Bari, Mus. Prov., Case 3, Nos. 2814 and 2815.

No. 265 : *προτομή* in archaic style,[1] hgt. from bottom of chin ·09 m., total hgt. ·16 m. ; flesh white, eyes black, red blotches on cheek, red earrings ; head and neck covered with a yellow veil ; red band over forehead, either border of veil, or separate headband.[2]

No. 266 (Pl. XIII. *f*) : reclining figure. Hgt. ·07 m., length ·14 m. Flesh red, shade light purple to pink.[3] *χιτών* white, bordered with red. In left hand blue rhyton.[4] Feet (boots?) red. Paint rubbed, and doubtful whether red-bordered

FIG. 20.—COOK FIGURINE. (4 : 5.)
(In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

FIG. 21.—GRAVE 18. NO. 267 (2 : 3.)

head-dress is part of *ἱμάτιον*.[5] Red rug over legs, on which right arm rests, seems to be distinct from it.

No. 267 (Pl. VII. B and Fig. 21) : cook. Hgt. ·097 m., length of base ·112 m. In his left hand he holds a hollow grater with rough surface[6] on which he is grating

[1] For protomai of about this date see Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Exploration Archéolog. de Rhodes*. Figs. 36 to 42, pp. 104–6.

[2] Cp. Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Πηλ. Α', Case 97, unnumbered, from Boeotia ; Winter, *Ant. Terr.* i. 192, No. 3.

[3] As also on red parts of dress. If the usual convention is followed (see below No. 267, note) the figure is that of a man as in Böhlau, *Aus ion. Nekr.* Plate XIV. 2 and p. 41, not a woman, as in *Mon. Ant.* xvii. Fig. 220, p. 298.

[4] One may doubt Böhlau's remark (*op. cit.* p. 159) that these figures should make one think 'an den heroisierten Verstorbenen.'

[5] As in *J.H.S.* xiv. Pl. IV. Fig. 1, and p. 193.

[6] Not perforated, though probably meant to represent perforation. In modern kitchen

a white substance, perhaps cheese.[1] What he has already grated lies, not only on the erection in the centre of the bowl, but round it on the bottom of the bowl. Whether this erection is a permanent part of the bowl,[2] a pedestal or pestle placed temporarily there,[3] or a confection over which he grates some garnishing,[4] is not clear. The knife[5] on the rest beside the bowl, has a thin white line ·0015 m. broad, the same colour as the bone handle,[6] following the curve of the blade. As it is on its sharp side, it cannot be a strip of bone backing, as on a modern cook's chopping knife. It probably represents the mark of the substance that it has been used to cut.[7] We may compare the mark of the bloody fingers on the pankration kylix from Berlin,[8] brought to our notice by Mr. J. H. Hopkinson.

The general colour effect of Plates VII. and VIII. illustrates the close connection between these genre figurines and the papádes and kylikes of our Class II.[9] Mr. O. A. Rhousopoulos, who kindly analysed the red colour of the cook and of a typical Boeotian kylix, Class II., reports them both as iron oxide.[10] Colours as bright as ours are seldom seen on figurines as they reach Museums,[11] but they apparently occur on several in the possession of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, one of which, in many points similar to ours, we publish here by the kind permission of Mr. A. Fairbanks, the Director, as Fig. 20.[12] Its dimensions are hgt. ·095 m., length of base ·094 m. The woman has a white χιτών with red border round neck and short sleeves; flesh white,[13] lips red; stool, grater, knife-handle, pestle (by side of bowl), and inside of bowl yellow. Object on which knife rests[14] red. "In the bowl a little yellow pile of grated cheese?"

graters the small raised squares are what one sees, not, till one looks closely, the fact that they are perforated.

[1] *E.g.* Pollux, *Onom.* v. 89 (τυρόκνηστις), and *Il.* xi. 639.

[2] High pedestals for cooking are common, *e.g.* Winter, *Ant. Terr.* iii. p. 34, No. 8, p. 35, No. 37, and standing cook in Boston Museum, Perkins collection 1897; but we know of no example of one standing inside a bowl.

[3] Such a pestle hangs on the side of the bowl of Fig. 20.

[4] Its mushroom-like shape suggests the ναστός of Aristoph. *Plutus*, 1142, which was a great white cake made with yeast (ζυμίτης), that apparently rose and swelled out at the top, so that τὸ πάχος ὑπερέκυπτε τοῦ κανοῦ (Nicostratus *ap.* Athenaeus, III c).

[5] The point of this is the only part of the figurine that is missing.

[6] Which has three round black rivets.

[7] Less probably it might be taken to represent the bright sharp edge of the blade.

[8] Hartwig, *op. cit.* Fig. 12/90, *J.H.S.* xxvi. p. 2, Fig. 8.

[9] See below p. 309. Cp. Winter, *Ant. Terr.* p. xiii. on connections of various types of figurines.

[10] Fe_2O_3.

[11] Mr. A. Rhousopoulos kindly stereochromatized the Cook, much of our Boeotian kylix style, including Plate VIII. A, and many of our figurines. They were all wrapped in paper while still in their graves and not exposed to the light or air till they had been stereochromatized. In discussing a figure which, we may conjecture, had originally bright colours, Heuzey (*Figurines Antiques*, Plate 39, Fig. 1) talks only of *terre grise*.

[12] We have not had the opportunity of seeing them ourselves, but had our attention called to them by Mr. B. H. Hill, Director of the American School at Athens. For figurines not already mentioned with similar subjects, see Louvre, Salle III. Case I.; Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. Saal IX. case I. No 56; Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 2, 12; *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, p. 140, and Taf. XIV. (on which colour seems well preserved), and references *ap.* Pottier, *Rev. Arch.* 1899, p. 11, and Kouroniotes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, pp. 209–215. For model bakeries (and breweries) of wood outside Egyptian graves see Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 64, Fig. 50, etc.

[13] As is that of the papádes, who are clearly feminine, see Plate VII. A and note on Grave 31, Nos. 368, 369. A man cook at Boston (*Museum Report* 1897, p. 32, Fig. 5) with black hair and yellow shirt, has his flesh red, like ours. See above on No. 266. For the history of these conventions see Cecil Smith's interesting remarks in *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 36.

[14] Mr. Fairbanks suggests this is the cheese, but if so 'the yellow pile' cannot be cheese. It is either a loaf, or a knife-rest, like ours; for the latter its shape is odd.

Worked Bone.

No. 268: two fragments of a strip, girth ·025 m.; total length ·09 m.; triple grooves deep cut; possibly part of ornamental rim of wooden box, or comb (?).

Metal.

No. 269: leaden rivets[1] in five fragments of black glaze pottery.

No. 270: fragments of rusty iron, longest ·04 m., probably coffin nails, cp. Figs. 6 and 7.

Inscriptions.

See Fig. 12. On Black Glaze ware with linear ornament, just above purple line that borders bottom of main zone of kantharos.

No. 133 has Τεισίας ἐποίεσε (31), No. 134 Τεισίας ἐπόεσε (32), No. 135 Τεισι . . . . ιεσε (33). A further fragment of No. 135 has since been found with the upper part of alpha, the sixth letter. The closeness of the third, fourth, and fifth letters is an error, due to incomplete mending. They are the same distance from each other as the other letters. The ἐποίεσε and ἐπόεσε accentuate a point already known.[2] For a discussion of date and provenance see below p. 305, and *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

On centre of body of plain black glaze kantharos Γυ (34).

Bones.

Remains of head and arms too much decomposed to remove.

GRAVE 21.

(FIG. 22.)

Pithos burial. Depth to top of pithos, as found broken, 1·40 m., to bottom of it 1·85. Pithos of dark brown clay, lying on its side. Hgt. 1·10 m.; greatest diam. ·82 m.; walls, ·025 m. thick. Inside pithos were a few decayed bones, and the following vases.

No. 1: amphora (Fig. 22), in reddish clay, bands black, hgt. ·53 m., circ. of neck ·36 m., greatest circ. 1·20, walls ·01 m. thick at neck, ·005 in body.

Nos. 2 and 3: round-bodied aryballoi; No. 2, hgt. ·08 m. Front of body, six petals radiating from outermost of three concentric circles. On other side small star. On shoulder daisy pattern; on back of handle horizontal lines. Seven rays like spokes of wheel round mouth, dots round rim. See p. 306.

No. 3: hgt. ·04 m.; Ordinary tetrafoil pattern and concentric bands round mouth.

[1] Cp. *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 15; *Naucratis*, Pt. i. p. 48; question there raised, as to whether vases offered all came straight from the shop, will be discussed later, together with the meaning of our incised inscriptions.

[2] Kretschmer, *Griech. Vaseninschrift.* pp. 52–3, 130.

GRAVE 22.

(PLATE XIII, *b* and *c*; PLATE XIV. and FIG. 23.)

Slightly to the E. of Grave 21, and at a depth of 1·55 m., that is ·15 m. lower than the top of the pithos as found broken, there appeared a group of objects close together in a stratum of burnt earth. The objects were themselves partially burnt, although fortunately the best pieces suffered least. When we had excavated so far, a disagreement with the owners of the land came to a climax, and for the time we

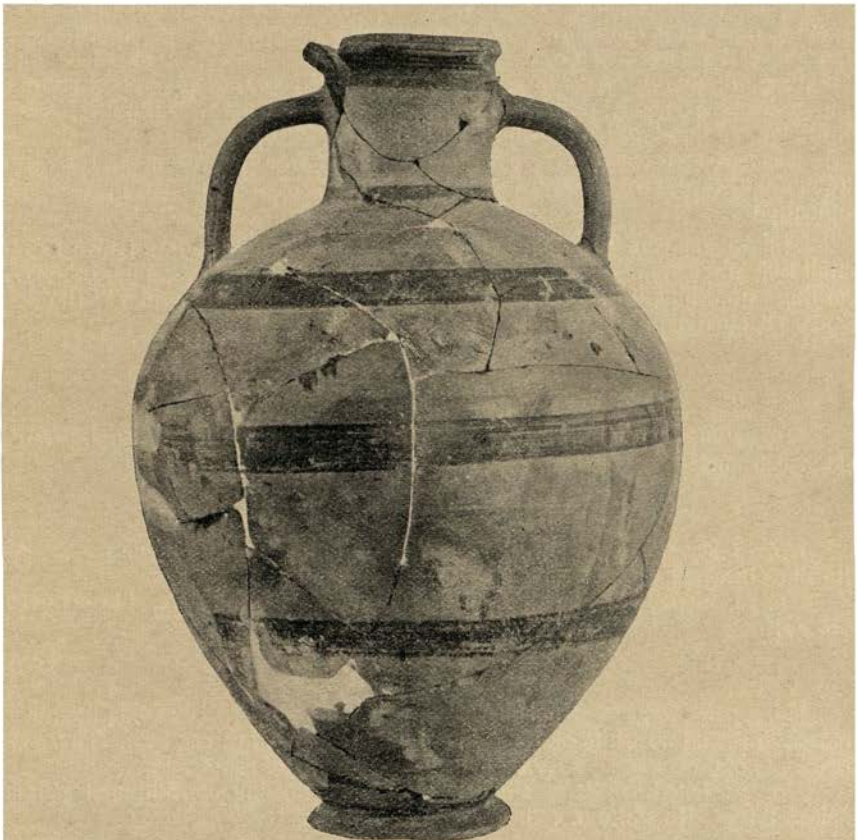


FIG. 22.—GRAVE 21. NO. 1. (1 : 10.)

stopped digging. We had neither dug to its full depth the soft earth east of Grave 21, nor attempted what we supposed would prove to be the other end of the grave, west of Grave 21. On our return a fortnight later we found that illicit digging had both destroyed the pithos of Grave 21, which we had not yet removed, and emptied the ground both east and west of it. On the west of it, however, we

picked up some burnt fragments, which we have classed as Grave 22 (*a*). There is a presumption that this is the other end of Grave 22, but under the circumstances it would be unsafe to draw conclusions from it. Even in regard to Grave 22 itself, it must be remembered that we possess only a part of its contents. It is fair, however, to draw two inferences even with the material at our disposal.

(1) The Grave is later than Grave 18. We can judge this not only from the style of the Amazon vase (No. 21), but from the fact that, even if it were an accident that we dug out the later and not the earlier part of the contents before we were interrupted, the two pieces of Red-figure and two Head Oinochoai represent in any case a greater amount of later ware than is found in Grave 18.

(2) Grave 22 is earlier than Grave 21, the pithos having its top higher and reaching right up to the burnt earth without being itself burnt. The position of the best preserved pieces of Grave 22 showed that the burning took place on the pithos side of them. Even if the interment of Grave 22 only covered about 2 ft. square, which is highly unlikely, the end of the pithos can hardly have failed to show signs of burning if it had been already there. Even if on internal grounds of style it is agreed to place Grave 22 as late as the first quarter of the 5th century, the fact that two aryballoi with floral design were buried still later, need cause no difficulty.[1]

The fragments of Boeotian kylix style Class II. (see p. 309) in Grave 22 are so small that no certain inference can be safely drawn. There would, however, be nothing astonishing if the style, which was still produced in quantities at the date of Grave 18, survived some decades longer.

Boeotian Kylix Style.

No. 1: fifteen small fragments of Class II. (see p. 309) with usual petals and hatched triangles.

Kothons.

No. 2: hgt. ·06 m., diam. ·14 m. Almost complete, with tongue pattern round rim like Grave 18, No. 41.

No. 3: fragmentary, with degenerate ivy-leaf round rim, like Grave 18, No. 42.

Black-figure.

No. 4: one large fragment of skyphos. Runner and two standing figures. No incised lines and no white or red. Ware fine, but drawing careless. Two smaller fragments of same vase. Also skyphos base, perhaps of same vase.

No. 5: lekythos; base and part of body showing conventional palmette; incised lines. No white or red.

Plain Black Glaze ware.

No. 6: bases and handles of kantharoi and kylikes.

[1] See C. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* vi., pp. 371–7; aryballos with floral design inscribed AΣTVOϒIΔAHMI . . . found in same grave in Rhodes as an r.-f. hydria. Cp. also *J.H.S.*, xii. p. 311. For the gradual loss in popularity of aryballoi see below p. 306.

Red-figure.

No. 7 (Pl. XIII. *b*) : kylix, hgt. ·08 m., diam. ·166 m. Drawing careless and sketchy.

Figure with back turned to spectator sitting on a κλίνη, and resting on right arm ; face turned to right, and seen above right shoulder; cap apparently with streamers, as on Amazon of Plate XIV. ; left arm raised.

Reclining or stooping figures, with one or both arms raised, suit the conditions of kylix decoration, and are common in early red-figure ; many of them, too, have

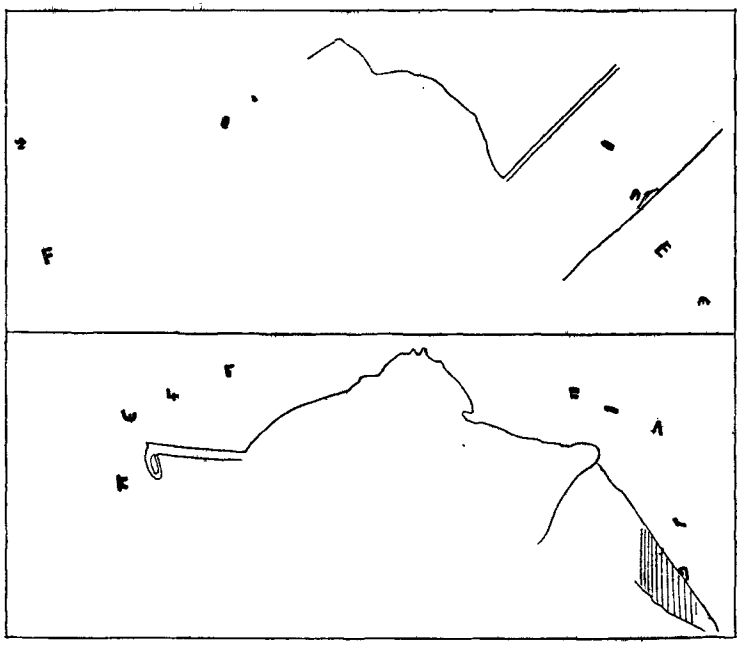


FIG. 23.—GRAVE 22. INSCRIPTION ON NO. 8.

the back turned to the spectator.[1] The nearest parallel to our vase in general style and carelessness of drawing as well as in subject is an unpublished r.-f. kylix in the Louvre.[2] Right arm is resting on κλίνη, but from its position and that of left hip,

[1] *E.g.* Reclining back view (*a*) Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Plate LXVII. 4 and p. 609 (Brit. Mus.) attributed to Duris ; left arm rests on κλίνη, right raised and holds kylix ; (*b*) Louvre G 70 (Pottier, Plate 97), left arm raised with cloak over it, right raised with lituus to mouth; (*c*) Hartwig, p. 452, note 2, No. 3 (= Biblioth. Nat. Paris, No. 852; de Ridder, *Cat.* p. 503) 'askos ou guttus ;' naked Maenad resting on left arm, right raised.

Reclining front view (*d*), Louvre G 30 (Pottier, Plate 90) ; (*e*), *ib.* G 40 (Pottier, Plate 91) ; (*f*) Hartwig, Fig. 18, p. 129 (Munich) attributed to Euphronios.

Stooping or standing back view (*g*) Hartwig, Fig. 2 a, p. 25, signed by Chachrylion ; standing figure (*h*) *ib.* Plate XLVIII. signed by Euphronios ; standing figure (*i*) *ib.* Plate XVIII. 1, (Stuttgart) ; kneeling slinger, attributed to Phintias (*j*) *ib.* Plate XVIII. 2 (Berlin) ; warrior with shield on left arm, also attributed to Phintias. (*k*) Biblioth. Nat. 512 (de Ridder p. 389), warrior ; (*l*) *J.H.S.* xxvii. Plate III. (Wurzburg), δισκοβόλος.

[2] G 97.

the figure is apparently half rising; left arm raised, head turned to left, nose and eye showing, but mouth and chin (as on our Amazon) hidden. M. Pottier, who kindly brought this kylix to our notice, would place our cup along with it in the cycle of Chachrylion, and thus earlier than the Amazon skyphos, though later than the kylix of Grave 18, No. 255.

No. 8: skyphos; hgt. ·095 m., diam. ·12 m. No decorations except two figures illustrated on Pl. XIV. and inscription (Fig. 23). The combination of vertical and horizontal handles[1] seems rare on a vase of so early a style.

A satyr, armed with a spear in the shape of a long *phallus erectus*,[2] attacks an Amazon.[3] His attitude suggests that we have a scene from a satyric play. So also does the scanty clothing of the Amazon, who is apparently only wearing a loin-cloth, and is thus, as Lady Evans has suggested to us, a Maenad playing the Amazon.[4] The fact that the satyr is using the javelin instead of the bow or the club, perhaps makes improbable a parody of Herakles and the Amazons. For a similar satyric scene on early r.-f. see the British Museum kylix[5] signed by Brygos, representing the carrying off by sileni of Hera and Iris. With this, and with another signed vase of Brygos,[6] the Iliupersis, our vase has some connections in point of drawing, but they are both of them more elaborate and ornate. It is, however, extraordinarily similar both in general style, subject, and treatment of detail, to a group of four unsigned vases attributed to Brygos.[7] It is difficult to believe that they are not all five by the same artist. There are also strong resemblances between our vase and the Louvre kylix signed Εὐφρόνιος ἐποίεσεν and—ιμος ἔγραφσεν and the Castellani kylix attributed by Hartwig, on grounds of style, to the same painter, whose name he completes as Onesimos.[8] Dr. Zahn, to whom we sent photographs of our skyphos, writes that he is especially struck with its resemblance to this latter vase. This further connection between the style of Brygos and that of 'Onesimos,' as Zahn adds, is interesting in view of the theory advanced by Pottier[9] that Onesimos stood

[1] For such handles see Gsell, *Fouilles dans le Néc. de Vulci*, Formes des Vases, No. 34, and Paris, Bib. Nat. Nos. 845, 846 (de Ridder, *Cat.* p. 495, and Plate XXIII.) The lower photograph on our Plate XIV., taken before the second handle was identified, happened to be the best available.

[2] The scrotum seems to be the amentum, though in the wrong position for it. See E. N. Gardiner, *J.H.S.* xxvii. p. 251.

[3] For the pelta as used by Amazons see the Chachrylion kylix in Brit. Mus. 815 (*Wiener Vorlägebl.* D vii. 2) and *ib.* B, 315, E, 40, 220, 247. It is also carried by Satyrs, *e.g.* on the Brussels skyphos already mentioned and in Louvre G 73 and 89 (Pottier, Plates 97 and 98). Also by young warrior in the Chachrylion kylix published by Rayet (p. 175, Fig. 71) and now Louvre, Salle III., No. 47. For position in which it is held cp. Eur. (?) *Rhesus*, 372–3.

[4] There is no doubt, as Lady Evans says, that 'the soft rounded limbs' suggest a woman. They might also, however, be a boy's (*e.g.* centre ephebos on Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Plate LIII.), and the avoidance of any opportunity for distinctive breast-marks may be meant to make the reference to the drama more natural, and suggest that it is a boy acting a woman's part. In describing a figure (with vandyked boots) on a lekythos from Gela, Benndorf (*Gr. u. Sic. Vas.* Plate XXXVI. 3 and p. 100) notices that though the step and shape of body are feminine and give impression of Amazon, the markings of the breast are masculine.

[5] E 65 (=Furtwängler-Reichhold, Plate 47, 2); see the discussion *ib.* pp. 240–3. For other references to Satyric Drama, see P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* xiii. pp. 70–6, J. D. Beazley, *ib.* xxviii. p. 315, Walters-Birch, *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, pp. 159–62, and Dümmler, *Bonner Studien*, p. 89.

[6] Furtwängler-Reichhold, Plate 25. For thin parallel lines of beard on light ground see *ib.* pp. 121–3.

[7] Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Plate XXXII. (Biblioth. Nat., Paris), XXXIII. 1 (Castle Ashby, Northampton), XXXIII. 2 (Biblioth. Nat., Paris), Furtwängler-Reichhold, Plate 49 (Munich).

[8] Hartwig, *op. cit.*, Plates LIII. (=Louvre, G 105) and LIV. Cp. also *ib.* Plate XXXVI. 1, the dancer on the Orvieto Faina kylix, another vase attributed to Brygos.

[9] *Cat. des Vases du Louvre*, Vol. iii. 1906. Pp. 986–1005.

elsewhere in the same position to Brygos, as he did in regard to the Louvre kylix, to Euphronios, and that Brygos is in all cases only the maker and not the painter of the vases he signed.[1]

A vase which agrees with ours in one remarkable detail, though not so close to it in general style as those we have just mentioned, is a skyphos now in Brussels[2] brought to our notice by Mr. J. H. Hopkinson. A naked satyr mounted on a chariot, drawn by two others, brandishes in his left hand as a weapon, what is undoubtedly a long phallus.[3] The leather top-boots with vandyked flaps (*ἐνδρομίδες*?), worn by both figures on our vase, occur also in this Brussels skyphos; they are found too on each one of the group of four vases already mentioned, and the two attributed to Onesimos.[4] Other striking details are common to one or more of them, and to other more or less closely related vases. The back-tilted head that occurs on two of them,[5] can be paralleled in at least three other vases attributed to Brygos,[6] and one signed by him.[7] The panther skin fastened round our satyr's neck is seen on the Brygos group of four[8]; the streamers of the Amazon's cap, showing the same trefoil markings as the panther skin,[9] on the two attributed to Onesimos. One of these has exactly the same cap, with stiff peak or frontlet and top spike.[10]

In discussing the style of this vase we have not taken into consideration the inscription round the figures (Fig. 23). The tendency of letters painted on black glaze, first to run, and then to wear away, has been accentuated in this case by the fact that the vase was exposed to burning. Even the letters that still remain are rubbed and blurred. The three that are apparently clearest are the first letter on the top zone (left), and those at the butt of the satyr's spear and the end of his left hand. But the presence of a digamma would be at least surprising, and if we allow for the loss of a stroke, of which there is no sign, so as to turn it into an E, our

[1] For a criticism of Pottier's general line of argument see F. Hauser in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1907, pp. 693–4, in a review on P. Ducati's *Brigo*, Bologna, 1904. This review of Hauser's, which was brought to our notice by Dr. Zahn, refers also to O. S. Tonk's *Memoir* on Brygos.

[2] Published by Froehner, *Collection du Prince Napoléon*, Pl. V. *Les Musées de France*, Pl. 6 and C. Gaspar, in *Durendal*, Brussels 1901, Pl. III. Its shape is quite unlike that of our vase, and resembles that of our Pl. XI. (*a*) = Grave 31, No. 184.

[3] Cp. the 'Phallus oculatus' that forms the head of each of the thyrsi carried by the Scythians on the Orvieto Faina kylix, attributed by Hartwig, *Meist.* p. 523 to the 'Meister mit dem Kahlkopfe.' Hartwig, p. 434 makes the phallus spear of the Brussels skyphos one of the grounds for ascribing that also to the same master.

[4] And also on the *Λεαγρὸς καλός* fragment in Louvre, G 26 (Pottier, Pl. 90 and Text III. p. 901). See further Hartwig, p. 507.

[5] Hartwig, Pl. XXXII. & XXXIII. 1.

[6] *Id.* Pls. XXXVI. 1. (Orvieto Faina), XXXV. 4*b* (Bibl. Nat. Paris) and p. 372 No. 1 (Leyden).

[7] Furtwängler-Reichhold's Pl. 50 (Würzburg). Also in the Brussels skyphos, and Hartwig Pls. XL. (Branteghem), XLIII. (Brit. Mus.) attributed to the 'Meister mit dem Kahlkopfe' and made by Hartwig another of the points (p. 426) because of which he claims that painter as a 'Nachfolger' of Brygos. See above. It is not convincing to treat the back-tilted head as a mark of style where the situation compels it, *e.g.* on Hartwig, Pl. LX. and p. 543, attributed to Onesimus, Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 25, signed by Brygos, Hartwig, Pl. XLIV, attributed to Euphronios.

[8] Also on Hartwig, Pl. XXXI. (kylix at Baltimore attributed to Hieron).

[9] They clearly belong to a larger animal than the fox. None the less the *αἰγείη κυνέη* of *Od.* xxiv. 231 justifies us in including them under the generic *ἀλωπέκεις*. Lady Evans raises the question whether such caps were always actually of fur, or whether the markings were imitated in other materials.

[10] Hartwig, Pl. LIV. The other has no stiff frontlet. Nor has the otherwise similar cap of Pl. XIV. 1. (Bourguignon), attributed to Euphronios. On the other hand a cap on the Baltimore kylix attributed by Hartwig (Pl. XXII. 2) to Duris has frontlet as well as spike and streamers, but the latter have no trefoil markings.

confidence in the other two letters being kappa and gamma is weakened. The E on the top zone (right) is not so certain in the original as it appears on the tracing.

Any attempt to reconstruct the inscription is made still more dangerous by the fact that it is uncertain how much of the vase is covered. We have therefore rejected more than one conjecture.[1]

Figurine-Vases.

Nos. 9 and 10: head oinochoai.

No. 9 (Plate XIII. *c*): hgt. to top of head ·11 m., total hgt. ·165 m. Hair and ears not modelled, but painted on the flat. Colours lost. Details of eyes painted black. Handles, neck, and mouth of vase black glaze.

No. 10: hgt. to top of head ·09 m.; total hgt. ·152 m. Hair, four rows of raised blotches, superimposed and painted bright red, now partly faded. Ears also modelled and painted red. More modelling than in No. 9 for eyebrows, eyelids, and line of mouth. Black glaze as in No. 9.

As found, the faces on both these vases were a dull white.[2] This may partly be mould, but may be also at least partly the faded remains of red and white paint. We have left them therefore as they are and have not cleaned them, as has been often done in the past,[3] to the natural ferruginous colour of the clay. Bright red hair and ears could scarcely have been combined with the brown of a polished 'red-figure' complexion. It is not improbable[4] that these terracottas, half vases, half figurines, should sometimes have been treated in the one technique and sometimes in the other[5] and the traces of bright colours on the faces of certain extant examples[6] bear out this view.

GRAVE 22 (*a*).

Boeotian Kylix Style.

Two fairly large fragments of Class II. (see p. 309) with straight and wavy lines.

Kothons.

One large fragment. Usual shape. Daisy pattern round mouth. Outside diam. ·14; Hgt. ·06 m.

[1] It is of course possible that the letters, even if complete, would convey no meaning to us, as is the case with many vase inscriptions (*e.g.* Grave 49, No 264). This does not necessarily imply that elaborate inscriptions were ever arbitrary collections of letters used as fill ornament.

[2] The effect is much the same as in any ordinary museum collection of figurines in which the paint has faded. We have tried chemical analysis, but at present without definite result.

[3] *e.g.* Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Γ. Ἀγγ. Nos. 2053, 2077, 12148 (head lekythos); Louvre, Salle H., Nos. 59, 51, 52, 56, 57, 100, 37, and the Epilykos head assigned by Pottier (*Mon. Piot.* IX. pp. 135–178) to Prokles.

[4] See Pottier in *Rev. Arch.* 1900, pp. 183, 192, discussing Furtwängler, *Berlin Cat.* Nos. 1292 ff.

[5] *E.g.* The hair is glazed black in one of the examples in Corneto, Mus. Munic. Stanza VIII. and is the polished 'red-figure' colour of the natural clay in Louvre, Salle H., No. 48.

[6] *E.g.* in Brit. Mus. E 793, a fifth-century rhyton with man and woman's head back to back, and bright red blotches for hair, bright powdery red patches can still be seen on both faces. So on the later cup 'Capua-Castelli' near to it (Third Vase Room, cases 41. 42) and Bologna, Mus. Room X. case I.

Black-figure.

Small lekythos, base and part of body. Badly burnt and design obscure.

Black Glaze with linear decoration.

Base of kantharos and two fragments of skyphos of ware as fine as Grave 18, Teisias group, with purple lines.

Plain Black Glaze ware.

Kantharos handle.

None of these fragments are from the same vase as any fragments from Grave 22.

§ 6.—THE DATING OF GRAVES 49, 50, 51, 31, 26, 18, AND OF THE BOEOTIAN KYLIX STYLE.

The graves fall into two groups; to the earlier (A) belong Graves 49, 50, 51, to the later (B) Graves 31, 26, 18.

Group B can be dated fairly accurately. The red-figure kylix (No. 255, Pl. XIII. *a*),[1] the Cook figurine (No. 267, Pl. VII, B), and the Teisias signatures (Fig. 12, 31 to 33)[2] from Grave 18[3] must all be dated very near the year 500 B.C.[4] Grave 26 can hardly be much earlier. Individual objects from it, such as the προτομή (No. 241 = Pl. XII. *g*) point to about 500 B.C., and still more so does the complete resemblance in style of the Boeotian and black-figure ware in the two graves. Grave 31 may be a little earlier, but the Cavalier figurine (No. 378, Pl. XII. *f*) is almost, if

[1] Dr. Zahn writes to us his opinion that it 'wirklich dem epiktetischen Kreise angehört, M. Pottier that it 'peut être de la fin du sixième siècle,' Herr Hartwig that, so far as he can judge from photographs, his views on the date of the vase entirely agree with ours.

[2] Klein (*Meistersig.*[2] 1887, pp. 212–3) catalogues 2 vases certainly, and 4 probably, signed by Teisias on black glaze ware, plain or with floral design. He remarks that the epigraphy points to the sixth century. Judging from the tracings of four of the signatures in *Rev. Arch.* 1875, pp. 172–4 (Rayet) and *B.C.H.* 1881, pp. 178–9 (Collignon), the writing on our vases is more regular and advanced; but the difference is not greater than is consistent with the normal development of a few decades. For good examples of development in vase painting during one life-time see F. Hauser in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1907, p. 694. That on 3 of the 4 the writing is retrograde proves nothing. See the retrograde inscriptions of a r.-f. kylix of Euphronios (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. XLVIII). Another signature of Teisias (not noticed by Klein, though published by Clerc in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 279) on an intact kantharos from Tanagra, black glaze with purple lines, is apparently quite as regular as ours.

[3] For the date of the still later Graves 22 and 21, and the special reasons for not including them in the present discussion see above, pp. 299 f.

[4] A comparison of its total contents with that of the Marathon Soros (Ath. Nat. Mus. Αἰθ. Α'. case 13, and V. Stais (*Ath. Mitt.* 1893, p. 56) favours if anything a somewhat later date.

not quite, as advanced as the Cook from 18, and cannot be dated very long before the end of the sixth century.

In Group A there are no objects that establish so definite a *terminus post quem*; an interval seems to be required between the groups to allow for the changes of style and disappearance of types that intervened. The Black-figure prevents us of course from thinking of a date very long before 550 B.C. There are other considerations which suggest a date a little after it.

Before going further it may be well to give a brief résumé of the chief differences between Group A and Group B.

(*a*) *Black-figure.*[1] (1) Group A; commonest shape, lekythos;[2] a certain number of kylikes and kantharoi; hardly any skyphoi, no amphorae; all the b.-f. vases from this group belong to early types, many of which are sometimes called Corinthian. (2) Group B; far the commonest shape is the skyphos (more than twice as many skyphoi as lekythoi in Graves 26 and 18): the next commonest is the lekythos: no amphorae except in the latest grave of the series (Grave 18, Nos. 67–70). Another feature peculiar to Grave 18 and the contemporary Grave 46 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2) is the use of a yellow ground, which apparently came into vogue just at this date. The typical vase is a skyphos with Dionysiac scene enclosed by carelessly drawn sphinxes and palmettes. Note that Grave 31 has only the same number of skyphoi and lekythoi: it has the only b.-f. kantharos in this group.

(*b*) *Corinthian.* Reference to the catalogue shows that a number of types found commonly in Group A have disappeared in Group B. The mere numbers are not without significance. Aryballoi are very much less numerous in the graves of Group B, than in those of Group A. Graves 49, 50, 51, have 226, 230, 173 respectively; Grave 31 has 86, Grave 26 only 28, Grave 18 only 17. Perhaps these numbers may be taken as an indication of the chronological order of our graves. Once again, Grave 31 occupies a position intermediary, but much nearer to 26 and 18 than to 49, 50, and 51. It shows also the only survival into this group of a 'daisy' pattern instead of concentric circles round the mouth.[3]

[1] For further details see catalogue.

[2] In view of our material Pottier's statement (Cat. iii. 1906, p. 807) that this shape is 'assez rare' in the sixth century must be modified.

[3] A single example was also found in Grave 21, which must apparently have belonged to the fifth century.

(*c*) Vases of the *Boeotian Kylix Style* can also be divided into two classes (I and II) that correspond, in the main, with the division of the graves into two groups. The differences between them are treated in the next section with the figurines in the same style.

We see that in spite of its late date, Grave 31 occupies a distinctly intermediary position between 49, 50, 51, on the one hand, and 26 and 18 on the other. Assuming that the earlier stages of the transition were equally rapid, the beginning of the second half of the sixth century seems not at all too late a date for Group A. That the transition was already beginning in Graves 49 and 51 is shown, *e.g.* by Grave 49, No. 7, and Grave 51, Nos. 236 and 237.

The Naucratite vase from Grave 50 (No. 276) favours a date after 550 for that grave.[1] The vase, which is to be published in colours in *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2, belongs to a group that Prinz (*op. cit.* p. 93) would date from the middle of the sixth century. It is unlikely that the first specimen of the style to be made was shipped at once for Boeotia, and it is also unlikely that our vase, which is quite one of the finest of the group, was one of the first vases of its kind to be made.[2]

The epigraphical evidence points in the same direction as that of the pottery. In particular neither the 'Ονασίδαό εἰμι inscription from Grave 50 (Fig. 12, No. 5) nor the *Kleinmeister* inscription from Grave 49 (*ib.* No. 3) looks quite so early as 550 B.C. The beautiful Teisias inscriptions have already been referred to as confirming the view that 500 B.C. is the probable date for Grave 18.

The angular delta and the four stroke sigma (Fig. 12, Nos. 8, 15) of Grave 31 may possibly be held to support the evidence of the pottery and figurines, that it is one of the later graves.[3] Only the Sosandri inscription (Grave 26, Fig. 12, No. 27) might be misleading if used as independent evidence. Professor Ernest Gardner, who has kindly looked at copies of our inscriptions, and agrees that our dating seems to fit in with the epigraphic evidence generally, thinks this inscription looks considerably earlier than the date we give the grave, right at the end of

[1] Dr. Kinch writes that this is also his view.

[2] At Naucratis itself *Kleinmeister* kylikes were found along with the 'local Naukratite,' making it probable that at both places the two were contemporary.

[3] Cp., however, E. Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 147, n. 1, on the Dermys and Kitylos inscription; E. S. Roberts, *Epigraphy*, p. 228.

the sixth century. It may of course, as Gardner suggests, have been written a long time before the vase was consigned to the grave. It is, however, quite conceivable that a writer here and there[1] may have preserved at the end of the century the hand he had learnt in or about the fifties.

The Boeotian Kylix Style.

We are now for the first time in a position to compare two large groups of vases of this style, representing the general condition of the fabric, at least in one town in Boeotia, at two different and fairly determined dates. As has already been mentioned the vases fall into two classes.

Class I contains all the vases from the Group A graves (with perhaps one or two exceptions, see pp. 310 f.) and a certain number from Grave 31. The designs are worked out almost exclusively in lines, which vary in colour from brick-red through purple to violet-black, but never have the brilliance of those of Class II (see below). It would appear from some examples that a two-colour effect in red and black is usually intended, and that intermediate hues are the unintentional effect of unskilful firing. The colour (or colours) of the designs is generally well fired and not powdery. The ground colour is not the powdery pure white of Class II, but the same colour as the cream or pale buff of the clay.[2]

Among the favourite types are (*a*) palmettes resting on spirals[3] and with petals thinner and much more numerous than those of the five-petalled Class II. palmettes (see below): cp. Pl. XV. *m* (a survival of the type in Class II. technique); (*b*) the well-known Boeotian bird[4] (Pl. XV. *a*). Both these two generally in a panel or metope arrangement (cp. the b.-f. lekythoi from the Group A graves). (*c*) One or two bands of triangles, variously arranged and filled in in various ways, of which the invariable

[1] See further discussion in *J.H.S.* xxix, pt. 2.

[2] The descriptions of this ground colour in the catalogue are not uniform. The colour varies somewhat on different vases. Some recognised method of describing shades of colour (*e.g.* by reference to some generally accepted book of colour patterns, as suggested to one of the writers by Mr. Thomas May) is one of the most pressing needs of archaeological publication.

[3] On the figurines the palmette shows the same degeneration from an earlier form with more petals and resting on spirals, to a later one with fewer petals and scarcely any stalk or base: cp. Oxford, Ashmolean 2, 18, stemless five-petalled palmettes on a comparatively late *παπᾶς*, with palmette resting on spirals on a more primitive one.

[4] For a fairly near parallel to the Boeotian bird, cp. Pottier, *Louvre*, Pl. 31, D 73 (Italian Geometric).

simple hatching of Class II. is one of the least usual. (See Pl. XV. *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*.)[1]

Class II. contains all the vases from Graves 18 (Nos. 1–14) and 26 (Nos. 1–26) and some of those from Grave 31. Certain features occur commonly in this class, and (with one exception discussed on pp. 310 f.) not at all in Class I. They are (*a*) the use of bright red and yellow in comparatively large fields, as on the Maltese crosses of the παπᾶς, Grave 31, No. 364 (=Pl. VII. A); (*b*) the general use of a powdery white paint on the part of the vase without design. This is especially distinct on many of the vases from Graves 18 and 26. (See Pl. VIII.) (*c*) The use for the decoration of very powdery colours that come off at the least touch.[2] (*d*) Certain designs, especially (1) the typical arrangement of hatched triangles and palmettes (with practically no stalk or base for petals) of Pl. VIII. A; (2) a particular type made up of horizontal bands, some straight, some wavy like Pl. XV. *f* and *o*, and Ath. Nat. Mus. No. 959.[3]

The line of division just drawn between Classes I. and II. applies strictly only to the vases. Figurines corresponding exactly in technique to the Class I. vases have scarcely been found at Rhitsóna, except perhaps in Grave 51 (cp. Louvre, L 137; Ath. Nat. Mus. 3891, 4159[4]; see also p. 311, n. 5.) The powdery red, white, and yellow technique which

[1] For an example of Group A technique in Athens *Nat. Mus.*, see No. 960.

[2] Hogarth and Welsh *J.H.S.* 1901, p. 80 (Kamares), say powdery character of paint is perhaps due to damp. This suggestion does not affect our classification. There must have been some original difference between the ground colours of Class I and Class II vases, to explain the present difference in their condition, after being exposed to the same set of circumstances (see also p. 310, n. 4).

[3] This latest phase of the Boeotian kylix style is not well represented in the big museums. For examples see Ath. Nat. Mus. 959 (quoted above) and 12285; Louvre L, case C, shaped like Böhlau, Fig. 24. The reason is probably to be found in the character of the ware itself. The colours of a typical Class II. vase come off at the least touch. The Boeotian τυμβωρύχοι may have dug up many examples; but all the main features of the decoration would have utterly disappeared long before the vases were offered for sale. As a matter of fact they seem seldom to have been so offered. The τυμβωρύχοι regard black-figure and red-figure ware, especially lekythoi, as the great prizes of their trade. Boeotian kylikes of this latest phase are always found with abundant black-figure and for that reason have not found their way to the dealers in any quantity. They have as a result received little attention. Böhlau's general description of the style, *Jahrb.* 1888, pp. 327–328, seems to exclude them (cp. *ibid.* p. 345, n. 8 'all vases of the style are contemporary'). Holleaux' description (*Mon. Piot.* i. pp. 29, 30) might include our Class II., but it does not differentiate it. Confusion has been caused by describing as white the creamy ground colour of vases like our Class I., *e.g.*: Couve, *B.C.H.*, 1897, p. 447; Pottier, *Catalogue*, p. 239; Wolters, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, p. 219. It is rightly described by Fairbanks, *Boston Museum Report.* 1897, pp. 22–23, No. 4, as cream. Fairbanks' conception of the style does not appear to include our Class II., cp. *ibid.* 1899. p. 58, 'decoration in the usual brown glaze with red used liberally as an accessory.'

[4] Illustrated Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1899, p. 26, Fig. 1.

is employed for vases in Group B only, is employed for figurines in both groups of graves.[1] The only feature in the figurines confined to Group B is the broad genial type of face of Pl. VII. A. The red-on-white *παπάδες* from Group A graves all have long thin faces. This thin type seems not to have been completely driven out by the broader and more genial face, but is found even in Grave 18. On the other hand figurines in the black and brown technique of Grave 49 (Nos. 421–430), though common in Group A graves, have completely disappeared in the graves of Group B.[2] The history of the transition from Class I. to Class II. raises more than one problem. From what has already been said it would appear that the powdery red and white (and yellow) technique was commonly applied to figurines, as early as 550 B.C., but only became common for vases towards the close of the century.[3]

A few vases from Group A graves do indeed probably show the beginnings of its use,[4] but even as late as Grave 31 the Class II. vase style

[1] For exx. in Brit. Mus. see B 30 and the one between B 57 and B 58. Neither, however, gives an idea of the original brilliance of the colours.

[2] In spite of their different effect these have much in common with Class I. vases. A Boeotian oinochoe in the Louvre, A 568, illustrates connection. It has some details in common with black and brown *παπάδες*, others with our Class I. vases, *e.g.* Gr. 49, No. 3. For an isolated example of a Boeotian kylix in brown and black technique see Ath. Nat. Mus., No. 962. Note also Grave 46, No. 32 (to be published *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2), a vase from a Group B grave in same style as black-on-brown *παπάδες*.

[3] This is against Böhlau's assumption (p. 346, n. 9) that the figurines derived their decoration from the vases, and leaves it possible to see in the polychrome element of our figurines a direct result of the contemporary movement in sculpture.

[4] The best probable example of a powdery pure white ground from a Group A grave is Gr. 49, No. 7, Pl. XV. *c*. A qualitative analysis kindly made for us by Mr. Rhoussopoulos gives the same result as that made by him of a vase from Group B. Both consist of Fe, Al, Ca, and SiO_2: Fe being less plentiful in the Grave 49 example, Ca in that from Group B. There is unfortunately nothing in this analysis to prove it impossible that both whites are the result of weathering. For the present therefore, till other tests can be applied, it is perhaps better not to build any conclusions on the vase from Grave 49. We are inclined to think that the white of the vase from 49 is paint: that it was put on after the firing (possibly some time after) to fill in the interstices of the red pattern, that in some parts it has remained, on some it has spread, on some it has completely disappeared. As the vase now is, the white on the outside extends over a sort of segment of a circle. It is preserved on the inside almost exactly where it is preserved on the outside: it looks as though some other vase had rested on the part where the white remains, and to some extent protected it: it is hard to believe that mould or weathering should have formed such regular patterns as the white now takes on part of this vase, even if it were true that the process would take place more readily on the ground surface of the vase than on the pattern. This Grave 49 vase would on our hypothesis be a tentative experiment, in which the colour was applied as an afterthought. In any case no one who has actually seen the large Class II. series of vases can doubt than their powdery white is a real differentia. Chemical or microscopic analysis can only give us more accurate information as to the exact nature of the difference.

had not fully asserted its supremacy. In that grave the purely linear Class II. type with red decoration on powdery white (*e.g.* Pl. XV. *f*, *o*) is indeed common enough; but the most characteristic Class II. type of all (Pl. VIII. A) does not occur. Nos. 4, 5, 6 show it still in formation. From this same grave there are frequent examples of Class I. ware (cp. especially No. 1).

On the general question of the dating of the Boeotian kylix style the Rhitsóna graves have established two points: first, that it flourished at least till the year 500 B.C.; secondly, that it underwent great changes during the last half of the 6th century. It has long been recognized that figurines like Grave 31, Nos. 362 and 364 (Pls. VII. A, XII. *a*) must be dated well down in the 6th century[1]; but the vases and figurines as a whole have not been dated nearly so late. Böhlau, whose article in *Jahrb.* 1888 (pp. 325–364) still remains the chief contribution to the subject, ascribes them to the 7th century.[2] It should be remembered that all previous datings of this style have been based almost entirely on internal evidence. Such information about provenance as was obtainable was scanty and generally misleading.[3]

It is therefore necessary to raise the question whether these vases which have been ascribed to the 7th century are really to be separated from our Class I by an interval of nearly a century. The majority of them do not differ essentially in technique from the best of our Class I vases[4]; Where they do differ it is generally in being more elaborate and of finer workmanship.[5] This is seen for instance by comparing the various ornate patterns on the stems of Böhlau's vases with the monotonous horizontal bands on the stems of our Plate XV. The colour effect of the black and red (or purple) linear decoration on the more carefully prepared cream

[1] Jamot, *B.C.H.* 1890, pp. 206 and 211; Winter, *Die antiken Terrakotten* (1903), p. xiii; cp. also Böhlau, *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 342, on Fig. 28; Holleaux, *Mon. Piot.* I. p. 29 (certains Pappades paraissent sensiblement plus modernes que le plus grand nombre des vases).

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 361; cp. Wolters p. 218; Holleaux, p. 33, end of note 3 to p. 32 (d'où cette conclusion vraisemblable, que la fabrication de ces vases de transition (the name given to our style by Böhlau) prit fin vers le temps où la céramique corinthienne commença d'être introduite en grande quantité dans la Béotie).

[3] As the writers already referred to have frequently complained: see Böhlau, *loc. cit.* pp. 326, n. 3, and 327; Holleaux, p. 32: see also above, p. 227, n. 1.

[4] Cp. Böhlau's general description of the style, p. 327, decoration in 'schwarz-braunen oder schmutzig violetrötlichen Farbe' on a thin 'weisslich bis gelblichen Überzug' and other refs. on p. 309, n. 3.

[5] Figurines corresponding to these elaborate vases are not uncommon, *e.g.* Louvre L 134, 137, 138; Brit. Mus. A 563; Oxford Mus. 2, 18.

ground that we see repeatedly in examples at Athens, Paris, London, Oxford, and elsewhere, is much more brilliant and striking than anything to be seen on even the best of our Class I. vases. Among the kylikes published by Böhlau several varieties of shape are represented in comparatively large numbers. Rhitsóna has, so far, produced only four kylikes[1] that deviate from the normal high stem and four handles. The Boeotian birds that are the most striking type in the style, as hitherto known, are found only on four of our vases out of a total of 143.[2] They occur on 25 out of the 55 cups recorded by Böhlau.

The differences between the Rhitsóna ware and this superior ware that mostly comes from Thebes or Tanagra may be due either to the time or the locality of their production.[3] If the local explanation is right, the accepted date for the Thebes-Tanagra ware must be brought lower down. If, on the other hand, the Thebes-Tanagra ware is earlier than ours, we must abandon the common assumption that all vases of this style are contemporary.[4] The local explanation is not without arguments in its favour: better and more elaborate ware might be expected from rich centres like Thebes and Tanagra than from the comparatively poor one that we are excavating. In spite of the sameness of the stems, the designs on the bodies show great variety, and this variety might be taken as a sign of a young and vigorous style. Contrast the lack of variety in the Proto-Corinthian skyphoi, the kothons, and the aryballoi from these same graves. From the date of Group A to that of Group B would indeed allow the style an exceedingly short life, but it is not necessary to assume that all our Class I vases are to be dated as late as 540 B.C. Without assuming that heirlooms were treasured for use at burials, some of our Class I vases may well be dated back into the first half of the sixth century. A few examples that recall our Class II. do occur among the Thebes-Tanagra vases[5] and an explanation as to why parallels to our Class I should be so much more numerous has already been offered.

The local argument must not, however, be pressed too closely. It is

[1] Grs. 50, No. 3; 51, No. 27; 31, No. 16 (Pl. XV. *b*); 40, No. 6 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2).

[2] Ninety-eight published here, forty-five in *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2.

[3] It must not be forgotten that the Thebes-Tanagra vases are probably picked specimens out of a very large number of graves.

[4] Böhlau, p. 345, n. 8; Wolters, **Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.** 1892, p. 240.

[5] See exx. quoted p. 309, n. 3 (found since Böhlau's article, but before those of Wolters and Holleaux). These have been ascribed unchallenged to the same date in the 7th century as the rest.

possible that while some of the Thebes-Tanagra vases are contemporary with our Class I, and some with our Class II., others again are earlier than either class. The sameness of the stems may after all be an indication that the style was just beginning to get stereotyped and that it had already passed at least beyond its earliest experimentalizing period.[1]

No chronological arrangement of the Thebes-Tanagra ware can be attempted here, but if an attempt were made to parallel it all at Rhitsóna, there would be a considerable residue (vases with two handles; footless vases; vertical wavy lines on foot; oblong holes in foot; details of colouring, etc.) that would remain unparalleled. It is reasonable to suppose that this residue is older than any of our Rhitsóna ware.[2] Some sort of combination of the two explanations just suggested, the local and the chronological, may ultimately be established as the true one.[3]

Exactly how to date this earliest Thebes-Tanagra ware is another matter involving the whole question of the origin of the style. Hitherto it has always been regarded as leading up from a late local pure Geometric style[4] to a purely Orientalizing one,[5] which latter (so it seems to have been assumed) was never fully evolved owing to the intrusion of Corinthian. This is indeed the natural explanation considering the obvious Geometric basis of the style, which has been so well analysed by Böhlau; and such external evidence as was obtainable from Thebes or Tanagra seemed previously to support it. It should, however, be remembered how

[1] That monotony meant decay in the Boeotian kylix style, as elsewhere, is shown by Graves 18, Nos. 1–14, and 46, Nos. 1–31 (*J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2).

[2] The very large number of black-on-brown figurines (like Grave 49, Nos. 421–430) in Schimatari museum favours this view at least for Tanagra. The black-on-brown figurines are also commoner than the red and white in the Nat. Mus. at Athens. It should of course be remembered that they are very strong, the others very fragile.

[3] Holleaux' observation (*Mon. Piot.* i. p. 33, n. 4) that at the Ptoön he has found Boeotian kylikes fragments in the same stratum as Proto-Corinthian and one kind of Corinthian and, above it, a stratum containing another kind of Corinthian, may well be found to harmonize with this last suggestion. Unfortunately the Ptoön excavations have not yet been published, and we know neither the extent of the finds, the details of the stratification, nor the exact character of the Boeotian kylikes, the Corinthian, and the Proto-Corinthian referred to in the *Mon. Piot.* See also *ibid.* p. 35, n. 1.

[4] It might prove interesting to institute a comparison between the Geometric predecessor of our kylix style and the prehistoric Boeotian ware excavated by Soteriades (*Ath. Mitt.*, 30, p. 113). The most striking point of resemblance is the occurrence (Class II., Chaeronea) of hatched triangles in bright red on a white slip; cp. also, p. 136, Fig. 7, the same ware from Elataea. His Class V from Elataea (a development of Class II) has the horizontal wavy lines which Böhlau regards as the chief feature of his conjectured 8th (?) cent. Geometric.

[5] The Boeotian kylix style represents 'l'évolution finale vers le système corintho-ionien.' Pottier, *Cat.* p. 241, giving a résumé of Böhlau: Holleaux p. 33 quoted p. 311, n. 2.

inadequate, and probably misleading that evidence was: hearsay evidence from τυμβωρύχοι as to Dipylon or Proto-Corinthian vases being sometimes found in the same grave with Boeotian kylikes is worthless.[1] At Rhitsóna Boeotian kylikes have never been found apart from late Corinthian. Good early Corinthian has so far been found only in two graves (13 and 14), good early Proto-Corinthian[2] only in two others (6 and 74). None of these last four graves contained a trace of Boeotian kylix ware. It would be rash to draw too positive conclusions from these observations, but they do certainly suggest that the Orientalizing elements in the Boeotian kylix style were not Mycenaean survivals,[3] or the beginning of eastern influence in Boeotia, but were taken over from some fully developed Orientalizing style or styles. It is not impossible that Corinthian vases played a leading part in the formation of our style. The possibility has been explicitly denied by both Böhlau and Holleaux. The first and only writer so far who has derived the style from Ionian and Corinthian is Wolters.[4] In order, however, to make his acute observations fit in with the misleading second-hand external evidence that he had mainly to rely on, he was led to derive the style, not from Corinthian pottery, but from early Corinthian bronzes.

Yet there is in reality no need to assume that the Boeotian kylix style was not developed *after* Corinthian pottery had secured an entry into Boeotia; it was very possibly the brilliant colour effects of the Corinthian pottery that first inspired Boeotian potters to develop the kylix style, perhaps as a development of the late unpretentious local Geometric survival postulated by Böhlau (pp. 345–6). Details which are naturally taken to indicate Corinthian influence, so soon as evidence has taught us to look for it, are to be observed on many Boeotian kylikes. If these details have generally undergone some change in process of adoption, it is only what we should expect from the strongly individual character of the

[1] Τυμβωρύχοι have little exact knowledge as to the names of archaic styles. They naturally wish if possible both to conceal the real provenance of a vase and to invent a false one that will enhance its value. Any τυμβωρύχος who had opened in a single campaign Grave 13 (to be published in *J.H.S.* xxx.) and a Boeotian kylix grave (*e.g.* Grave 18, see map) would most probably have brought to the market the whole contents of Grave 13, and a limited selection of vases from the other grave.

[2] The little skyphos survivals are of course not included in this statement. Cp. Dümmler, *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 19; Kinch, *Explor. de Rhodes*, p. 113; Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* I (Megara-Hyblaea) pp. 781–2 and references there.

[3] As suggested by Böhlau, p. 353, and Holleaux, p. 30.

[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, p. 219.

Boeotian kylix style.[1] Vases like that published by Böhlau (p. 341, Fig. 24) and figurines like Jamot, *B.C.H.* 1890, p. 215, Fig. 5 and Pl. XIV., and Ath. Nat. Mus. 4010 (from Tanagra, in earlier style) have what is practically the floral ornament that occurs on hundreds of Rhitsóna aryballoi (cp. Böhlau, *ad loc.* p. 341, No. 70). It is, however, on the earliest vases of the style that we should expect to find Corinthian influence most marked, if our hypothesis is correct. Those of the Thebes-Tanagra kylikes, which on either of our hypotheses we should be inclined to consider oldest, are distinguished by the brilliant effect of their purple and black decoration on a firm cream ground. This colour effect is distinctly Corinthian.[2] A favourite ornament, not met with at Rhitsóna, is a kind of rosette with a big round purple centre, and petals in white not much bigger than dots.[3] The same colours and ornament with a bigger centre and smaller white dots bring us to the familiar round shield of the aryballos warrior.[4] The clay box (Kästchen) from Thebes (Böhlau, pp. 357–8) has Geometric and Proto-Corinthian features that would date it early in the style, and along with these a floral ornament on a bent stalk as on the bombylios with grazing stags from our Grave 13 (to be published *J.H.S.* xxx.).[5]

[1] This is perhaps the answer to Böhlau, p. 360, 'Korinth kommt seines ganz verschiedenen Dekorationsstiles wegen nicht in Betracht.' Holleaux' contention (p. 34), that our ware cannot have been influenced by Corinthian, because it has no incisions and no fill-ornament, is invalid: incisions are almost impossible in our soft fabric, and fill-ornament requires vacant spaces, which a glance at Pl. XV. shows at once were not available. The persistence of Geometric motives and conventions, which Holleaux regards as a 'manifest sign of antiquity,' is not necessarily one for the Boeotian kylix style, but only for the local pure Geometric style from which Böhlau derives it. A local Geometric style survived in Cyprus till the 5th century, J. A. R. Monro, *J.H.S.* xii. p. 329.

[2] *E.g.* Louvre, CA 50 (=Böhlau, 6) and CA 49 (=Böhlau, 7); Brit. Mus., A 562 (=Böhlau, 8) and A 563 (=Böhlau, 16); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, V 502; Ath. Nat. Mus. 3549 (=Böhlau, 53).

[3] *E.g.* Böhlau, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 15 (=Fig. 4, three on each of the bands dividing the panels), 16, 53; cp. Louvre A 571 with Corinthian aryballos E 606; Brit. Mus. A 562 and 563 with *ibid.* B 36 and 37 (Corinthian).

[4] Cp. also Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Case 2, 18 (Boeotian horse and rider, black-on-brown with bands of dots on horse's flank), *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 210, Fig. 2 (similar band on early παπᾶς), and perhaps *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 338, Fig. 13, with the zones of dots on early aryballoi (*e.g.* Louvre E 32, *Cat.* Pl. 39, and our Grave 14).

[5] Remembering both the combination of Proto-Corinthian and oriental features on Böhlau's 'Kästchen,' the numerous late survivals we have found at Rhitsóna, and our general uncertainty as to the relationship of Proto-Corinthian to Corinthian, we need not give a pre-Corinthian date either to Böhlau, Fig. 32, p. 353 or to any Boeotian kylikes that show Proto-Corinthian details, even if in the latter case they cannot be derived from late skyphoi, such as were found in all the

It must be admitted that Corinthian influence will not account for the two chief elements of Boeotian kylix design, the flying bird and the palmette. The provenance of the bird is problematic. If Wolters (p. 218) is right in saying it is still pure Geometric, it does not touch upon our question: late Geometric survivals must be assumed in any case.[1] If, with Böhlau, we derive it from Chalcis, there is no need to follow him still further and assume the loan was made before Corinthian influence had asserted itself in Boeotia, at a period when we have no evidence that the Chalcidian bird had yet come into existence. The palmette may, as Wolters maintains (p. 239), be derived from Corinthian bronzes. He derives the lotus from the same source. It is equally possible that both ornaments had become practically common property in Greece when the Boeotian kylix style first developed. Corinth certainly did not exercise an exclusive external influence on Boeotian pottery at that time. Boeotia probably had close relations either with Chalcis or Eretria, and perhaps also with Athens.[2] Our Naucratite vase need not have been the first example of an Ionian fabric to reach Boeotia.[3]

No view about the Boeotian kylix style can be accepted, even provisionally, that does not take into account certain vases, showing Dipylon or Proto-Corinthian elements, whose Boeotian features were first noticed by Böhlau (*Jahrb.* 1888, pp. 351–354 and Figs. 29–32. Cp. Wolters, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, πίν. 10, Fig. 1 a; Wide, *Jahrb.* 1899, Figs. 32–40 and pp. 72–84). Böhlau makes his vases contemporary with the kylikes; Wolters (p. 240) follows Böhlau, and includes his own two vases.

This view of Böhlau and Wolters cannot now be accepted as it stands. We have seen (*supra* p. 312) that whether we date the Thebes-Tanagra kylikes in the second half of the sixth century, or considerably earlier, it is in any case probable that the style underwent a chronological development. It is necessary therefore, if we are to accept Böhlau and Wolters in even a modified form, not only to trace this development (a task that remains to

six big graves here published. It follows also that Böhlau's comparison of *Ann.* 1877, Tav. CD 5 for the Boeotian kylix shape is equally inconclusive for a pre-Corinthian origin.

[1] Cp. p. 315, n. 1 and *Thera* II. 316, No. 67, quoted by Furtwängler, *Aegina* p. 475, aryballoi found with Geometric vases in probably seventh century grave.

[2] Both the palmette and the lotus of Boeotian kylikes may have their prototypes in Phaleron ware, see, *e.g.* Ath. Nat. Mus. 206 (palmette) and 859 (lotus).

[3] For possible Rhodian influence (suggested by Holleaux, p. 33, n. 1) cp. zones of a kind of daisy pattern on Louvre A 326 (Rhodian Amphora) with A 571 (footless Boeotian kylix).

be done), but also to determine the phase, or phases, in it with which the Wide vases are contemporary.

It should be remembered that they are miscellaneous in character, in spite of the common features that Böhlau noticed with such acumen. It is not at all certain that they all belong to the same period themselves. Still it is quite conceivable, in the light of the surprising survivals into the 6th century that we have found at Rhitsóna,[1] that all these vases with Dipylon or Proto-Corinthian elements are as late as the second half of the 7th century. With our suggested post-Corinthian dating for the kylikes, however, we might even so regard them as early experiments by Boeotian potters, before they settled down to make kylikes and figurines.[2] This is the position assigned to them by Holleaux:[3]

Wide on the other hand makes no mention of the kylikes. He would apparently make of the vases he publishes a separate Geometric style—a local variety of the Dipylon.[4] Yet his Nos. 6 and 9 (= Figs. 37 and 40) are scarcely to be separated from Böhlau, Fig. 30 and Wolters, Plate X. Fig. 1 *a*. Several of his vases have small but perhaps significant details in common with Class 1 Rhitsóna kylikes.[5] Some of them show oriental influence (*e.g.* Fig. 37), and must be put at the very end of the Geometric period. Finally, it must not be forgotten how very few of these vases there are.[6] If these few are spread over any considerable period, the natural inference is that Boeotian pottery was manufactured in a small way during that period, and had hardly got beyond the stage of isolated experiments. Even this last inference is based on the assumption that so few vases of this class are known because few were made, and that their

[1] *E.g.* the black-on-brown figurines like Grave 49, Nos. 421–430 may actually be a survival of Dipylon technique: so Martha, *B.C.H.* xvii. Cp., however, Holleaux, *Mon. Piot.* i. p. 29, n. 5.

[2] With the few exceptions mentioned, p. 227, n. 1.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 35, n. 2. Holleaux has been convinced that the Boeotian kylix style is distinctly later than Geometric by his excavations at the Ptoön (p. 35. n. 1), which he has unfortunately not yet published (see above, p. 313, n. 3, and Pottier, *Louvre Cat.* vol. i. pp. 238–242).

[4] Collignon and Couve are unquestionably wrong in dating vases of this series *later* than the kylikes (Pl. XIX. and text *ad loc.*).

[5] *E.g.* the wavy white line on a broad dark straight band (Wide, Fig. 37 and our Pl. XV. *d*); the band of horizontal chevrons (Wide, Fig. 32) and (once more) our Pl. XV. *d*, which is perhaps our earliest type from Rhitsóna. Wide's Fig. 37 has perhaps closer affinities with Proto-Corinthian than with any specific Geometric style. The nearest parallel to Wolters' flying bird, *loc. cit.* πίν. X. 1a, is found in our Pl. VIII. B. This latter parallel needs no emphasizing, since Wolters himself classes his vase with Boeotian kylikes.

[6] Wide publishes nine, Wolters only one, Böhlau four (to which he quotes one or two parallels).

scarcity is not the accidental result of hap-hazard grave hunting. The whole series needs to be carefully collated and reconsidered in connection with the new kylix material; but to do so is beyond the scope of this article.[1]

R. M. BURROWS.
P. N. URE.

[1] Böhlau's Nos. 56–72 have not been considered here. Böhlau seems perfectly right in making at least most of them contemporary with his kylikes. Several parallels to them have already been found at Rhitsóna in Boeotian kylix graves that are being held over for subsequent publication.

SOUTH-EASTERN ELEMENTS IN THE PRE-HISTORIC CIVILIZATION OF SERVIA.[1]

THE geographical position of Servia lends great importance to its pre-historic finds, because on their correct interpretation and understanding depends the solution of many pre-historic problems.[2] I hope that this paper may, at any rate, prepare the way for such a solution; its subject is the south-eastern element in the pre-historic civilization of Servia, so far as this has been established by investigation. The task has been greatly facilitated by the excavations carried out at Vinča in 1908.

THE SETTLEMENTS.

Geographical position. Character and ground-plan of dwellings.

So far only those settlements have been explored, which from their geographical position fall into two main groups, a division which is also based on the remains found therein: the first and earliest group comprises Vinča, Carsija, Mali Drum and Jablanica, all of which, with the exception of Vinča, lie in the above order, along the railway from Belgrade to Nis. The second, later group, includes fourteen Servian sites, all of which lie, like Vinča, on the right bank of the Danube and stretch to Radujevac, the most north-easterly point on the frontier of Servia. To this group also belongs Vidbol on the Danube, below Widin in Bulgaria.

The sites of Group I. are situated, for the most part, on mountain

[1] Owing to Dr. Vassits' absence from Belgrade the English translation of this paper has not been revised by him.—*Ed.*

[2] Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 1908, pp. 248 *sq.*

spurs, which, generally speaking, have a southerly trend, and therein resemble many of the Transylvanian sites and Troy.[1] The sites of Group II., on the other hand, are closely linked to the valley of the Danube.

Bothroi (Wohngruben) are found only at places belonging to Group I.; their ground plan varies, but it is never rectangular. At Vinča above the lowest *Bothros* stratum, we find broad flat floors, more or less rectangular, with supports in the interior for the roof-beams; but nevertheless, the dwellings were never built of anything but wattle plastered with clay.

This change in the form of the ground-plan took place gradually at Vinča, as other remains prove, and was merely the result of elements introduced from the south-east, where the buildings shew the same phenomena. In Servia, as we shall presently see, it took place later than the corresponding change in the south-east.

IMPLEMENTS.

Obsidian knives. Stag-horn harpoons and fish-hooks.

Stone implements have so far been found at all the sites; at Vinča they appear in the lowest as well as in the uppermost strata of the deposit. I shall not, however, discuss them now, but shall confine myself to mentioning a few typical specimens.

Flint knives are found in all the strata at Vinča, but the earliest example of *obsidian* knives is contemporary with the change in the shape of the ground plan. If we cannot yet prove that the obsidian objects found at Vinča came direct from the south-east, still—even if the stone in the rough is of Hungarian origin—all the evidence at our disposal goes to prove that, at all events, the knowledge of this substance and the habit of using it were introduced from the south-east.[2]

At Vinča harpoons[3] made of stag-horn are contemporary with obsidian knives. In a north-westerly direction things of this kind are

[1] *Prilozi ka rešavanju trojanskih problema* (=*Beiträge zur Lösung der Trojaprobleme*), LXX. *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije Nauka*, p. 166; and D. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 253, note 2.

[2] Wace, Peet, Thompson, 'The Connection of the Aegean Civilization with Central Europe,' *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 236, note 2.

[3] *Starinar, N.S.* i. p. 95, Fig. 6; *Memnon*, i. p. 178, Fig. 6.

not found until we reach Switzerland,[1] whilst to the south-east they appear as near as Bulgaria.[2]

Fish-hooks of stag-horn are contemporary with the harpoons at Vinča and like them must be considered as substitutes for the metal hooks and harpoons of the south-east, because the hooks are of a shape invented for metal and copied here, as elsewhere, in the less costly material.

To some such conclusion we are driven by the date of the strata referred to at Vinča which certainly belong to the Bronze Age, and therefore these stag-horn harpoons and hooks are not characteristic of the Stone but of the Bronze Age. The appearance of obsidian in the same strata at Vinča is further evidence in favour of the view advanced.[3]

THE PLASTIC ARTS.

Materials. Male and female statuettes; various types of statuette. Rendering of costume. Figurine from Kličevac; south-eastern analogies. Bone statuettes; kourotrophoi and bicephalous figures.

The pre-historic collection in the National Museum at Belgrade contains, at present, about one thousand statuettes from different sites. With the exception of one bird's head (serpentine asbestos) from Jablanica,[4] and the hind-quarters of a quadruped (white limestone) from Vinča, all the figures found in Servia are manufactured of clay.

FIG. 1.—TWO VIEWS OF MALE FIGURE.

Nearly all these clay figurines represent a *female figure.* Last year one, and only one, male statuette (Fig. 1) was found, the sex of which is clearly proved by the emphatic rendering of the genital organs. It was found at Vinča at a depth of six metres. Possibly the peculiar shape[5] of the head is due to some kind of head-covering, rather like a helmet (?).

[1] *Starinar, N.S.* i. p. 97; *Memnon,* Bd. i. p. 178.

[2] As I am informed by M. Anastos D. Čilingirov.

[3] See the important statement by R. C. Bosanquet in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos,* pp. 232 and 233.

[4] Miloje M. Vassits, *Die neolithische Station Jablanica,* 1902, p. 24, Fig. 61.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 4, Fig. 4.

The long, straight, modelled eyes are also noteworthy. One might perhaps be justified in tracing this male figure back to the statuette from Petsofà,[1] as the Thessalian examples[2] are certainly doubtful. It deserves attention just because it is exceptional.

The remaining (female) clay figures may be divided into types, based on their technique and attitude; from the technical point of view they fall into two classes, (A) solid and (B) hollow figures; (A) is typical of the sites of Group I., (B) of those of Group II.; both classes have their prototypes in the south-east, and appear there in the same chronological order.

The solid female statuettes from the first, *i.e.* the older group of sites, are without exception steatopygous, and may be divided according to their attitude into two classes, (*a*) standing and (*b*) seated figures. Class (*b*) is further subdivided into figures seated (b^1) on a throne and (b^2) without a throne.

The standing type (*a*) is the more common, and is found wherever such figures are found at all; as regards the seated type (*b*) the case is far otherwise. Of its two subdivisions b^2 is inferior in quality and in numbers, but as the specimens of this class are always provided with a vertically pierced hole, it is not improbable that they were worn suspended from the person as amulets.

From sites to the north-west we have at present only one foot of a seated figure from Lengyel,[3] and a rough statuette from Pizzughi near Parento in Istria,[4] both, however, of much later date than our earlier specimens of the type. On the other hand, towards the south-east, countless specimens of it exist, in Bulgaria,[5] Troy,[6] and lastly in Thessaly.[7] The Cycladic and Cretan[8] figures of the same kind are well known.[9]

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. Pl. X.; cf. also besides examples from Knossos the vase from Hagia Triada, Burrows, *op. cit.* Pl. I. A.

[2] Tsountas, Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου, 1908, p. 280.

[3] M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bild. Kunst*, p. 522.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 521, Taf. XV. Figs. 20–22.

[5] *B.C.H.* xxx. (1906), pp. 390 *sq.*

[6] H. Schmidt, *H. Schliemann's Sammlung trojanische Altertümer*, No. 7642.

[7] Cf. Tsountas, *op. cit.*, Taf. XXXIII. 6 and 4α–β. The latter specimen is wrongly described by Tsountas as '*φανταστικόν τι ὄν*.'

[8] *E.g.* from Petsofà, *B.S.A.* ix. Pls. XI. and XIII.

[9] For both types also J. L. Myres, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxx. (1900), pp. 251 *sq.*

In class *b*[1] we always find the figure and the throne made in one;[1] whereas in the south-east separately made figures are found, intended to be placed on a separately made seat. I am not therefore inclined to agree with D. Mackenzie that those crouching south-eastern statuettes are 'hideous, half-squatting varieties.'[2] I think that the statuette from Sparta,[3] for example, was placed on a similar throne, like, for instance, the one from Phylakopi,[4] although no thrones have been found at Sparta, and no crouching figures at Phylakopi. In this respect the connection of our specimens with south-eastern prototypes is more than clear, and, as will be seen, is noteworthy for another reason.

FIG. 2. — STATUETTE OF EARLIEST TYPE.

A further classification of the solid clay statuettes may be based on the shapes of the head and the face, and by its help the three following types may be distinguished: (1) the earliest, (2) the developed, and (3) the decadent.

The earliest type (1) has a flat triangular face, with a wart-like nose and eyes represented by square incisions; no other details of the head are indicated (Fig. 2). The developed type (2) shews the following details in the face: nose, eyes either incised or added, and painted[5] or incised[6] designs which reproduce tattooed or painted patterns. At the back of the head is either a horizontal knob with a vertical hole in it[7] or else an incised pattern (Fig. 3). The two variations explain each other and serve the same purpose: the holes represent hair just as they do on the heads of the ivory statuettes from Knossos;[8] the incised lines also represent hair.[9]

FIG. 3.—BACK OF HEAD OF STATUETTE OF DEVELOPED TYPE.

[1] Cf. the examples given in LXX. *Glas*, pp. 175 *sq.* Figs. 14 *sq.*

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 227. [3] *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. p. 52, Fig. 1.

[4] *Phylakopi*, p. 206, Fig. 181. [5] *Starinar, N.S.* iii. (1908), p. 72, Fig. 1.

[6] LXX. *Glas*, pp. 173 *sq.* Figs. 10 *sq.* [7] *E.g. Jablanica*, p. 12, Figs. 23 *sq.* etc.

[8] *B.S.A.* viii. p. 72, Figs. 37, 38; *ibid.* ix. p. 279, Fig. 1; Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 302, Fig. 226; p. 214, Pl. XXIII. 6; *Starinar, N.S.* iii. p. 74.

[9] *E.g.* Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. XXIII. 3 (painted).

The decadent type (3) is characterized by a 'bird' head and monstrous nose; it often has incised eyes and holes representing locks of hair (Fig. 4). Considerations based on the lie of the strata prove that this is an instance of a decadent type,[1] a phenomenon noted also in the south-east. The mouth is indicated only in figurines of the 'Kličevac Idol' type;[2] never in others.

FIG. 4.—STATUETTE OF DECADENT TYPE.

In type (1) neither personal ornaments nor dress are indicated; they occur very rarely, and then only in a fragmentary form in type (3). In the developed type (2) on the other hand, we find that not only personal ornaments (chiefly necklaces[3] and shoulder clasps[4]) but clothing are indicated.

The dress of the standing figures of the earlier (solid) class is represented as two loin-cloths, quite square in cut, hanging down from the belt;[5] sometimes this loin-cloth is drawn sheath-like round the hips,[6] and sometimes it is represented as a piece of stuff folded round the body with the ends hanging down in front;[7] it is often secured to the belt by buttons, rendered by lentoid knobs moulded on the figurine.[8] The upper part of the body seems to be nude.

On some figurines traces are to be seen of incised parallel lines, running, generally, in a horizontal direction round the shins below the knees; these lines are best explained as representing footwear; it is well known that such footwear are represented on the south-eastern prototypes.[9]

Long garments enveloping the whole of the lower part of the body are worn only by figures of 'Kličevac Idol' type, and only the ornaments

[1] LXX. *Glas*, pp. 178, 194.
[2] *Rev. Arch.* 1908, p. 205, Fig. 1.
[3] *Jablanica*, pp. 9 *sq.* Figs. 19 *sq.*
[4] *Jablanica*, p. 15, Fig. 31; p. 18, Figs. 46 ff.
[5] *Jablanica*, p. 20, Fig. 52-3, 55-56.
[6] *Starinar*, *N.S.* iii. p. 76, Fig. 5.
[7] *Jablanica*, p. 19, Fig. 50; LXX. *Glas*, Fig. 15.
[8] *Starinar*, *N.S.* i. p. 102, Fig. 9; *ibid. N.S.* iii, p. 77, Fig. 6. Cf. also J. L. Myres, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 366.
[9] *Starinar*, *N.S.* iii. p. 78.

of the dress are indicated, not the dress itself, probably because it was thought to be sufficiently rendered by the shape of the body. On the 'Kličevac Idol' the loin-cloth which hangs down in front from the belt is indicated in the same way, and the upper as well as the lower part of the body appears to be clothed; it is impossible, however, to determine accurately the fashion of the garment, for both the ornamentation on it, and the personal ornaments of the idol are indicated and cannot be distinguished from each other.

The details enumerated are neither peculiar to our clay figures nor found exclusively in them, but a search for analogous types leads us not to the north-west but to the south-east, and it is there that we must seek for the prototypes of these figurines.

The earliest type of head and face may, on the strength of these analogous south-eastern types, be described as 'Cycladic' or 'Aegean,' using the terms in the sense in which J. L. Myres uses them;[1] adopting the classification of Aegean statuettes made by Lagrange,[2] this earlier type (1) cannot be compared with any but the Cycladic figurines, that is to say, with those of the Early Minoan III. period (E. M. III.).[3] However, to judge from the rest of the finds, they are of later date, for, at Vinča this type (1) is found, as stratigraphic considerations prove, almost exclusively in the lowest *Bothros* stratum, and this position determines its relative age.

The more developed type (2) is characterized by several strongly marked features, most of which are found in the Petsofà figures[4] which belong to an earlier stage in the Minoan period,[5] or to adopt the terminology of other archaeologists, at the beginning of the Middle Minoan period (M. M. I.).[6] The faces of the Cycladic marble statuettes of more developed type also shew tattooed or painted patterns.[7] It is very characteristic of the Servian sites belonging to Group I. that this type of statuette (2) occurs in the lower strata at Vinča *with* type (1) and does not attain to undisputed sway until the middle strata of the deposit there. This, of course, serves to date it relatively.

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. p. 366.
[2] *La Crète ancienne*, 1908, pp. 77 ff.
[3] Lagrange, *op. cit.* p. 78.
[4] *B.S.A.* ix. pp. 360 ff. Pls. VIII.–XIII.
[5] *B.S.A.* ix. p. 361.
[6] D. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 233, 245; R. M. Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 53.
[7] Cf. head from Amorgos, *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. p. 46; head from Seriphos, J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, 1908, p. 597, Fig. 230, 1.

The decadent type (3) is of less importance, as it might be derived from both the already existing types (1) and (2); it is, however, important to note that at Vinča it is a marked feature of the upper and the uppermost strata.

The 'Kličevac Idol' is no longer an isolated phenomenon in Servia; similar statuettes have been found in almost all the sites of Group II.[1] Wide,[2] A. J. Evans,[3] and I myself[4] have all successively compared this 'idol' with Cretan statuettes of like type; the examples found at Knossos[5] all belong to the last period of the Second Palace.[6] Nevertheless, in spite of all our efforts, the origin and development of the type in Servia have not yet been clearly established; whereby many misconceptions have arisen, and unfortunately still exist. There is, however, a good deal of information available which may throw light on the question.

All the pottery from the sites in Group II. is copied from the metal vessels of the same period[7]; this pottery, as will be seen, has many points of resemblance with the pottery of Troy VI., so that this stage of civilization in Servia may be equally well described as 'Mycenaean' or as 'post-Mycenaean.' It is, however, at the very earliest, certainly not earlier than the end of Troy VI., and exhibits many features which are also found in Troy VII. The Kličevac 'Idol' does not depend, as H. M. Hoernes maintains[8] 'for its shape and ornamentation entirely upon neolithic tradition and neolithic style;' but, as is proved of the pottery of the same period, has on the contrary many peculiar features which can only have existed in a corresponding metal type: the cylindrical shape of the lower limbs, the flat solid torso, and the head are all fashioned in the style and technique of the models; the ornamentation is copied from the engraved and impressed designs with which they are decorated. Lastly, the rich metal *parure* and the fully draped lower limbs testify to the accuracy of the date suggested above for this 'Idol.' Consequently we are constrained to assign the statuettes of this 'Idol' type to a later period than their Cretan prototypes: that development in Crete proceeded on the same lines as in Servia, is proved by the pottery of the corresponding

[1] *Rev. Arch.* 1908, i. pp. 205 *sq.*
[2] *Ath. Mitt.* xxvi. p. 252, n. 5.
[3] *B.S.A.* viii. p. 98, n. 1.
[4] *Starinar, N.S.* i. pp. 28 *sq.*
[5] *B.S.A.* vii. p. 99, Fig. 56.
[6] Lagrange, *op. cit.* p. 71.
[7] *Starinar, N.S.* ii. pp. 22 *sq.*
[8] 'Die neolithische Keramik in Oesterreich,' *Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission*, iii. (1905), p. 29.

period, which also shews the influence of metal technique.[1] From this an exceedingly important inference can be drawn, viz. that in Servia there exists a definite deposit which has the same main characteristics as the corresponding but older deposit in the south-east. Not less important is another fact, that particular characteristic phenomena succeed each other in those districts in the same sequence as in Servia.

FIG. 5.—BONE STATUETTE.

How these metal figures travelled to Servia may be, to a certain extent, inferred from the finding of the well-known bronze statuette at Troy[2]; for reasons easily understood they have not come down to us, but as we can reconstruct them from the clay copies their existence can no longer be doubted. For this reason I fail to understand how Messrs. Wace, Peet, and Thompson[3] can classify the Kličevac 'Idol' as 'neolithic' and compare it with the other much earlier figurines from other localities; in so doing they simply leave out of account the earlier Servian statuettes.

Before we conclude this survey of the clay statuettes a few more important instances may be cited. First to be mentioned is a fragmentary statuette of bone (Fig. 5) which, as specimens from Bulgaria,[4] Troy,[5] and Thessaly[6] shew, finds its closest parallel in south-eastern districts. No bone statuettes seem to have been, as yet, discovered to the north-west of Servia. This figure was found at Vinča at a depth of 5·3 metres Fig. 6 reproduces a new type of statuette: a female figure seated on a throne, evidently intended to represent a mother hushing her child (*kourotrophos* type), the nearest parallel to which is a figure from Thessaly[7] with which Tsountas has already on other grounds compared it.[8] A further parallel is provided by a figure from Mycenae.[9] Our specimen was found at Vinča at a depth of 4·5 metres.

[1] Burrows, *op. cit.* pp. 60 and 90.

[2] Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vi. Figs. 349, 350. Also D. Mackenzie, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 242.

[3] *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 237.

[4] *B.C.H.* xxx. (1906), p. 415, Fig. 57; a large number of these bone figurines were found at Sultan-Selo in Bulgaria and will be published shortly.

[5] H. Schmidt, *Katalog*, p. 280, No. 7598 *sq.*

[6] Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 306, Fig. 230 *δ*.

[7] Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 290, Pl. XXXI. No. 2.

[8] *Op. cit.* pp. 378 *sq.*

[9] Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.* vi. p. 745, Fig. 338.

Lastly we have the bicephalous clay figures[1] for which again parallels are provided from the south-east.[2] The specimen here figured (Fig. 7) was found at Vinča at a depth of 4 metres.

These details concerning Servian clay figurines and their south-

FIG. 6.—STATUETTE OF KOUROTROPHOS.

FIG. 7.—BICEPHALOUS STATUETTE.

eastern parallels clearly prove that there is not only a general resemblance between the two methods of working in clay, but that their most striking peculiarities find their closest and sometimes, their only models in the south-east, not in the north-west.

RITUAL OBJECTS.

Meaning of the statuettes; figures seated on a throne represent a divinity; pedestals for idols. Standing figures also represent a divinity, but the majority are ἀναθήματα. Labrys; pedestals for the labrys. Libation table.

The affinity shewn to exist between Servian and south-eastern clay statuettes does not, so far, furnish us with an answer to the question why this affinity exists and what gave rise to it. I believe that the most satisfactory answer is to be found in the theory that the Servian figures, which outwardly resemble the south-eastern types, are derived from them; and further, that their meaning is the same as that expressed by the much

[1] *Starinar, N.S.* i. p. 100, Fig. 20; *Memnon*, vol. i. p. 180, Fig. 19.

[2] For examples from Cyprus cf. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, p. 182, Figs. 35, 36.

less ambiguous figures from that region. In another paper [1] I have tried to shew that the seated figures represent a female divinity, such as is often met with in south-eastern types, where the divinity *sits* and the worshipper *stands* in front of her.[2] These statuettes are also objects of worship—idols—and, as such, they are, for purposes of worship, placed upon pedestals made for them, as is proved by a specimen from Vinča,[3] where the figure on its throne is made in one with the base.

In the south-eastern regions similar bases are found, often in the form of stepped pedestals, on which not only aniconic objects of worship [4] but statuettes [5] were placed; and, moreover, in the Palace of Knossos there are both aniconic objects and statuettes placed upon a 'raised base' before which the ritual was performed.[6] There is therefore no real reason for doubting that the objects found with the Servian statuettes have their origin in these south-eastern types, and that they are to be explained in the same way.

These same south-eastern affinities serve to explain the standing figures: they are, like the models of cattle in the main, *ἀναθήματα*, using the word in its widest sense; at the same time it cannot be denied that a certain proportion, though a much smaller one, of these figures are to be explained as representations of a divinity.

An amulet shaped like a *labrys* was found in one urn,[7] and justifies the statement that the worship of the divinity whose symbol it is, was known to the early dwellers at Vinča. For this reason I explain as an imitation of the *labrys* a particular form of pendant made of marble and limestone,[8] and found at Vinča and at one site (Korbovo) from Group II. It is remarkable that objects which can be best explained as pedestals for the *labrys* and which exactly correspond to the 'stepped plinth for Double Axe' of Palaikastro,[9] have also come to light at Vinča.[10] Here we have a repetition of the statuette bases, a consideration which should strengthen the explanation offered.

[1] *Starinar, N. S.* iii. (1908), pp. 71–120. (*Prähistorische Kultobjecte, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der prähistorischen Religion in Serbien.*)

[2] *J.H.S.* xxi. pp. 108, 163, 175, 190, Figs. 4, 45, 51, 64; and *B.S.A.* vii. p. 18, Fig. 7*a*.

[3] *Starinar, N.S.* iii. p. 87, Fig. 8; cp. also Fig. 9.

[4] *J.H.S.* xxi, pp. 101, 103, 142, 158, Figs. 1, 2, 25, 36; also Figs. 37, 38; *ibid.* xxi. pp. 181 *sq.* § 26, especially p. 185.

[5] H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, p. 168, Fig. 114.

[6] *B.S.A.* viii. p. 96, Fig. 55. [7] *Starinar, N.S.* iii. p. 98, Fig. 10.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 99, Fig. 11. [9] *B.S.A.* ix. p. 326, Fig. 26, 2. [10] *Ibid.* p. 102, Fig. 13.

One object found at Vinča[1] is to be explained as a 'libation-table, and is like those found not only in Bulgaria but at Knossos.[2] From Vinča we also have a fragment of marble,[3] which certainly formed part of a 'libation-table,' and we can now explain as such 'tables' a number of three- or four-legged objects which have hitherto been described as 'small altars.'

The above is a brief summary of the paper referred to ; the conclusions arrived at are calculated to explain many points which have not hitherto been understood. Only a few main points are here touched on, but if the conclusions drawn are accepted, it follows that the former pre-historic inhabitants of Servia drew their inspiration not only from the material, but from the spiritual side of south-eastern civilization. This inspiration, as is natural, is most clearly reflected in the religious practices of the early inhabitants of Servia as known from the ritual objects which have come down to us. The statuettes are ritual objects: the points of agreement between them and the south-eastern figures are simply the result of similar religious rites practised in both places; religious conservatism maintained them in the same shape and form throughout the duration of the civilization borrowed from the south-east. Finally, with regard to the question whether the movements of one race can account for the spread of the Aegean civilization in a north-westerly direction, I am convinced that the details given justify an answer in the affirmative, quite as much as one in the negative.

THE POTTERY.

Globular and bowl-shaped vases. Vases on stands; anthropomorphic vases; vases a doppio cono. Methods of ornamentation: impressed ornament; black highly polished patterns and greyish-white slip; red slip; red matt-paint; bichrome matt-paint. Incised patterns on vases from Group II. Designs: square spiral, true spiral, maeander, naturalistic elements; decoration in relief. Pictographic signs.

The method of preparing the clay depends on the shape and size of the vase: for the larger and simpler vases, it is coarse; for the smaller and better ones it is more carefully kneaded. The firing varies; the colour of the

[1] *Starinar, N.S.* iii. p. 105, Fig. 14. [2] *B.S.A.* ix. p. 6, Fig. 2 ('Terracotta Stand').
[3] *Starinar, N.S.* iii. p. 107, Fig. 15.

surface ranges from deep black and grey of many shades to brick-red; shades of chestnut-brown are not rare. In the deeper strata the surface of the vases is almost always hand-polished without traces of glaze; in the upper strata there are vases the surface of which is coated with fine clay thinned with water.

Among the typical shapes the following may be mentioned. Leaving out vases with a low hollow foot which are found in the lowest *Bothros* stratum and appear even at Troy I.[1], we may mention the globular vases fixed on a high hollow foot,[2] found both at Carsija[3] and at Vinča[4]; with this shape the bowl with a solid foot (Fig. 8) is closely connected. Our bowl

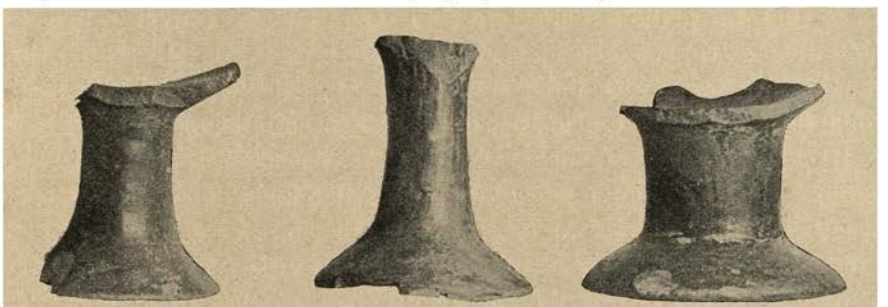


FIG. 8.—TYPES OF FOOT OF BOWLS.

is a variation of the well-known shape,[5] and is found in Bulgaria[6] in the same form as in Servia. It appears typically in the lower half of the Vinča deposit, and is specially common in the deepest parts of the *Bothros* stratum.

Of much greater importance is the presence at Vinča in the deepest parts of the *Bothros* stratum, of anthropomorphic vases of both kinds, *i.e.* with the face on the lid (*a*),[7] and (*b*) on the neck.[8] Similar faces on the vase lid are found at Tordos,[9] and I agree with Dr. Hubert Schmidt that

[1] H. Schmidt, *Katalog*, p. 3, Nos. 97–104.

[2] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 655, Figs. 30–34.

[3] LXX. *Glas*, p. 262, Fig. 59.

[4] *Starinar, N.S.* i. p. 119, Fig. 36; *Memnon*, i. p. 185, Fig. 35; my previous explanation of this shape was incorrect.

[5] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, pp. 654 *sq.* Figs. 26 *sq.*; *B.S.A.* x. p. 23, and J. Déchelette, *Rev. Arch.* 1908, ii. pp. 250 *sq.*; Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 222, Taf. X.

[6] At Topra-Asar, *Periodicesko Spisakie*, 1908, Sophia, p. 380, Fig. 20.

[7] *Starinar, N.S.* i. p. 113, Figs. 26 *sq.*; *Memnon*, i. p. 183, Figs. 25 *sq.*

[8] *Starinar, N.S.* i. p. 117, Fig. 34; *Memnon*, i. p. 184, Fig. 33.

[9] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 455, Fig. 35.

the Tordos specimens cannot be the original models of the Trojan vases;[1] I maintain the exact contrary, and the more so because, as Mr. An. D. Čilingirov kindly informs me, similar anthropomorphic vases are found (as was to be expected) in Bulgaria.

The vase *a doppio cono* is typical of the sites of Group II. So far it has been found at almost all the sites in the Danube valley [2] and in Bulgaria,[3] and has also been discovered in Thessaly.[4] The Thessalian specimen is in many respects remarkable, especially so, if compared with the same vase shape in Italy. As far as this shape is concerned we cannot establish any north-westerly connection between the Danube valley and Italy, nor should we perhaps expect to find one. At any rate it would be interesting to connect the appearance of this vase in Italy with other signs[5] which point to a link between the Aegean shores and Italy: this would furnish an easy explanation of the presence of this form of vase both in Italy and in the Danube valley. The Thessalian specimen is also of importance in dating a part of the Thessalian finds, and all the more so because this form of vase in Italy, in Bulgaria and in the Danube valley is one of the characteristic features of the Early Iron Age in the localities mentioned.[6] This fact is the more important because there are other indications that the date suggested by Tsountas for the Thessalian finds is unduly early and based on insufficient grounds. Mr. A. J. B. Wace is quite right in saying[7] that 'the chronology of pre-historic Thessaly needs careful revision in this direction.'

In addition to the usual incised ornament, there are two other methods of decoration which are of great importance to the question under discussion: the first is decoration by impression (Fig. 9),[8] the earliest examples of which appear in the lowest Neolithic stratum at Knossos;[9] it is also found on Neolithic ware from Phaestos and Orchomenos, and lastly on the oldest Thessalian pottery[10] as well as that of the Metal Age.[11] Bulgaria also furnishes specimens of it,

[1] *Ibid. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 456.
[2] *Starinar*, *N.S.* i. pp. 124 *sq.*; *Memnon*, i. p. 186 = *Starinar*, *N.S.* ii. p. 19, Fig. 29.
[3] Seure and Degrand, *B.C.H.* 1906, p. 432, Fig. 72. [4] Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 275, Fig. 200.
[5] G. Karo, 'Die "tyrsenische" Stele von Lemnos,' *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. (1908) pp. 65 *sq.* and especially p. 74.
[6] *Starinar*, *N.S.* i. p. 125; *Memnon*, i. p. 186.
[7] *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii. (1908), p. 290. [8] LXX. *Glas*, pp. 211 *sq.*, Figs. 38 *sq.*
[9] D. Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 160; H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 653.
[10] Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 161. [11] *Ibid.* pp. 240 *sq.*, p. 372.

and we are therefore justified in speaking of an unbroken series of sites through which, in the course of time, this method of decoration was transmitted from Crete to Servia. The relative position of the Servian and the south-eastern sites is clearly indicated by the fact that in the latter, only very flat grooves and flutings, generally arranged horizontally, are employed in this technique, while in Servia there are quite distinct patterns even on the earliest specimens of it; spirals are used in the middle strata at Vinča.[1] In deciding its place of origin it is important to remember that, so far, it has only been found in a few Hungarian sites,[2]

FIG. 9.—VASE SHERDS WITH IMPRESSED DESIGNS.

while all the districts in a south-easterly direction have yielded it. It is typical of the earlier Servian sites and is met with at Vinča in every stratum of the deposit.

The other style of decoration is quite as typical of Group I.: here highly polished black designs are applied to the surface of the vase on the greyish-white slip (Fig. 10).[3] According to information kindly supplied by Dr. H. Schmidt the same technique appears on vases found at Besika-

[1] LXX. *Glas*, p. 219, Fig. 42. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 222 *sq.*
[3] LXX. *Glas*, pp. 244 *sq.* Figs. 52 *sq.*

Tepeh at Troy.[1] Tsountas has proved its existence in Thessaly[2] in deposits of the Bronze Age[3] which correspond to those at Besika-Tepeh, and we find it again in Bulgaria.[4] At Vinča it occurs throughout all strata of the deposit, and is also a feature of the finds from all the other sites in Group I. Its existence further north-west than Servia has not yet been proved.[5]

With the footed bowls described, there is closely connected the use of a red slip, which is always used on the foot and in two different ways: (*a*) the red slip is hand-polished, (*b*) it is laid on with a kind of brush, the

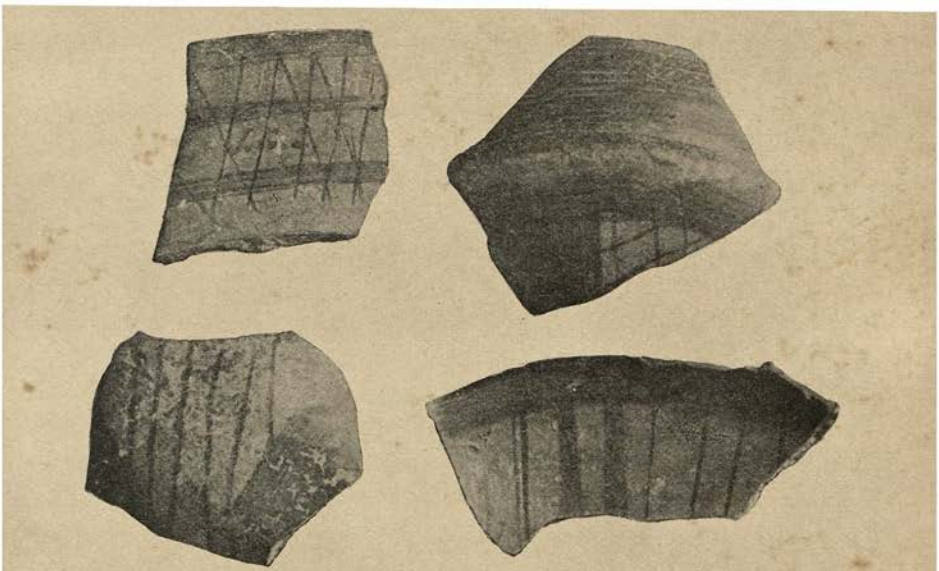


FIG. 10.—VASE SHERDS WITH PAINTED DESIGNS.

brush marks shewing plainly. It is abundantly clear that in (*b*) we have before us monochrome painting in red, while (*a*) is paralleled (as Dr. H. Schmidt kindly informs me) by both vases from Troy I.[6] In many cases the red hand-polished surface is like that of the footed bowls from Thessaly,[7] so that we are justified in concluding that not only the shape, but the method of decorating it, was borrowed from the south-east.

It is significant and certainly not without importance, that when the

[1] W. Dörpfeld. *Troja und Ilion*, p. 546. [2] *Op. cit.* pp. 239 *sq.*, p. 370.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 242. [4] *Starinar*, *N.S.* i., Dodatak, p. 8, Fig. 3; also pp. 19 *sq.*
[5] LXX. *Glas*, pp. 239 *sq.* [6] H. Schmidt, *Katalog*, Nos. 162, 163.
[7] Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. X.

footed bowls with red slip come to an end at Vinča, red matt-painting makes its appearance, and so far as can be judged from the reproductions, is like the same technique in Thessaly.[1] The patterns are just the same as those noted in Bulgaria, where we find the same kind of vase—a bowl with a perpendicular rim. This red matt-paint technique is of secondary importance and certainly of somewhat later date in the sites of Group I. It appears regularly on those vases which, at an earlier date, were decorated with impressed ornament or with shiny black polished designs. At Vinča sherds so decorated are found at a depth of from ·7–4·6 m. below the surface.

Bichrome matt-painting is, so far, represented in Servia by only one specimen shewing matt red-brown decoration on a matt yellowish slip

FIG. 11.—THREE-LEGGED 'ALTAR' SHEWING BICHROME MATT-PAINTING.

(Fig. 11.). The closest parallel to this technique is found in Thessaly,[2] and the shape of our specimen, though it does not necessarily imply direct connection between Thessaly and Vinča, is of significance in tracing the origin of the technique; it is a three-legged 'altar' with moulded ox-heads above each leg, and was found at Vinča in the stratum 5·6 m. deep, which lies immediately above the lowest *Bothros* stratum.

Incised ornament is common to both groups of sites. In the earliest strata at Vinča the designs are never filled in with white,[3] as is always the

[1] *Ibid.* Pl. XII. [2] Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 177 *sq.* Pl. VII. Nos. 2, 3.
[3] Cp. also LXX. *Glas*, Fig. 50.

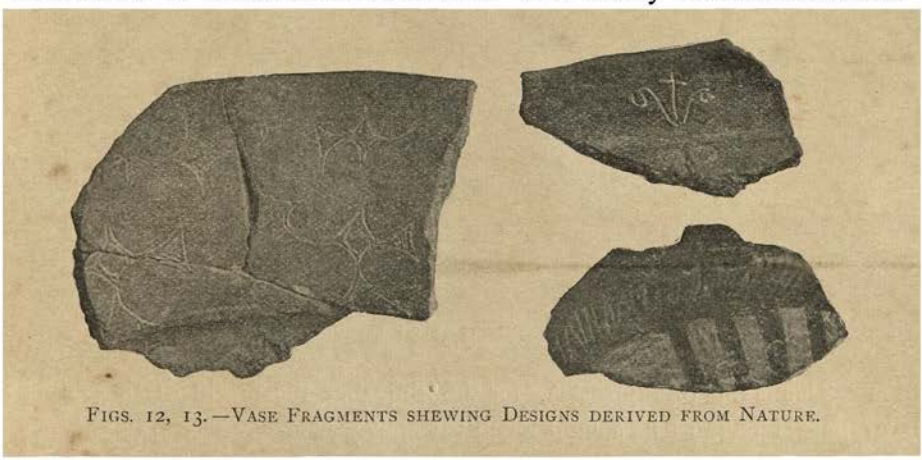
case in the middle and upper strata, both there and in the sites of Group II. At the latter the white filling causes a change in the character of the incised technique, which can then be called 'Furchenstich' or 'Stichkanal' technique.[1] To describe it, as has been done, as 'Neolithic' is quite inadmissible;[2] its appearance among the finds from Group II. is in complete accordance with the main characteristics of the pottery from there, which, as has been shewn,[3] is derived from metal originals.

In shape, style of ornamentation, and even design the vases from the second group of sites resemble some of the finds from the Macedonian tumuli[4] and from Thessaly.[5] It is another of the reasons on which I base my opinion that the date assumed for the Macedonian and Thessalian finds is too early.

The decoration from the earlier group of sites is always of the usual geometric type; specially deserving of notice are the so-called 'angular' spiral and the real spiral. Careful observation of the successive layers of the deposit proves that both kinds of spiral first appear at Vinča on the line of demarcation between the lowest or *Bothros* stratum and the middle strata, and are very common in the latter. This is not the result of chance, because at Troy the oldest spiral first appears in the third period of the II.–V. deposits[6] and is thought to be connected with the island civilization. The same thing occurs in Thessaly, where the spiral, according to Tsountas, does not appear until 'the second Neolithic Period.'[7] His theory that it was brought to Thessaly by immigrants from the north[8] is contradicted, as will be seen, by the date of our finds. At Knossos the spiral is not found earlier than Middle Minoan I. (M. M. I.).[9] These parallels from Knossos, Thessaly, and Vinča disprove the theory of Hoernes that the presence of the spiral at Butmir proves that this deposit is earlier than the Neolithic stratum at Knossos.[10] The exact contrary is true. The maeander is as typical of the later sites as is the spiral of the earlier group. The true maeander is a constant feature in

[1] *Starinar, N.S.* ii. pp. 29 *sq.*
[2] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 448; cp. *Starinar, N.S.* ii. p. 30.
[3] *Starinar, N.S.* ii. pp. 22 *sq.*
[4] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, pp. 91 *sq.*
[5] Tsountas, *op. cit.* pp. 255 *sq.*
[6] H. Schmidt in W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 279 *sq.*
[7] *Op. cit.* p. 218. [8] *Op. cit.* pp. 398 *sq.* [9] Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 51.
[10] M. Hoernes, 'Die neolithische Keramik Oesterreichs.' *Jahrbuch der k.k. Zentral-Kommission*, iii. (1905) p. 12, n. 1.

the later sites;[1] the spiral still appears, but plays a subordinate part, as it does, for instance, in the finds from the Macedonian tumuli[2] and the corresponding finds in Thessaly. Still more characteristic of the later sites are the designs derived from nature, among which we have a bird on the inside of a vase rim from Vinča (Fig. 12) and a flower (lily?) reduced to its simplest elements from Vajuga[3] (Fig. 13). These recent finds support my explanation of the design on the urn from Kličevac,[4] to which (in a later paper) I ascribed a definite religious meaning,[5] owing to its south-eastern affinities. To this I can only add that these designs are based on the metal vases which, like the Kličevac statuette type, come from nearer or farther to the south-east. This theory receives additional



FIGS. 12, 13.—VASE FRAGMENTS SHEWING DESIGNS DERIVED FROM NATURE.

support from two other vase fragments from Vinča decorated with a human figure in relief (Fig. 14 *a*, *b*); the nearest parallel to *a* is from Tordos.[6] These sherds with decoration in relief representing human beings betray the influence of metal originals; and, as is proved by the Vaphio cups,[7] metal cups so decorated do really exist in the further south-east.

Lastly, mention must be made of the so-called 'pictographic signs' or marks,[8] which are found in all the strata at Vinča and are typical of the

[1] *Rev. Arch.* 1902, i. pp. 185 *sq.* Figs. 16 and 17.

[2] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, p. 106.

[3] *Starinar*, *N.S.* i. pp. 10 *sq.*, Figs. 5, 6; cf. M. Hoernes, *Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission*, iv. (1906), p. 78.

[4] *Rev. Arch.* 1902, i. p. 174, No. 6; p. 179, Figs. 8, 9.

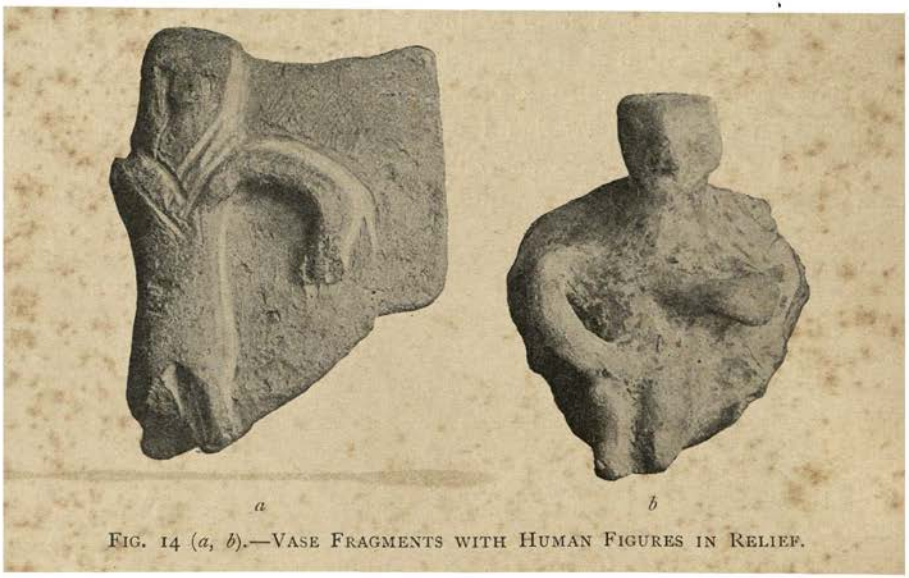
[5] *Starinar*, *N.S.* i. p. 28.

[6] M. Hoernes, *Die neolithische Keramik Oesterreichs*, *op. cit.* p. 23, Figs. 56, 57.

[7] Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 33.

[8] LXX. *Glas*, p. 274, Fig. 64.

sites of Group I.[1]; they have not, so far, been met with in the later sites (Group II.), and are unknown at any site in the neighbouring districts except Tordos, but when compared with marks from the south-east shew in type and shape the same character as all the other details of civilization borrowed from there.



a *b*

FIG. 14 (*a*, *b*).—VASE FRAGMENTS WITH HUMAN FIGURES IN RELIEF.

This is one of my reasons for thinking that the origin of these pictographic signs must be sought for in the south-east.

DATE OF THE SERVIAN SITES.

Character of the deposit at Vinča: its unbroken sequence. The chronological relation of the two groups to each other and to Vinča. The Bothros-stratum of Vinča the earliest deposit in Servia. Finds and traces of metal in the Vinča deposits; their relation to Troy and relative duration.

Last year's excavations at Vinča furnished valuable material for dating the Servian sites, because they shewed that there are several levels in the deposit which is, in some places, 9·5 m. thick. At no single level throughout the whole deposit does a sterile stratum appear, and we are therefore justified in stating that the site was continuously occupied throughout the

[1] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, pp. 457 *sq.*; Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 149.

period necessary for the formation of this thick deposit. The varied nature of the minor finds confirms this view, for firstly, every instance of increased civilization which comes to light only enriches the stratum in which it appears, without interrupting it; and secondly, a great many such instances appear in all the levels, thus affording additional support to the view expressed.

The finds from Group II. are not only relatively, but positively, later in date than those of Group I. Their chronological relationship is demonstrated by a consideration of the lie of the strata at Vinča, which is as follows: for about 2·5 m. below the surface, objects typical of Group II. are found, above and with, those belonging to Group I. Below this limit of two-and-a-half metres, only objects typical of Group I. appear, and as such, go down to a depth of about six metres below the surface. The level at this depth forms at the same time the uppermost layer of the lowest or *Bothros* stratum of Vinča. Emphasis must, however, be laid on the point that the line of demarcation is nowhere sharply defined, because here and there isolated finds overlap boundary lines which are based on a general view of the deposit. The limits of particular finds are based on stratigraphic considerations which only concern those finds, and which we need not now take into account.

The important results to be deduced are as follows:—

(1) Types common to both groups meet together in the uppermost strata at Vinča; therefore the later period of Group I. is contemporary with the earlier period of Group II.

(2) The later period of Group I. was preceded by a longer period the remains of which are embedded in the central strata at Vinča, but as these lie at a greater stratigraphic depth these remains must be older than both those of the later period of Group I. and the earlier period of Group II.

(3) The *Bothros* stratum of Vinča is older than any other site yet found in either Group, and represents the earliest stage of civilization yet discovered in Servia.

This method of dating the Servian finds is local, and may suffice so long as investigation is restricted within local limits, but the details given shew that the civilization of the district is neither an original nor an independent development; on the contrary it is derived from the south-east. We are therefore compelled to adopt what may be called a general method of dating our deposits by measuring them by the more or less

certain standard of the south-east. If the attempt is successful, it will provide a solid basis for calculating not only their relative but, if the term is permissible, their actual date. To this end I have chosen, for reasons which will be readily understood, the classic standard provided by the discoveries at Troy; but before attempting to use it some brief account must be given of the metal finds at Vinča.

Traces of small scraps of metal (copper or bronze) have been found on no less than twenty-one occasions at a depth of 1·m.–6·3 m. below the surface, and once at a depth of 7·5 m., *i.e.* in the middle of the deepest spot in the *Bothros* stratum. Small pierced beads of metal have also been found at a depth of from 1 m.–6·1 m.[1] These scraps and objects of metal assume much greater importance, as I think, because they occur on the site where undoubtedly they were once lost, and have only come down to us because they were so small that they could not be found by their owners. The presence of metal in the deposit at Vinča only allows us to date it roughly as belonging to the Metal Age; it does not provide the material for more accurate dating, which must be sought for elsewhere. The finds themselves at Vinča shew that no date can be assigned to them until we have dated firstly, the sites of Group II., and secondly, the *Bothros* stratum, for those stages of development stand at the two opposite ends of the whole civilization of Vinča.

To the sites of Group II. a date has been assigned in a previous paper,[2] and subsequent finds have confirmed the view there expressed. In addition to the instances there given several fresh ones have come to light, *e.g.* concentric circles connected by tangents, impressed concentric circles, small bosses, the characteristic stirrup-handles and strap-handles with ornamental knobs. All can undoubtedly be paralleled partly from Troy VI., but mainly from Troy VII., where their appearance is ascribed by H. Schmidt to the Treri,[3] whom he believes to have migrated thither somewhere about this time from the lower Danube (Bulgaria). But Vidbol, the site of the excavations in Bulgaria, belongs to Group II., and lies comparatively near the western limit of the former settlements of the Treri, so that the conclusions reached establish an undoubted connection between Vinča and Troy VII., and accordingly the correspond-

[1] Metal objects from Vinča, *Starinar*, *N.S.* i. p. 94, Figs. 4, 5; *Memnon*, i. p. 178, Figs. 4, 5.

[2] *Rev. Arch.* 1908, i. pp. 209 *sq.*

[3] W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 598 *sq.*

ing phases at Vinča may be considered as more or less contemporary with Troy VII., though that does not exclude the possibility that finds in the uppermost strata at Vinča may belong both to an earlier and to a later period than finds from Troy VII.

As a means of dating the *Bothros* stratum we have among the pottery, footed bowls and anthropomorphic vases, which are undoubtedly the things best suited for the purpose. Footed bowls are found at Troy I.;[1] on the other hand the anthropomorphic vase makes its earliest appearance there in the Second Settlement; both shapes appear together simultaneously in the *Bothros* stratum. From these data there is only one conclusion to be drawn, viz. that owing to the presence of anthropomorphic vases the *Bothros* stratum cannot be earlier than Troy II., and, consequently, the whole of the important deposit at Vinča, which is 9·5 m. thick, must be dated between the beginning of Troy II. and (about) the end of Troy VI.

Further evidence in support of this date is provided by various other facts, of which only one need be mentioned here: our earliest clay figurines find their earliest analogy in the so-called 'Cycladic' type, the earliest appearance of which is contemporary with the Early Minoan III. Period (E. M. III.). Now for the reasons given above, the lowest *Bothros* stratum at Vinča cannot be earlier in date than Troy II. and we get precisely the same result from the equation Troy II. = Phylakopi I. = Knossos E. M. III.[2]

This being so, it is perhaps natural that many archaeologists prefer to describe the contents of the *Bothros* stratum at Vinča as 'Neolithic,' 'Sub-Neolithic,' or 'Eneolithic,' those of the middle strata as of the Bronze Age, and of the upper strata as belonging to the Early Iron Age. But as the beginning of the so-called Neolithic Period in Servia dates *after* the beginning of Troy II. it is dangerous to work with a misleading terminology; I therefore prefer to utilize the valuable results now obtained and from henceforth to arrange the various finds in Servia on the basis of the Vinča finds, the chronological relation of which to the south-eastern finds in general, and in particular, to the deposits of Troy, has now been established.

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[1] H. Schmidt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 654.
[2] Burrows, *op. cit.* p. 50.

Circumstances prevent me from entering here on the consideration of all that follows from the results obtained. This must be reserved for the forthcoming publication of the excavations at Vinča. The details given concerning the pre-historic settlements of Servia shew that they were formed under the continuous influence of a south-eastern civilization. This disposes of the 'northerly' influence in the Aegean and of the other theory of a parallel development of individual branches of one and the same race.[1]

The relation of the Vinča deposits to the sites lying to the north-west does not, so far as can be seen, contradict this assumption of a south-eastern influence affecting our own land and the district to the north-west of it; however, as a measure of precaution I restrict the assumption to the sites and deposits already known. It is not impossible that the future may bring to light a civilization absolutely devoid of any trace of Aegean influence, but it is not very likely, and so long as such a civilization remains unfound our theory holds the field. There are no really convincing reasons against it and a great many in its favour.

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[1] Burrows *op. cit.* p. 194; and Wace, Peet, and Thompson, *Classical Review*, vol. xxii. p. 238.

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION. IV.

SINCE the earlier parts of this study were written, various interesting discoveries have been made, not only in Crete, but on the mainland of Greece, such as tend partly to clear up, partly to complicate the problem of Aegean Civilization.

Of the discoveries in Crete the most fruitful in new results are those of Mr. Richard B. Seager relating to the Early Minoan Period, firstly at Vasilikí on the mainland of the Gulf of Mirabello, and later on the islands of Psira and Mochlos off the same coast. As regards the question especially of dominant architectural forms in Early Minoan times, these discoveries, in view of certain theories of development, such as those of Noack put forward of late, have a capital importance.

Following upon the discovery by the Italians of the Early Minoan tholos at Hagia Triada, Dr. Stephanos Xanthoudides, Ephor at Candia, has had the good luck, at Koumása in the Messará to come upon a series of Early Minoan circular chamber tombs alongside of dwellings already of an exclusively rectangular type; Noack would have done well to take these seriously into account in view of the theories in question.

Those who are interested in the archaeology of prehistoric Crete will now be able to give a warm welcome to Mrs. Boyd Hawes' timely and admirable publication of the results of the American excavations at Gourniá. Some of the American discoveries have an exceptional interest in relation to topics dealt with in the following pages, and this is more particularly the case with the Early Minoan site of Vasilikí and the Palace of Gourniá.

Meanwhile on the Greek mainland, in regions as far apart as Macedonia, Thessaly, and the Peloponnese, discoveries relating to an equally early, if not still earlier, period help to throw a new and surprising light on the problem of the prehistoric civilization which existed on the continental parts of the Greek world. The discoveries by the Germans at Orchomenos are now made available for study, so far as they concern the question of architecture, through the admirable publication by Professor Heinrich Bulle. Certain views of a general character, mistaken as we think, set forward in this work have now received a valuable corrective through the publication by Dr. Tsountas of the results of his important excavations at the sites of Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly.[1] To pioneer work like this we must further add the results of the explorations at Chaeronea by Dr. Soteriades.[2] Into the same context comes the lucky discovery of the prehistoric settlement at Zerélia by Messrs. Wace, Droop, and Thompson of the British School at Athens.[3] Mr. Wace, who was the first to be attracted towards this site, was also the first to announce the bearing of the early deposits there in their relation to the discoveries of Tsountas and Soteriades.

Parallel with the progress of discovery and the further publication of results has been the advance in the study of these, from the stand-point especially of their more general historical connections.

Much impetus in this direction has been given by the publication of Professor Ronald Burrows' book on 'The Discoveries in Crete' which very succinctly and clearly sums up the historical bearing of the evidence so far as it was available from excavation up to date. Burrows' exposition of this evidence makes all the more convincing the point of view which may be regarded as the stand-point of the excavators gained by gradual experience on the Cretan sites themselves. This is to the effect that Cretan culture is essentially of one piece from its first beginnings to its end in the Late Minoan Period.

Of those who are disposed to deny this unity, first and foremost in the field comes once more Professor Doerpfeld in an article in the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1907, 576–603. This in a somewhat modified form is essentially a reaffirmation of Doerpfeld's original contention, that distinct Achaean influence is traceable in certain features in the architecture of the

[1] Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου.
[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, 65 ff. [3] *Ath. Mitt.* xxxii. 289, and *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 197 ff.

later Cretan palaces. This, be it noted, would not mean merely that by the time of the building of these, Crete already stood under the dominating influence of the culture of Mycenae, but that by the period in question Achaean conquerors from the mainland were already present in the island wielding their hegemony at Knossos and at Phaestos in the arts of peace as well as of war.

The present writer has been so severely dealt with in Doerpfeld's paper referred to, that he is bound to regard it as a piece of singular good fortune that it is not needful for him to take up the cudgels again in his own defence. As good luck would have it Noack now comes forward as champion, so to say, of the cause of Cretan unity. And the new statement of his views is all, we are glad to see, a complete vindication of what may be called the English point of view as to the essential continuity of Cretan culture and of Cretan architectural development down to the end of the Second Late Minoan Period.[1]

All the more is it to be regretted that so valiant a champion of the good cause did not content himself with this one achievement and return from his exploit with the sure fruits of victory in his hands. Instead of that, in a too bold spirit of adventure, as the sequel of his book shows, he wanders into other perilous mazes of the Minoan labyrinth with no bright Ariadne there to guide with the golden clue of knowledge.

The Round Hut in the Mediterranean.

One of the problems that have recently engaged the attention of archaeologists is the rôle played by the round hut in relation to rectangular construction in the development of early architecture in the Mediterranean. The scientific data cover a very wide field extending from the Anatolian littoral in the east, as far as to Spain and its further ethnological extension into North-West Europe in the west.

Any scientific investigation of data having so wide a geographical range naturally begins with the formulation of a few main provisional criteria such as might help to connect or separate the phenomena. This has generally been done in one form or another. Thus, for example, the fact has been observed that in the Mediterranean area the rite of inhumation,

[1] *Ovalhaus und Palast in Creta*, 1–35.

which is universal there in the prehistoric age, has brought with it arrangements for the housing of the dead which are a repetition of similar arrangements for the housing of the living. This being so, the next inquiry is: what type of house is dominant in different parts of the Mediterranean archaeological province in question at the earliest period of which we have any positive knowledge?

The answer is clearest for Sardinia. Here the round hut is so exclusively the form of habitation, from a very remote beginning and throughout the Bronze Age, that practically no other type of dwelling comes into account. Now that there is more and more agreement that the Nuraghi are not tombs but strongly fortified habitations and that the round buildings usually grouped about them are village dwellings, the above statement may safely be allowed to stand in its entirety.

A very striking illustration of the phenomena in Sardinia is afforded by the example of the Nuraghe and round hut town of Serucci near Gonnesa in the Iglesiente. This was described by me in a paper read last year at the British School of Archaeology in Rome.[1]

In the present connection, what is remarkable about this settlement is that there is not a single rectangular building visible anywhere.

From the point of view of their immediate affinities we may safely say that the round huts of the prehistoric period in Sicily and Italy and the Talayot castles of the Balearic Isles may be regarded as coming into the same context as those of Sardinia.

The Round and the Rectangular Hut in the West Mediterranean.

Here now the curious concomitant phenomenon is observable that while the dwellings of the living are all modelled on the round hut as prototype, the habitations of the dead in Sardinia are almost without exception of rectangular type. The exceptions, however, are to be kept well in view, especially if, as in the present case, they occur early in the series. Thus, for example, the two dolmens of earliest type known to us in Sardinia—those near the station of Birori below Macomer—are both of a rounded elliptical shape. And here it must not be forgotten that at the

[1] This paper has since been published in Italian in *Ausonia*, iii. Fasc. i. 18–48. For Serucci, see pp. 38–45. For a fuller account of the site see now: *Relazione sulla Scoperta di una Stazione Preistorica nel Comune di Gonnesa*, i. Sanfilippo, Iglesias, 1908.

period to which these dolmens belong, the rounded hut must have been already in use. Once, however, the organic process of differentiation had got so far as definitely to fix the types of habitation respectively for the living and the dead, we find that the type of habitation for the dead in Sardinia is as a matter of fact rectangular. This is so, whether we have to do with chamber-tombs cut into the rock, with dolmen-tombs of the advanced type, or with the later transformation of the dolmen in the shape of the so-called *tomba di Gigante* or family tomb of the people of the Nuraghi. The original prototype pre-supposed in the case of the types as already fixed is a rectangular type of dwelling.

This rectangular type of dwelling did not attain to any prominence in Sardinia, because there, under very special circumstances, it came into competition with the round type of hut then undergoing a process of architectural development which culminated in the Nuraghi. In the local struggle for predominance of the two types, the rectangular dwelling was bound to sink rapidly into entire latency in Sardinia, once it became relegated to tomb use as the dwelling of the dead. But we cannot ignore its existence in the immediate environment of Sardinia. Thus, for example, in Corsica in one instance known to me, which must be taken to be typical, a village of rectangular dolmen-like dwellings exists alongside of a group of dolmen tombs. The process of elimination here, if there was any, was in the other direction and was very thorough. No round huts, so far as we yet know, have ever been discovered in Corsica, and it is well known that monuments of the Nuraghi type are entirely lacking there. In Pantelleria again the round chambers of the Sesi tombs have coincident with them dwellings of rectangular type at the prehistoric village of Mursía.[1] This is a reversal of the relations that prevail in Sardinia. The round hut is common in south Italy, and there again we have the rectangular dolmen type of tomb represented sporadically in the Terra d'Otranto. It is the same in Sicily and in Malta.

In Spain in the Bronze Age there is noticeable a tendency towards the predominance of the rectangular type of building for the houses of the living. Thus, for example, the early houses discovered by the brothers Siret at Fuente Verneja were of rectangular type. Coincident with these rectangular houses in south-east Spain we have the round beehive chamber

[1] Orsi, *Pantelleria, Mon. Ant. Linc.* ix. 452 f. and note 1. See also, *The Tombs of the Giants and the Nuraghi of Sardinia in their West European Relations*, Memnon, ii. Fasc. 3.

with dolmen corridor of the Los Millares type. With this alternates all over the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the Portuguese west, the rectangular dolmen type of tomb.

The distribution of both types of construction in France fits on in sequence to that of Spain and Portugal. On the continent of West Europe the tendency in course of time is to leave the round type of building behind altogether as habitation of the living. Yet it accompanies the traditional dolmen as an alternative type of sepulchre and house as far afield as Ireland and Scotland.

The Dolmenic Hut and the Central-Hearth House of West Europe.

The non-occurrence, so far as we yet know, of the round hut in Corsica, while with its next door neighbours of Sardinia this type of dwelling is universal, would seem at first sight a singular phenomenon. Yet it is very characteristic of the way in which architectural development tends to differentiate locally in island communities like those of the Mediterranean. The presence in Corsica, referred to already, of a dolmen type of rectangular house with base course of orthostatic slabs, alongside of the rectangular type of dolmen-tomb, has an architectural significance of its own. If further confirmed by excavation it would dispose at once of a theory set forth by Pfuhl to the effect that the dolmen type of sepulchre is no imitation of a corresponding type of house, but only an independent class of tomb by itself.[1]

In this connection the wide distribution of the dolmenic type of tomb all over France acquires a new significance. The earliest rectangular type of house must have penetrated into West Europe at the same time. There is moreover hardly any doubt that the type of rectangular house, which later attained to such ascendancy in France, has to be connected in its origins with the primitive dolmenic type of hut of which we speak. The later Frankish house of historical times, with many intervening phases of development, is the lineal descendant in its general plan of this primitive dolmenic type of hut. The isolation of the living room, with its central hearth, is a primitive feature which has become overladen through collusion with other types of a later time. But the central hearth which is so

[1] *Zur Geschichte des Kurvenbaues, Ath. Mitt.* 1905, 335.

conservative of the primitive plan is still there, and both are discernible as characteristic features of the Frankish house of the present day.

Towards the north of France there begins to be perceptible a dividing of the migratory ways, which is itself symptomatic of the direction in which the racial movement took place. Accordingly we find that the dolmenic dwelling apparently penetrated into the British Isles in company with the dolmen type of tomb. And here the tradition of the living room with central hearth is only now on the point of dying out entirely. It still survives sporadically in remote parts of Scotland, notably in the Orkney and Shetland Isles.

In company again with the original of the *Hünenbed* type of tomb it skirts the shores of the German Ocean and making a bridge of Denmark crosses the Danish Sound into Scandinavia. There a very early type of dwelling with central hearth and isolated living room has survived, in the shape of the Nordic house, until the present day.

In this general connection it is interesting to note that in the Mediterranean itself the islands of Sardinia and Corsica have still surviving, as the normal type in the villages, a plan of living room with central hearth which must be regarded as having more or less of affinity with that of the continental Frankish house and the Nordic house of Scandinavia. In Corsica the isolation of the living room, which tended to survive in virtue of the presence of the central hearth, was probably already a feature of the dolmenic hut of the prehistoric age. This type apparently did not become universal over the West Mediterranean until after it had managed to oust the round hut dwelling. This was only after the civilization represented by the Nuraghi of Sardinia and the Talayots of the Balearic Isles had come to an end.

The Isolation of the Central-Hearth Room in the West Mediterranean and in West Europe.

Here it must not be forgotten that the central hearth and the tendency to keep up the isolation of the living room were to all accounts as characteristic a feature of the round Nuraghe hut as they were of the rectangular dolmenic dwellings of Corsica. The difference between round and square in construction is here of no essential account. What is essential is the circumstance that the isolation of the living room is the

prime fact with which we start in conditions of life so primitive that the one living room is the only one that exists in the case of the primordial hut-dwelling, whether round or square.

The next stage in development is the simple addition of hut to hut. Each of these is accessible by its own door. It is thus only on second thoughts that internal doorways are opened up for direct communication between one room and another. What now is essential in the case of a complex system like this with through doors, is to have the doors (and windows if there be any) in such positions that the fire be not affected by passing air currents. Accordingly we find as a matter of fact that the tendency to protect the central hearth from air currents is found to be universal all over those regions of the Mediterranean and Europe where this type of house exists.

In the Mediterranean, with its mild climate, we find that the isolation of the central-hearth room is not nearly so rigidly carried out as on the continent of Europe, where the climate is more severe. This is natural. In Corsica and Sardinia, for example, the household fire is not a permanent institution in the warmer summer months. Accordingly, when the fire is out, any through doors and windows there are are thrown freely open. If we take the other extreme of Norway, where the central household fire of the Nordic house is permanent throughout the greater part of the year, we find that the isolation of the living room is correspondingly permanent, and the existence of through doors and windows to be thrown open correspondingly lacking.

We see then that these phenomena occur over a wide range in Europe: whether ethnological connection between them can be proved or not, this fact in itself should inspire caution when we are studying the development of such a type of house. This development will never be understood unless we see that it is the more or less permanent rôle played by the central hearth in such a type of house under varying climatic conditions, that itself determines the more or less complete isolation of that particular room of the house of which it is the distinguishing feature.

The isolation in the case of a rectangular or round type of hut dwelling of only one room, like the simplest types of the early Mediterranean, is the primitive fact with which we start. If in such circumstances there is a central hearth the isolation is apt to be maintained even after the dwelling has come to consist of several rooms. If on the other hand there is no

central-hearth room, the conditions that give rise to the isolation are lacking, and accordingly we find that under such circumstances the isolation does not occur. Thus then, as a process of architectural development, it is not a case of closing doors that were already there, but at the most of establishing communication with the living room (in regions where the living room has a central hearth) in such a way as still to give the necessary protection from air currents. We thus find as a matter of fact, that in all regions of the Mediterranean and the continent of Europe as far afield as Scandinavia, where the central-hearth house exists, the universal tendency is to protect the central hearth from such air currents. So general, indeed, is the tendency that this is invariably done even if the exigencies of space and the architectural distribution of the parts of the house as a whole, make it needful to shift the hearth from its central position to an eccentric one.

There are, however, circumstances of a climatic character, such as we may easily suppose for the more southern part of the Mediterranean, which are favourable to the development of a type of house with connected rooms, in which the central hearth arrangement need not be supposed to play a part. Let us now suppose the migration northwards of such a type of b'ut and b'en house to a ruder climate requiring a fixed central hearth instead of the occasional fire around which people warm themselves on cold nights. There is in such a case no doubt whatever that the existence of air currents such as would blow the smoke about, would naturally lead to the keeping closed of doors that were already there. Not only so, but under such circumstances, experience would gradually lead to the omission of doors that were previously a convenience, simply because under the new climatic conditions supposed, which required the permanent central hearth, they are now found to be an inconvenience.

The uniformity of architectural context which we find prevailing over areas so far apart as the West Mediterranean and North West Europe in the prehistoric era is itself a singular phenomenon. By the beginning of the Bronze Age the valley of the Rhone must have played a dominant rôle of communication between the great world of the Mediterranean and the North; by that time it was probably already the high continental trade route towards the tin mines of Britain. What the establishment of such a trade route between the Mediterranean and West Europe was calculated to bring about was the encouragement of certain uniformities in

architectural construction which were no longer of a strictly local character. Local characteristics having ethnological connections of a more intimate nature would thus tend to become overlain with others which had a more general relation to the universal conditions of culture in the Bronze Age over the Mediterranean as a whole. The gradual conquest of West Europe by the rectangular types of house to which we have already referred may have received a powerful impetus in this way. But in any case this was not an impetus that could have affected the development of the type in Norway in any intrinsic way, since here we are out of touch with the trade route in question. And indeed as a matter of fact we find that the type as it now exists is freer from collusion in Scandinavia, in the shape of the Nordic house, than in any other part of West Europe.

The establishment of the great West European trade route was not itself responsible for the presence of the dolmenic type of house and tomb, even along its own track in France. That trade route rather presupposes in turn prior migratory movements from the Mediterranean with which the penetration into the north of the dolmenic type of house and tomb are to be directly connected.

The conditions that really paved the way for the early habitation of West Europe as compared with the East were, to begin with, of a peculiar climatic character. The calorific influence of the Gulf Stream, after the last Ice Age, had brought about a relative mildening of climate on the littoral regions of West Europe, which brought it into marked contrast with the severe climatic conditions that still prevailed in the interior and East of the Continent. It was this mildening of climate in the littoral regions which stood under the influence of the Gulf Stream that was itself the prior condition in favour of those migratory movements northwards in West Europe as far as Norway of which we speak. The first wave of these migratory movements northwards—that which originated the primitive littoral civilization represented by the *kjökkenmödding* deposits—was at a time so early that there is no phenomenon corresponding to it in those regions of interior and East Europe not affected by the calorific influence of the Gulf Stream. Thus it is again that the corresponding migratory movements northwards in the Middle and East Mediterranean were much more tardative in their penetration into interior Europe. Indications of such migration are present, it is true, about the littoral regions of the Adriatic, the Black Sea, and in the lower valley of the Danube, but they

never reached a latitude in interior Europe so far north as Scandinavia in the west. Much less then were there racial movements one way or the other of such a thorough character as would account for the extraordinary resemblance between the plan preserved to us in the Nordic house and the central-hearth megaron of the Balkan Peninsula.

The Nordic House and the Central-Hearth House of the Balkan Peninsula both cognate Mediterranean Types, but the one not derivative from the other.

The realization again of the great amber trade route between the Levant and the North must have followed very gradually in the wake of the tardative habitation of interior Europe of which we have just spoken. Thorough communication with the north must thus have been considerably slower across the continent than was the case with the great West European trade route to Britain. If then, as we found, the one could have had no real influence whatever on the development of house forms so far afield as Scandinavia, since the western trade route stopped short at Britain, neither could the other trade route have brought those house forms right across the whole continent of interior Europe. The amber trade route stopped short at the Baltic if indeed it ever went so far and did not as some think stop short at the amber deposits connected with the estuary of the Dnieper. In that case it still less touched Scandinavia than the tin trade route between Marseilles and Britain.

It is indeed the very freedom from such collusion of the Nordic house that is itself probably responsible for the close resemblance of its plan to that of the equally pure central-hearth megaron type of the Balkan Peninsula. Both types start their existence with more or less close affinities in the Mediterranean itself, but once their paths divide on the continent of Europe they never have any further connection with each other. The dolmenic plan of the Nordic house had already reached Scandinavia by way of West Europe before the central-hearth megaron had managed to penetrate the Balkans.

This penetration into Europe was itself prior to the establishment of even the earliest trade routes, whether in the east or in the west. The an achronism involved in the theory that it depended upon the establishment of trade routes is equally apparent in either case. But it would be a still more serious anachronism which would account for the resemblance between the central-hearth hall of the Balkan Peninsula and the Nordic

house by supposing that the type had wandered northwards as a result of trade relations between the Hellenic world and North-West Europe in historic times.

This is the theory proposed by Meitzen.[1] The general tendency of Meitzen's investigations is, however, more in accordance with the view that it was by way of West Europe that the prototype of the Nordic house reached Scandinavia. Thus the theory in question is not one to which its author would on consideration be prepared to attach any other importance than that of an alternative suggestion.

The theory, however, becomes mischievous when it is used to support views which were the contrary of those held by its author. This is what Noack does. Acting on this hint of connection between the Nordic house and the central-hearth hall of the Balkan Peninsula, Noack now suggests that the penetration took place the other way, and at an earlier period than that suggested by Meitzen. This would then be from some centre of interior Europe, preferably Aryan, which would thus be responsible equally for the Nordic house and the central-hearth megaron of the Balkan Peninsula.[2] To this we shall return.

The eastern and the western migratory movements northwards were effectively divided by the great ice barriers of the Alps, and, once the roads divide, there never was any such meeting of the migratory paths again as could have brought the Nordic type of house into any touch, direct or indirect, with the central-hearth megaron of the Balkan Peninsula.

The penetration into Europe of the cultivation of the soil went by the same highways from south to north as the migrations of the Mediterranean peoples, and this penetration stood in direct relation to the same climatic conditions. The mildening climatic influence of the Gulf Stream made this penetration much more rapid in the west of Europe than in the east. Our most time-honoured cereals are of South European, Africo-Mediterranean derivation. The same phenomenon is observable as regards the origin of many of our cultivated trees that in the course of the ages have taken on an entirely North European guise. Here again there is much more unity observable in the phenomena in West Europe than in the east.

It is the same with the penetration into Europe of stable household arrangements. This went by the same tracks as the cultivation of the

[1] *Wanderungen*, pt. 1, *Ab Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, iii. 503–5.
[2] *Homerische Paläste*, 35–6.

soil. Before this process of settlement could be accomplished, nomadic conditions of existence, like those that prevail on the steppes of Asia and in the deserts of Africa, had to come to an end. The occasional cause of this in Africa was the gradual enlargement of the desert area through climatic desiccation. The natural result was a continuous retreat northwards of the North African nomadic tribes towards the south shores of the Mediterranean. The greatest possible check to the survival of nomadic conditions of existence is presented by the barrier of the sea. And this is more especially true of people migrating in the direction of the sea and settling on its shores. Under such circumstances the first development of the need for fixed habitation on a great scale is apt to be on these shores themselves and in the fertile regions inland from them. Thus it is that our earliest European architecture in the Mediterranean, and the regions most intimately connected with that in the northward direction, is found to have the closest affinity with cognate phenomena of a more primitive architectural character on the African shores of the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean unfavourable to the Survival of Nomadic Habits.

The insular condition of existence in the islands of the Mediterranean itself was entirely unfavourable to the survival of nomadic habits. Accordingly we find that nomadic conditions of existence are brought abruptly to an end by the population of the Mediterranean and its littoral, at a period so early as to precede by thousands of years the entire cessation of the same habits in the more continental parts of East and Central Europe, to which there was free access by land for nomadic migration from Asia.

The Survival of Nomadic Habits in East and East-Central Europe.

The contrast between ethnological conditions in the Mediterranean and in East-Central Europe in this respect is of much greater significance from our point of view than might at first sight appear.

Thus to take the most recent example of the survival of nomadism in interior Europe. The Magyars, with villages that still wear a nomadic aspect, hardly got finally settled into political unity in the valley of the Danube much more than a thousand years ago. Thus they had to pass at

one stroke from the nomadic portable huts of their Asiatic steppeland to the Gothic and Renaissance architecture of Mediaeval and Modern Europe. There is accordingly no more glaring architectural contrast to be seen in Europe than that between the nomadic-looking Hungarian villages of our day and the splendid city of Budapesth with its Burg and Gothic Cathedral at Ofen.

It might seem going rather far afield to draw attention to this recent example of the survival of nomadism in interior Europe, were it not symptomatic of migratory conditions that held true of the same region of Europe at a still earlier time. And they held true in an analogous sense because the ethnological outlook from Asia towards the West was the same in earlier ages as at the much later time of which we speak.

The Round Wooden Hut of Nomadic Asiatic Origin in the Danube Valley.

Thus it cannot now seem by any means accidental that the columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius in Rome should both reflect in the contrasts of their architectural representations the same meeting of opposing ethnological currents in the valley of the Danube that characterizes the Hungary of a later time. The round and sometimes square wattled huts of Marcomanns and Dacians that appear in these representations have the same relation, more strongly marked, towards a previous nomadic life in portable huts in the steppes of interior Asia as is betrayed by the external aspect and internal arrangements of the later Magyar villages. The peoples who were responsible for the presence in East and East-Central Europe of the round and rectangular wooden huts that appear on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius had probably entered the Danube valley some three thousand years before. And there is no doubt whatever that the peculiarities in construction that are typical in these huts are to be traced back to a previous nomadic existence on the steppes of Asia. Yet here we find them still surviving and being kept up as late as the second century A.D.

The Round Wooden Hut of the Danube Valley unconnected with the Mediterranean.

The contrast in this respect between the conditions of architectural development in the Mediterranean and in the Danube valley respectively presents an interesting spectacle. Thus, if we take the round hut which is of a particular bearing here, we find that in the Danube valley this is still of wood and still bears traces of its nomadic origin in interior Asia at a time when the great beehive tombs of Mycenae and the massive round stone houses of Sardinia and other islands of the Mediterranean, were already the legendary marvel of a long forgotten past.

This contrast cannot be explained by any theories of unity in origin such as would trace back the circular stone hut of the Mediterranean to the round wooden hut of East and East-Central Europe, which has to be taken as the remote prototype of those portrayed with such unmistakable realism on the column of Marcus Aurelius.

The real significance of the contrast should not escape us here. From what has been said already it can now be seen that this contrast rests upon the antithesis of prior conditions in the Mediterranean and in the Danube valley respectively.

The antithesis consists essentially in this:—

The island communities of the Mediterranean had already left behind them the nomadic conditions of existence in the Neolithic Age. On the other hand the regions of East and East-Central Europe continued, as we have seen, to show traces of their previous nomadic existence in Asia as late as Roman times and even into the Middle Ages. The Mediterranean presented an effective barrier to the penetration from the south of nomadic conditions into Europe and their perpetuation there, from the prehistoric period onwards. On the continental Asiatic side there was no such barrier. The Caspian and the Black Sea can be circumvented either way. Being practically islandless, these seas performed no such rôle as was played by the Mediterranean in virtue of the early establishment of its settled insular communities. Climatically again, owing to their orientation in relation to the migratory movements from interior Asia into East and East-Central Europe, they performed only an insignificant part compared with the dominant rôle played by the Mediterranean in the early civilization of Europe from the south.

We see then that there was no effective hindrance whatever to nomadic migration into Europe from the east. The steppes of Russia itself are more Asiatic than they are European. Thus the perpetuation of nomadic characteristics in the construction of the wooden huts of the Danube valley portrayed on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius need no longer surprise us. We now know whence they derived those characteristics.

We can thus at length understand that in origin and affinity the wooden huts in question had nothing whatever to do with the round stone-hut architecture of the Mediterranean, to which belong the Talayots of the Balearic Isles, the Nuraghi of Sardinia, the Early Minoan Tholoi of Crete, the Royal Beehive Tombs of Mycenae and, let it here be added, the round huts of Orchomenos.

The Round and the Rectangular Hut in the Aegean.

Having so far cleared the ground let us now return to the Aegean.

Let us start with Crete itself. Here in the Early Minoan Period—the earliest age for which as yet there is much positive evidence—we find that the rectangular type of house is already universal. Yet, as if to give us pause, to the same Early Minoan Period belongs the circular tholos-tomb discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada near Phaestos.[1] At Koumása again in the Messará Xanthoudides has discovered a series of beehive tombs of the same early period alongside of houses in the corresponding settlement which are entirely of rectangular type.[2]

Thus then we find that the evidence from the Aegean points the same moral as in the Middle and West Mediterranean. We never anywhere, over a geographical area of any extent, arrive at an isolation of the phenomena such as might enable us to say: here we have rectangular hut and rectangular tomb without any collusion of round hut or round tomb. The phenomena of round and rectangular construction in early architecture, taken in their universal aspects, are already of a mixed character in the Mediterranean at the earliest period to which our knowledge at present extends. We can only say at most that locally, as in Corsica for example, rectangular dolmen-tombs are coincident with rectangular dolmenic huts in the corresponding settlements. Locally again in the Aegean, Melos,

[1] *Mem. r. Ist. Lomb.* vol. xxi. Fasc. v. [2] Παναθήναια, 103 (Jan. 15, 1905).

Paros, Naxos and other islands give us Early Cycladic houses of rectangular type alongside of cist-tombs which are again rectangular in shape. Yet here once more occasional curving walls afford a hint of survival from a time when round-hut dwellings may have been more common in some parts or other of the Aegean than they can have been in the Early Cycladic Period.

Besides, to give us pause once more, there is the pyxis of Melos, with its round huts arranged along three sides of a square which is itself of rectangular shape (Fig. 1.)[1] This pyxis itself affords the most remarkable instance of the survival, in a very clear and precise form, of the *reminiscence* of a type of house at a period in the Aegean, which, so far as

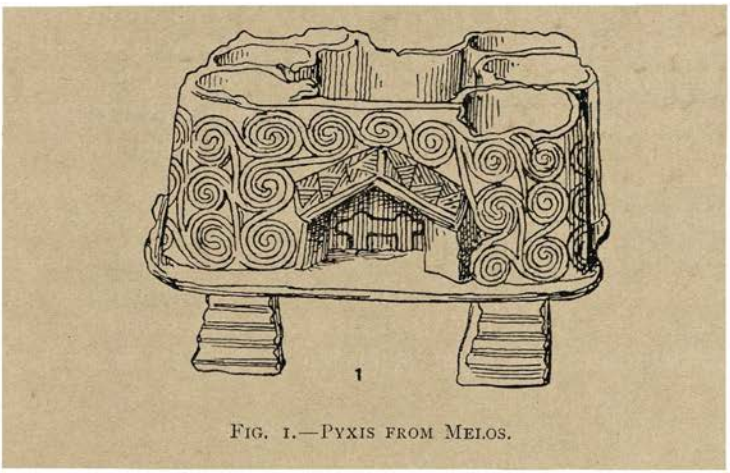


FIG. 1.—PYXIS FROM MELOS.

we know, furnishes no example of the survival in reality of such a type of house. The pyxis in question, to judge by its analogy with the kernoi of Melos, may be contemporary with the end of the First or the beginnings of the Second City at Phylakopi.[2] In neither of those settlements, however, have we a single example of a round hut.

On the other hand the arrangement of circular huts round an internal rectangular court, illustrated by the Melian pyxis, is too precise in plan to allow of the possibility that such a type of house was never more than merely sporadic in the Aegean. Here it may perhaps be as well to remember that, underlying the First City at Phylakopi, there is deposit towards the east end of the site which is contemporary with the earliest

[1] After Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, Fig. 6. [2] *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 252.

cist-tombs in the island as illustrated by the cemetery of Pelos.[1] No houses were found corresponding to the deposit referred to at Phylakopi, and the settlement answering to the necropolis at Pelos still remains undiscovered. Thus, as we do not positively know in these cases that the houses were actually of rectangular type like those of the immediately succeeding era, we cannot quite exclude the possibility that some of them at least may have been round huts like those illustrated by the pyxis.

The Cycladic civilization does not, in the present state of our knowledge, bring us back behind the period of the earliest cist-tombs into direct contact with the still earlier Neolithic period. It is different in Crete. Here that Early Minoan culture which corresponds with the Early Cycladic of Phylakopi has lying behind it the long civilization of the Neolithic age at Knossos, at Phaestos, and elsewhere in the island. At Knossos, however, notwithstanding the vastness of these deposits, pending special investigations for the purpose, we have not as yet the record of a single dwelling or a single burial such as might afford a clue. Yet the actual existence in the Aegean of the circular type of building in the immediately succeeding era of the Early Minoan period, which is attested by the Cretan tholoi, equally with the Melian pyxis, makes the suggestion seem a natural one that the round hut must have been represented in the Neolithic deposits of Crete, and that indeed further, it must have been with the Neolithic people that the round hut started its existence in the Aegean.

The Neolithic Rectangular House at Magasá.

We have seen, however, that in the Early Minoan Period the rectangular type of house is already in general vogue alongside of tombs that are occasionally but not universally built in circular form. Can we then safely assume that the rectangular type of construction was not equally in use in the Neolithic period? We have found elsewhere in the Mediterranean that rectangular and circular types of construction are so apt to turn up side by side in varying relations to each other, that *a priori* we should not expect the phenomena to be different in the Aegean. And here a very interesting discovery has come to warn us not to expect any singularity in the phenomena such as would give Crete and the Aegean

[1] *Ibid.* 239-41.

any place entirely apart from the general context of architectural development in the Mediterranean as a whole. This is the Neolithic house of rectangular type brought to light at Magasá in East Crete by the British School at Athens and shown in Fig. 2[1]. As the discoverer says 'it is striking to find a square-built house at this period, when it might have been supposed that nothing more advanced than wattled huts yet existed.[2]' Considering what was found to be the general character of the Neolithic deposits underneath the floors of the Palace at Knossos this observation is very much to the point. There the lack of stone in the deposits

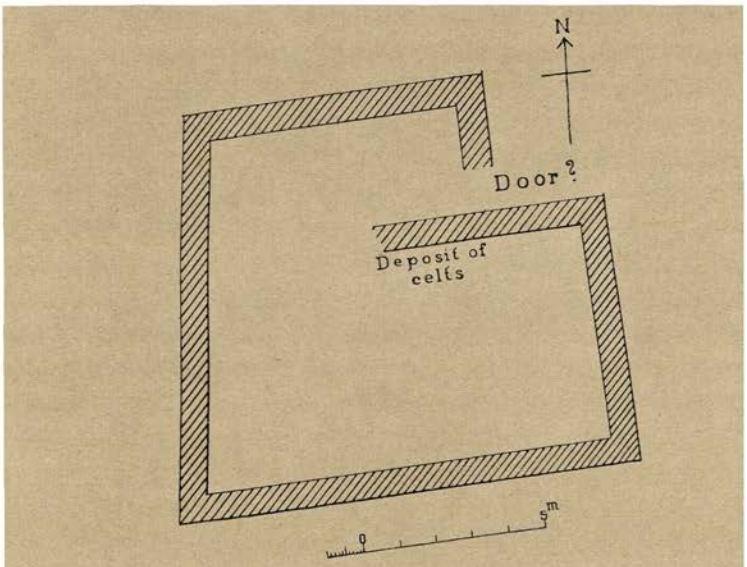


FIG. 2.—NEOLITHIC HOUSE AT MAGASÁ IN EAST CRETE.

was a singular phenomenon verified in test-pits again and again. Yet it has to be remembered that in the Central Court and West Wing, where our test pits of the time were sunk, the later strata that existed before the first laying out of the building had been in course of time removed; this took place in the process of planing away the top of the hill, preparatory to laying out uniformly level spaces for the ground-floors of the palace. Not only the Early Minoan strata, but the later Neolithic deposits as well, have gradually disappeared all over the area where this process of levelling

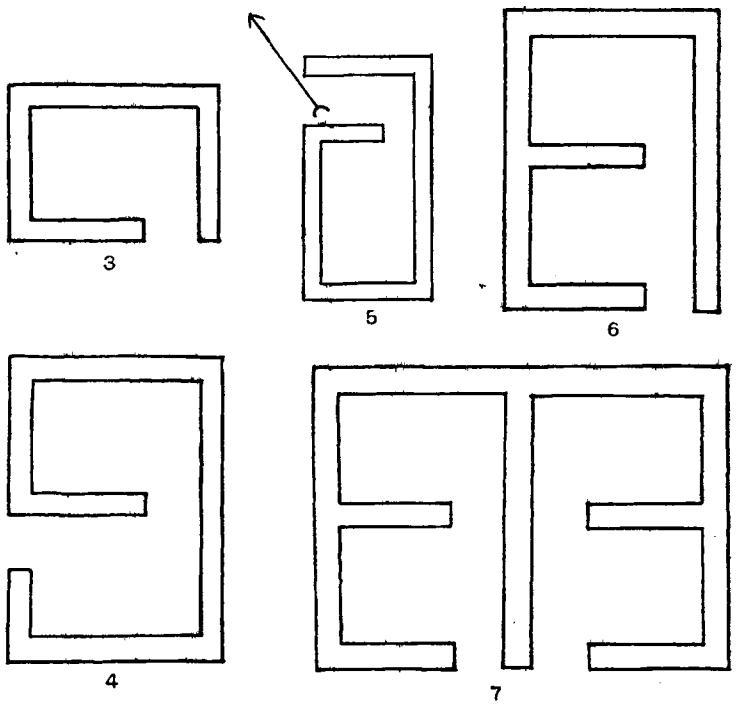
[1] After *B.S.A.* xi. 263, Fig. 2. [2] R. M. Dawkins, *ibid.* 268.

away took place. Thus it is true that we found no stone walls of any kind, whether curved or straight, in the Neolithic deposits in the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos, but we do not quite certainly know that such walls did not exist in the later deposits which were removed. It may, however, be regarded as symptomatic of peculiar local circumstances, that in other areas, where the Neolithic deposit seemed to us at the time to be complete, the stone constructions were equally lacking. The possibility of such local circumstances ought perhaps to some extent to be taken into account. Knossos is limestone country, rich in stone quarries, both limestone and gypsum, but at the same time remarkably poor in surface stone. The site of the ancient city of Knossos, called Hellenika, is now, it is true, one of the stoniest spots in Crete, but this is due to the artificial accumulation of ages of habitation. We have only to get beyond the limits of the site, in the direction, for example, of the Royal Tomb at Isopata, to realize the contrast in this respect to the natural country around. The absence of stone in the Neolithic deposits may then be due to these local circumstances, especially when referred back to a time long anterior to that exploitation of the limestone and gypsum quarries of the place which later played so important a rôle in the history of Minoan architecture. Notwithstanding this gradually increasing exploitation of the local quarries in a late time, mud bricks were to all appearance plentifully used as building materials throughout the different Minoan periods, going back to Early Minoan times. It is thus more than likely that mud construction played a still more prominent rôle in the hut building of Neolithic Knossos.

As to the shapes of these huts—whether they were round or square—Knossos has as yet afforded no evidence. The Neolithic stone hut at Magasá has thus a special importance. It affords us positive evidence that the rectangular hut in stone was by no means unknown in the Neolithic age of Crete. Considering also the peculiar local circumstances, referred to already, that at Knossos obtained with much probability throughout the greater part of the Neolithic period, there is in itself, surprising as it may appear, nothing whatever to be said against the comparatively early dating in that period, assigned by Mr. Dawkins to the stone house at Magasá.

It is now also possible to view in its probable true light the rectangular Neolithic house in small stones fixed with mud reported by Pernier from

the palace site at Phaestos.[1] If we put this house into the same context as that at Magasá, we shall be able to conclude that in the Neolithic period the rectangular hut had a wide prevalence in Crete, as judged by its occurrence in regions so far apart as Sitia and the Messará.



FIGS. 3-7.

FIG. 3.—PROTOTYPE RECTANGULAR HOUSE.
FIGS. 4, 6, 7.—DEVELOPMENTS OF PROTOTYPE HOUSE.
FIG. 5.—EARLY MINOAN OSSUARY AT KASTRÍ.

The stone-built Neolithic house at Magasá is, however, no longer at the stage in development represented by the primordial hut. It has already two rooms: an outer porch-like room and an inner living room. This inner room probably represents the original hut from which the duplicate system was developed. One sees at once that the outer room

[1] *Mon. Ant.* xii. 22. See also *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 241, note 3, where I suggest a sub- or post-Neolithic date for this house. The reasons I then had for so late a dating appear from the relative text and more fully from what I have said above.

is a simple extension of the other in such a way as to form a separate apartment. The house as it is represents the first simple advance on the prototype from which are derived the rectangular houses of Early Minoan times in Crete.

This prototype itself may be represented by the diagram of Fig. 3. Conceived as an organic unit, it is not possible to start from a more simple type. It has one door, and this is at the end of one of the long sides. Essentially similar is the Early Cycladic hut type of Melos illustrated in *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Figs. 21, 23. At this primordial stage in development, such a unit would be the same, whether the hut had a central fire or not. Variation in the process of differentiation would only begin to make itself felt at the point at which one such unit was added to another to form a complex house of two or more rooms.

The initial phase in the process of addition of unit to unit presents more than one possibility. One such possibility would be that in which each room, regarded still as an isolated unit in the system, was entered by its own outside door, which it already possessed at the hut stage in its existence. In this way, however, instead of a single dwelling, we should have a semi-detached house. The drawbacks of such an arrangement are self-evident. If two units in such a system be set side by side, the partition wall between them, double or single, has to be pierced by means of a communicating door, as soon as the convenience of direct internal communication is realised. This would then lead to the omission of the outside door in the case of the second unit, and so on. The process by which an indirect means of communication was abandoned in favour of a direct one is, it is true, entirely organic, but it no longer represents a really primitive stage in development. One thinks at once of the atrophy of a superfluous member on the creation of one more adapted to the complication of new organic conditions.

There are, however, alternative processes of a more rudimentary and at the same time more natural kind. Instead of the two units being placed side by side, they can be placed one in front of the other as shown in Fig. 4. This is essentially the type of the Neolithic house at Magasá.

The original hut which was the prototype of this house had the door at the end of one of its broad sides. In other words, the hut had a broad front. We now find, however, that the unit added in front was so adjusted to the original unit with which we started, that its door, which is now the

outside door, comes to be placed in the short end which is towards the front. Thus the original room was a broad room, and the new one added in front is a long room. This, however, all happens with a change of orientation or of the front itself. The new front is now at one or other short end of the original hut (in the case conceived in our diagram, at the left-hand end) but under normal conditions, as a result of the addition of unit to unit, it usually turns out once more to be a broad front. The type of Neolithic house represented to us at Magasá must have had a great influence in the succeeding era, for the alternation of broad and long rooms to form new unities is a characteristic of later Cretan architecture which is already apparent in the Early Minoan period.

The Early Minoan rectangular Ossuary at Kastrí.

Once given a type of Neolithic hut, like that presupposed at Magasá, an interesting question arises in its relation to later architectural development: was the type also perpetuated in the burial architecture of a later time?

Here now we come to a second discovery of extraordinary interest made by the British School at Athens. This is the Early Minoan ossuary at Kastrí shown in Fig. 5.[1] Any one can see at a glance that this is once more the plan of the Neolithic house at Magasá in a simplified form. Instead of the porch-like entrance room at Magasá we have in the ossuary at Kastrí a narrower entrance corridor. The original unit here, however, is a long cella. In the process of transformation there is presupposed the same change of orientation in the position of the outer doorway as at Magasá, and this again brings about once more quite organically the characterisic broad front.

Considering the close similarity we have just pointed out, the question in relation to burial rites now comes to be:—In view of the Early Minoan ossuary at Kastrí and its resemblance to the Neolithic house at Magasá, can we argue back to an analogous ritual and an analogous housing of the dead in Neolithic times? At any rate the affinity of the ossuary at Kastrí with the Neolithic house at Magasá opens up the possibility of another interesting vista into the far past which lies behind the Early Minoan Period in Crete.

[1] After *B.S.A.* xi. Fig. 4, item 2.

The Cretan Neolithic Hut, and Minoan Shrines.

A further interesting problem suggests itself here in connection with the Neolithic house-type of Magasá and the ossuary at Kastrí. In the history of early architecture it is well known how the type of the most primitive hut tends to survive in the *templa* of a later time. Now in Crete, such *templa* do not survive as a thing apart giving origin to separate buildings on their own account. Minoan religion, as the results of excavation show, is of an entirely domestic character. At Knossos all shrines are either house-shrines or palace-shrines. The divinities are household and dynastic divinities having an ancestral character and an ancestral reputation to maintain.

At Knossos we found as a matter of fact that there was a tendency for each house to have a room set apart for family worship. Of such shrines the palace was found to have more than one.

These shrines were found to be in a very private part of the house and usually to have no thoroughfare through them. They thus correspond to what at an earlier period would have been the back room in a flight of more apartments than one, and so would represent the original or hut element in the genesis of the house. The isolation and absence of thoroughfare are characteristic of the primeval hut and of all *templa*: they are equally characteristic of the palace shrines at Knossos. The shrine of the Double Axes in the East Wing of the Palace is an isolated room.[1] The same is true of the Shrine of the Sanctuary in the West wing, at least in its later form.[2]

At Magasá, and again at Kastrí, the doorway is at one end of the wall in which it occurs. This is accordingly a very early feature in Minoan architecture; yet we find it faithfully repeated in the case of the Shrine of the Double Axes. The same disposition of doorways is equally characteristic of the two rooms which form the system of the Temple Repositories.

The corridor by which one approaches the adytum or cella of the shrine of the Double Axes has an orientation in relation to the doorway which is reminiscent of what was found to occur in the case of the ossuary corridor at Kastrí. It is an equally early feature, pointing back to

[1] *B.S.A.* viii. 97, Fig. 55. [2] *Ibid.* ix. 37, Fig. 18; 39, Fig. 19; 48, Fig. 25.

primitive arrangements in Neolithic times, of which we have a variant in the house at Magasá. Only at Knossos we have to observe that for the convenience of the palace this corridor has become a thoroughway past the front of the shrine in either direction. With all this, the adytum of the shrine preserves its primitive isolation. There is no thoroughway through that!

There is, however, a still more remarkable example in Minoan times of an adytum-like arrangement with approach but no thorough exit. I refer to the so-called 'baths' which puzzle every visitor to the palaces of Crete. When now we come to examine the plan of these, we find to our surprise that it has a startling resemblance to that of the ossuary at Kastrí. In either case we have a broad front approach by way of a short end corridor into a long cella. The steps down into the 'bath' are customary, but not essential, since they do not occur in the case of the arrangement of this kind in the Queen's Megaron. The entrance is at the end of the respective wall in the case of both doorways. This is a feature we found to be present, not only at Kastrí, but in the arrangement of the Neolithic house at Magasá. There is again the same change of orientation in the approach.

Can we then, in view of features so conservative and so primitive in origin, still continue to call these arrangements 'bath-rooms'? I have already referred to evidence of the domestic character of Minoan worship. The Kings and Queens of Knossos, as Dr. Arthur Evans has well said, were Priest-Kings and Queens. Priestly ritual probably formed an important item in the daily life of these royal personages.

Here now it turns out that one of the arrangments in question, the Balustrade Area of the *Petit Palais* at Knossos was found to yield cult objects which Dr. Arthur Evans rightly connected with a use of the enclosure in the period of reoccupation for religious purposes.[1] Did not these objects, then, represent a rehabilitation of the old cult in the original shrine of the house, as it was in the great days before the reoccupation? This is, indeed, the question Dr. Evans himself asks and in favour of an affirmative conclusion he points out 'that in excavating the space inside the balustrade certain fragmentary relics came to light which might well have belonged to the fittings of an earlier shrine.'

The shrine of the *Petit Palais* is the most elaborate arrangement of

[1] See *B.S.A.* xi. 2–16, Fig. 3.

the kind yet discovered at Knossos, or indeed in Crete. It is passed by a thoroughway corridor for convenience of access from opposite quarters of the building, which reminds one of the similar convenience in the case of the Shrine of the Double Axes in the palace. But the corridor in this new case passes along the side, not in front. The orientation of the entrance door is also an innovation. With all this, however, the shrine itself still preserves the primitive characteristics of the adytum, such as the *templum*-like isolation and the indirectness of access.

These are also just the features which most intimately characterize the type of cella which represents the first stage in advance on the hut-prototype presupposed in the Neolithic house at Magasá and in the Early Minoan ossuary at Kastrí.

The impossibility of getting rooms in a simple series out of a house like that at Magasá is something essential to the type which prevented its entering into thoroughgoing inter-connections at a later time. But the alternation of broad and long rooms in pairs, with doorways at right angles, which occurs as an element in Cretan architecture from Early Minoan times onwards, is probably due to the primitive influence of this type of b'ut and b'en house. Taken again itself as a unit, in the simpler form with entrance corridor illustrated by the hut ossuary at Kastrí, its tendency to preserve its adytum-like isolation is characteristic. As a Minoan shrine of very early origin it recurs, we have seen, with this characteristic isolation, as an essential element in every Cretan palace.

The b'ut and b'en House in the Aegean.

Let us now return once more to the prototype presupposed in the Neolithic house at Magasá. Another possibility in the manner of addition of unit to unit, one in front of the other, is that which gives the type of house shown in the diagram of Fig. 6. This is no longer a house like that at Magasá. For in the first place there is no change of orientation, and secondly the simple process of addition of unit to unit, as here, tends to transform a broad house into a long one. At Magasá the series stops at two rooms and cannot go further in the same direction as a simple series; here the series can be continued indefinitely in the same direction.

In both these cases the door of the unit in front remains the outside door, while the front wall of the unit behind becomes now a partition wall,

and its (originally outside) door an internal door. But the latter process of integration, so to say, is organically the simpler of the two, since in its addition of unit to unit, if this is continued indefinitely, it achieves *ipso facto* a natural transformation without having to set up internal communication through the piercing of partition walls and the creation of new thorough doorways, and without the changes of orientation and its consequent complications involved in the other case.

This latter process of repeated addition of unit to unit probably began its existence, alongside of the other already referred to, in the Neolithic period in Crete. The type of simple house with two or more rooms, one in front of the other, that emerged, must have been wide-spread in the Aegean, to judge by its occurrence from Early Minoan times onwards in Crete, as at Vasilikí and its appearance in different guises at Phylakopi in Melos.

In Melos, as influenced, however, probably by Crete, it recurs as an essential element in the Pillar House of the Second City at Phylakopi.[1]

If now we take our type as a sort of complex unit and simply add it to itself, with an inversion of the positions of the doors in the case of the second or added unit to bring it into more intimate and convenient relation with the first, we have the type shown in Fig. 7.

This type of double b'ut and b'en house with living room in front and bedroom behind may be taken to have been peculiarly adapted for the needs of two closely related families, such as father and son-in-law, living as next door neighbours. In such a house, for convenience of internal communication the partition wall would come to be pierced by means of a common doorway.

In this way we should have a type of house like the characteristic one of the Second City at Phylakopi shown in Fig. 8.[2] Here, for the sake of greater privacy, the thorough doorway has been opened up at the very end of the partition wall, and the two outside doors remain. At Phylakopi, however, the tendency is more marked than in Crete to shift the door away from the end of its wall.[3] The front rooms again are long rooms, and the house as a whole, though double, is a long house.

[1] *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Fig. 26. The building (palace?) belongs to the time of the Cretan hegemony in the Aegean. *Ibid.* 269.

[2] After *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Fig. 31. Reproduced by kind permission of the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

[3] Compare, however, with the Melian house the very similar two-doored *façade* of a Middle Minoan house shown in the porcelain plaque from Knossos, *B.S.A.* viii. 17, Fig. 9, *b*.

The underlying type of house itself (Fig. 6) has a very long history in Crete. All the same, considering its very primitive character, we are not quite prepared for the rôle which the type plays as an element in the architecture of the Cretan palaces themselves. Thus, not to cite minor instances, we are somewhat startled to find that the arrangement of the magazines in the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos goes back to it. We have only to

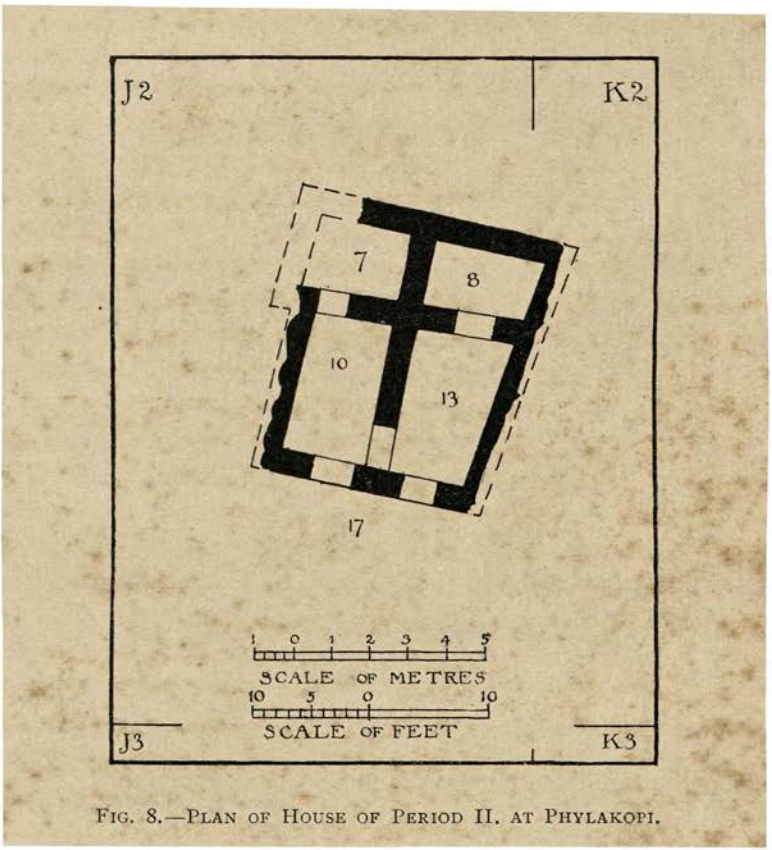


FIG. 8.—PLAN OF HOUSE OF PERIOD II. AT PHYLAKOPI.

take the unit in the type and repeat it several times, instead of once or twice, to realize that we have all that is essential in the plan of these magazines. We have the same opening off the magazines on one side of the corridor and almost complete continuity of unbroken wall on the other as is already present in embryo in our type. The transformation which took place at Phaestos, through repetition of the system of

magazines on the blank side of the corridor, is the *tour de force* of a later time.

In all this, the feature essentially characteristic of Cretan architecture is the marvellous adaptability with which house types which originally had a distinct existence are made to enter into thoroughgoing relations in a complex system in which all the parts are in organic connection with each other. The isolated cella of the primitive Neolithic hut with broad front and door at the end of its front wall can be repeated in a simple series to form a house of two or more rooms with an identity of its own, and yet we find the same serial character coming out in combinations in which it is no longer a house by itself, but a complex element in a greater whole, as illustrated by the magazines at Knossos. At the same time, alongside of this process, it enters into combinations in which it preserves its separate isolated identity throughout, in the same great whole as in the typical case of the Minoan Shrines.

In all the multifarious variety of later development we commonly find that the prototypes which have the earliest start in existence turn out to have the longest survival in history.

The organic process by which prototypes combine to form new unities in larger systems begins at a very early period in Crete.

Thus, for example, the Early Minoan house at Vasilikí discovered by Mr. R. B. Seager and shown in *Gournia*, Pl. XII. 19–27, is in its main features essentially of the type illustrated in our diagram Fig. 6. At the same time the house seems to be entered from the side, and this is a feature which is reminiscent of the Neolithic house at Magasá. It has thus a broad front and its rooms are broad rooms.

The doors preserve a very old custom in being at or near the end of the walls to which they belong, and they are preferably at the right end. This disposition of door-ways, at the end of walls instead of at the middle, is a favourite one, and occurs in every period of Minoan architecture down to palace times.

The very marked preference of the door for the right end of the wall is a feature which is very characteristic in the case of isolated houses of small size in the earlier periods. And it is very likely that the preference is the result of some process of selection depending upon the requirements of light and shadow, heat and coolness, in relation to the orientation of houses in a southern climate. It is at any rate noticeable that this

particular distribution of doorways is less uniformly adhered to as circumstances change, and the type of construction with which it is connected enters more and more, as an element, into complex systems like those of the Cretan palaces. But occasional reminiscences of the arrangement never quite die away, and the most remarkable instance of this is that of the magazines at Knossos to which reference has been made already.[1]

The Early Minoan house at Vasilikí is, as we have seen, no longer of simple plan. The underlying two-roomed type is represented by the front room 22 and the back room 21. To this is added in front the corridor 27 with its entrance at the left hand end.[2] This entrance corridor, with the characteristic change of orientation it involves, is a very early feature with which we have had some acquaintance already. At Vasilikí, however, it no longer stops short at the door into the front room. It pierces the wall alongside of this, and turning a right angle outside the wall is carried along outside both rooms to the end behind. Here there is paving, and this makes it possible that our corridor was open to the sky all along, and that it thus performed the same function as the light-wells of later Minoan times. One instinctively thinks of a narrow corridor and light-well arrangement like that flanking on the south side the Queen's Megaron at Knossos.

This type of entrance corridor is very common elsewhere in the Aegean as well as in Crete. In Melos it plays an important rôle in the Second City at Phylakopi. The most interesting example is that of the house shown in *Phylakopi*, Fig. 27. This case is all the more striking as the house in its general arrangement seems to anticipate the plan of the later, Mycenaean, palace at Phylakopi.[3]

There are equally close analogies on the mainland of Greece itself both at Mycenae and elsewhere further north. Thus, for example, there is the Palace of Arne, for the knowledge of which we owe so much to Dr. Noack. Here there are at least two instances of a b'ut and b'en system with external corridor exhibiting more than an accidental resemblance to

[1] With results that are pitiable, time-honoured tradition that has preserved an analogous eccentric arrangement of doorways in Cretan household architecture to the present day, is only now beginning to give way under the exotic architectural influence of Parisian Athens. Symmetrical façades of portentous loftiness now glare at one in their flaunting paint along the narrow lanes, and the old interior courts with their lovely show of flowers will soon become a thing of the past.

[2] *Gournιá*, Pl. XII. 19–27.

[3] See *ibid.* Fig. 49, and Atkinson on p. 44.

the house at Phylakopi.[1] Noack himself compares with these again a private house to the south-east of the Grave Circle at Mycenae.[2] The characteristic corridor occurs at Arne as at Phylakopi. The house at Phylakopi is in embryo what the Palace at Arne is twice over and on a large scale.

The central arrangement of the doorways, that is to say, the tendency of these to occur in the middle of the wall to which they belong, is the same at Phylakopi as at Arne. There is also the same elongation of the living room. There is again the same characteristic isolation of this at Phylakopi, at Mycenae, in the case of the north megaron at Arne and, we may add, at Troy II.[3]

In both wings of the Palace at Arne, instead of the isolated θάλαμος at the back reached by way of the external corridor, a whole series of rooms extends away behind the megaron. And here not only are the rooms multiplied, but the corridor is duplicated. With all this new-fangled grandeur, however, the old-fashioned θάλαμος in the case of the north wing is not dropped entirely, but relegated to a new position in front of the porch, and there it is likewise reached by the corridor as of old.

We find, however, at Phylakopi that the living room is not so constantly an inner room as on the mainland, to judge by Mycenae, Arne and Troy II. Thus, for example, the double house of the Second City shown in *Phylakopi*, Fig. 31, and illustrated already in our Fig. 8, has the long living room in front and the (broad) sleeping room behind in both cases.

In this respect the underlying type of single two-roomed b'ut and b'en house, with living room in front and sleeping room behind, may perhaps now be taken as locally characteristic in the Aegean in the Middle Cycladic period. At Phylakopi at any rate it occurs in several variants, all in the Second City. Of such houses the most curious are those shown in *Phylakopi*, Figs. 34 and 37. Of these the house of Fig. 34 has two long rooms in front with one outside door to both, while it has a single broad room behind. The house of Fig. 37 again, looks as if it were on the way to becoming a megaron house like that of *Phylakopi*, Fig. 32, compared

[1] *Homerische Paläste*, 19, Fig. 9, systems marked black to left.

[2] *Ibid.* to right.

[3] The thoroughway in the case of the megaron in the east wing at Arne is exceptional but not quite anomalous, as it occasionally exists elsewhere.

already with the megara at Arne. There is hardly any doubt that the broad room at the back here, which is reached no longer directly from the living room but indirectly by means of the corridor outside the porch and alongside of the living room, is the same in origin and function as the b'en or sleeping room of small size and broad type of *Phylakopi*, Figs. 31 34, 37. It cannot be denied that these again have a very close affinity with Cretan b'en rooms of broad type, like the one in the Early Minoan house at Vasilikí, referred to already. The door of the b'en room here is seen shifting towards the middle as in Melos.

The b'ut and b'en House in Thessaly.

The closest and most startling analogies with the b'ut and b'en Aegean type of house of the Middle Cycladic period at Phylakopi are, however, to be sought, not in Crete, but on the mainland of Greece itself, and curiously enough not at Mycenae or Arne, but to our surprise still further north in Thessaly. This knowledge we owe to important discoveries made by Tsountas at Dimini and Sesklo.[1]

The resemblance in question comes out at once if we compare with the Phylakopi houses the plan of the Neolithic house at Sesklo shown in Fig. 9.[2] Here we have the same b'ut and b'en arrangement of large and long living room in front and small and broad sleeping room behind as we found to be characteristic of the Melian houses of the Second City at Phylakopi.[3]

At Dimini again is a house of a similar type belonging to the same general period as the one at Sesklo and shown in Fig. 10.[4] There is, however, a significant difference. The front room of this house is not elongated like the corresponding one at Sesklo: it is still more a broad room than a long one. In this respect it comes closer to the shape of the room behind and is more a mere repetition of that than is the case with the other house. As now this back room represents the original broad hut to which the front room came to be added in the course of development we

[1] Αἱ Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου.

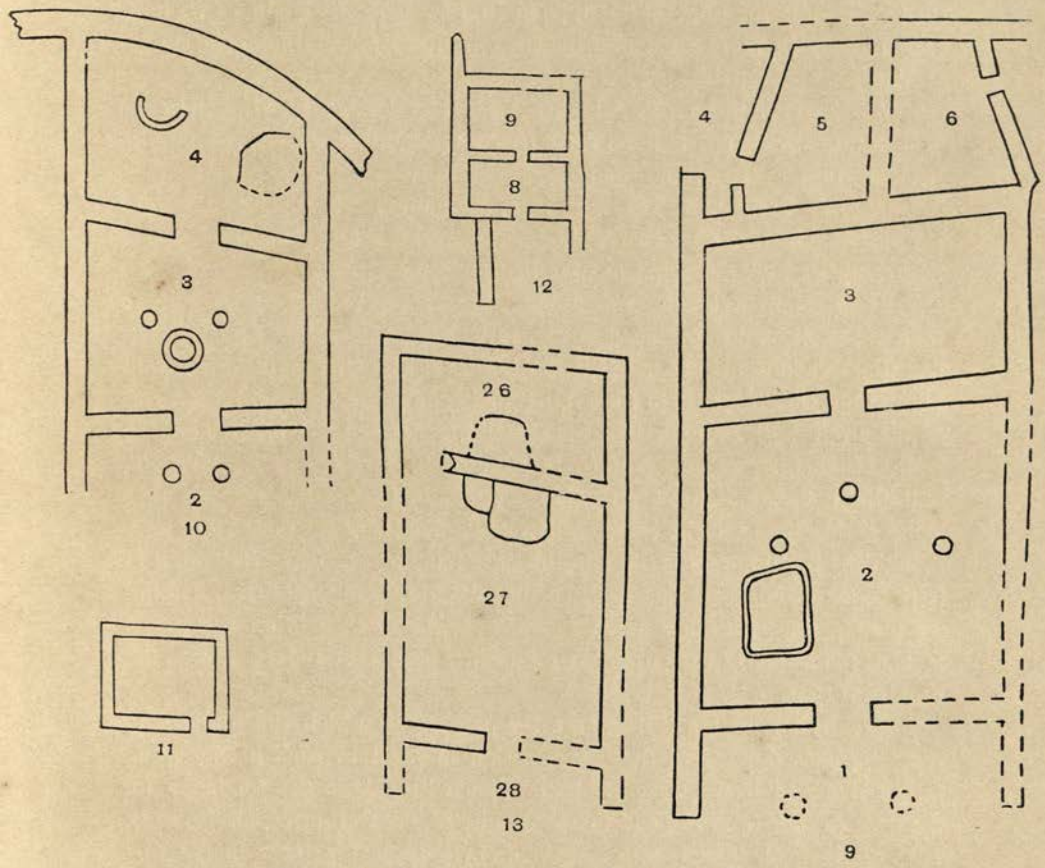
[2] *Op. cit.* 90, Fig. 18. For courteous permission to reproduce Figs. 9–13 I have warmly to thank Professor Tsountas.

[3] The b'en room at Sesklo is identified with the sleeping room or θάλαμος also by Tsountas. See *ibid.* 91.

[4] *Op. cit.* Pl. II. (2–4). This house is called Megaron A by Tsountas.

are justified in regarding the broadness of the front room at Dimini as an archaic feature.

We are all the more encouraged in this idea when we observe next the house at Dimini and left of it a semi-detached outhouse of one room



FIGS. 9–13.—NEOLITHIC HOUSES AT DIMINI AND SESKLO.

which again has a broad front.[1] It represents in this respect in quite simple form the original type underlying the rooms of the main building itself. There is, however, one difference, and this again may have its own significance. The door of the outhouse is not in the middle of the wall to

[1] *Op. cit.* Pl. II. 5 (Δ 3–4).

which it belongs, as in the case of the main building, but at the right end of this. Now we have seen already that this is a feature which appears in Crete in the case of the earliest houses we know of in the island. It occurs in the case of the room of the Neolithic house at Magasá, which in turn represents the original hut-type in Crete. It recurs again, as we have seen already in more than one instance, in the Early Minoan settlement at Vasilikí.

We have now to ask whether this resemblance is altogether an accident, or whether it is not rather based upon some underlying affinity itself resting upon prior ethnological connections embracing regions as far apart as Crete and Thessaly in one common whole. Certain very significant phenomena observable in the earliest settlement at Sesklo may help us towards some answer in the latter sense.

Thus let us take the one-roomed house marked 38 on Tsountas's plan of Sesklo and reproduced in Fig. 11.[1] We are struck at once by the fact that this house is not only identical in type with the one referred to at Dimini but that it is also of the same broad type with door at the right end of the front wall as underlies the Neolithic house at Megasá and the Early Minoan houses at Vasilikí. It is important further to note, however, that this house does not stand alone at Sesklo itself. We can see that house 39 belonging to the same earliest settlement is of the same type, and, though the position of the door in this case has not been ascertained, it is fairly safe to conjecture that it was analogous to that of the other. Taking the plan generally, even a cursory glance enables us to see that the broad form of room was of very frequent occurrence and that indeed it was the dominant type.

Equally interesting is it to note the process by which the underlying type becomes duplicated through addition in front in such a way as to form a b'ut and b'en house. Simultaneous with this is the tendency for the door to shift from the end to the middle of the wall in which it occurs. Both of these phenomena are observable in a typical instance in the first settlement at Sesklo. This is the house 8–9 shown in Fig. 12.[2] Here once more we have the time-honoured broad type of the primitive hut still adhered to, not only in the back room, but likewise in the front one. Who cannot see now that a type of b'ut and b'en house like this represents the prototype of a house like that of the second settlement at Dimini referred to already

[1] *Op. cit.* Pl. II. (38) 85. [2] *Op. cit.* Pl. III. (8–9).

and shown in Fig. 10? Here also, as we have seen, the front room is still of the broad type.

At Sesklo we see this broad type of front room in process of transformation into a long one. And to convince ourselves of this it is only necessary to compare the house at Dimini of Fig. 10 with that at Sesklo referred to already and shown in Fig. 9. The house at Dimini thus provides us with an intermediate link in the process of development which enables us at one remove to connect the type with long front room, of Fig. 9 of the second town at Sesklo, with the more primitive one of the first settlement. This is entirely broad-roomed, and the central position of its doorways only separates it by one remove from the one-roomed Neolithic huts of Sesklo and the type shown in Fig. 11. This type of Neolithic hut again is identical, as we have seen, with the earliest prototype in Crete.

There is thus a very close affinity between the earlier and later types of houses in Crete and in Thessaly respectively in the prehistoric age, beginning with the most primitive prototypes of which we have any knowledge; this conclusion is now more than justified by the new evidence from Dimini and Sesklo of which we have been speaking. That these architectural affinities are based upon underlying affinities of an ethnological character may accordingly be taken to be no longer a mere conjecture, but a view which is warranted by the new evidence. And of these ethnological connections again it is fair to affirm that they fall into line with similar phenomena in other parts of the Mediterranean, in being of southern origin and not being derivable in their immediate antecedents from any part of East-Central or Central Europe.

The Central Hearth in the b'ut and b'en House in Thessaly.

It will be remembered that we have already referred to the close resemblance between the b'ut and b'en house-type of Dimini and Sesklo, and that of the Second City at Phylakopi.

In Thessaly, however, we have certain features which are not present in the same form in the Aegean.

In the first place, there is the open portico in front. This had two wooden columns in the case of the house at Dimini.[1] On this analogy

[1] Tsountas, *op. cit.* 54.

Tsountas reconstructs the house at Sesklo with two similar columns.[1] On the other hand, the shallow portico of Megaron B at Dimini does not seem to have had the columns.[2]

Corresponding to this at Phylakopi is a porch-like front corridor entered from one end; this we have seen already in Early Minoan Crete; the origin of the type there found may probably in turn be traced in one variant which occurs in the entrance to the Neolithic house at Magasá. The orientation from left to right fronting the inner door on entering, as at Magasá, is a very favourite one both in Early Minoan Crete and in the Second City at Phylakopi.

Considering connections like these we need not be too much startled to find that the same porch arrangement recurs again on the mainland of Greece and, of all places, at Arne. Here it is of a more spacious palatial form approaching a square, but here once more the entrance from the side is characteristic.

Once we have an 'Aegean' porch of this kind represented on the mainland of Greece at a palace so typically 'Mycenaean' as that of Arne we need no longer be alarmed at the mainland portico with columns in a type of house so characteristically 'Aegean' as the Neolithic megara of Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly. In case we should happen to be apprehensive it might, perhaps, be as well to remember the analogy of the corridored system of back rooms behind the megaron at Arne, with the *θάλαμοι* reached by a separate passage of the late Second City at Phylakopi. The moral is that 'Aegean' and 'Mycenaean' here have to be treated with a certain amount of give and take, but not in such a way as to imply an entire derivation either way. Otherwise we might run the risk of forgetting the underlying unity that has already been shown to exist as well in the Thessaly of the late Stone Age as in the Aegean and Neolithic Crete.

In the second place, at Dimini and Sesklo there is the central hearth.[3] This is a feature which has not as yet been identified anywhere at Phylakopi except in the megaron of the Mycenaean palace, which is of mainland type.[4]

There is hardly any doubt, however, that from the earliest times, and beginning with the primitive one-roomed hut, there must have been some arrangement of an analogous kind for heating and cooking purposes.

[1] *Ibid.* 89. [2] *Ibid.* 60 and Fig. 11. [3] Fig. 9, room 2, and Tsountas, *op. cit.* 90.
[4] *Excavations*, Fig. 49; *B.S.A.* xi. 221, Fig. 4.

Under primitive conditions and in a southern climate in summer, the fire is lit for the cooking of meals and then allowed to go out again. In the winter the fire tends more to become a permanent institution. These circumstances would apply to the huts of Neolithic Crete and to many of the one-roomed houses of the First City at Phylakopi.

Under less simple conditions of life, in houses of more than one room, the fire, following old usage, continues to be lit in that room of the enlarged house which represents the primitive hut. It is only ousted from here as the functions of the rooms alter. This happens when the room which represents the original hut becomes a back or sleeping room on the addition of a new living room in front. This, as we have seen, is the case with many of the houses of the Second City at Phylakopi. But the fact that no hearths were found makes it very likely that in the Aegean, by the time of the Second City at Phylakopi, the portable hearth had already been long in vogue.

The most primitive conditions may be conceived as being somewhat like those of the Mediterranean shepherd of the present day, who lights his fire on the floor of his one-roomed hut as required and as best he may. The earliest refinement on primitive conditions is that in which the fire is placed in a position sheltered from draughts. This precaution is primitive and is never absent! The best way of obtaining freedom from draughts under simple and early conditions is that of having the door at the end of one of the long walls in the case of a rectangular hut, as in Neolithic and Early Minoan Crete and the Sardinia and Corsica of the present day.[1]

In a warm climate, however, like that of the Aegean in summer, the drawback of having the after-heat linger in a room long after the fire is allowed to smoulder out must at a very early period have suggested the convenience of the portable hearth. This has a double advantage. In the first place it can be lit outside and then brought in when the smoke has abated and the fire is ready, and in the second place it can be put outside again altogether when there is no longer any use for the fire. We thus see that the refinement represented by the use of the portable hearth in a southern climate is not the most primitive condition, but one following out

[1] The recent influence of Italian house-forms in the case of Sardinia, and of French ones in that of Corsica has worked much confusion. And the result is lamentable when the time-honoured rules about the sheltering and isolation of the central hearth thus come to be ignored. For a stranger, existence in such an environment of acrid smoke blown about by draughts is simply impossible.

of that. The portable hearth, however, when required for heating purposes in winter, becomes a central fire as of old. People gather round it to warm themselves, and primitive conditions are restored again. The portable hearth is essentially a central hearth. Its use has remained a time-honoured institution in the Aegean till the present day.

What now happens in parts of the Mediterranean further north, where climatic conditions are more rigid in winter than in the Aegean? Here again modern analogies are of help to us. Thus in Sardinia and also in Corsica, which are on a level with Thessaly, the central hearth is a fixture which has survived to the present day just as, under milder climatic conditions, the portable hearth has done in the Aegean. So much is the central hearth in vogue in these islands that, even if the house has two storeys, the time-honoured central hearth is still kept up and placed in the upper storey! In Sardinia and Corsica the use of the central hearth passes almost entirely into abeyance in the summer, except on chill evenings and for cooking purposes.[1]

In correspondence with these climatic conditions, as we have pointed out already, is the tendency in these islands to isolate the central hearth room, and if this is not possible, at least to shelter the central hearth. In normal circumstances which permit the time-honoured regulations to be carried out under simple conditions, the central-hearth room has only one door, and this is preferably at the end of one of the long walls of the room if this is not quite square. Immediately behind the door is a shuttered paneless window which along with the door is the only means of admitting light and air. This window is shut in chill weather and is hardly ever opened in winter. Sometimes it is in the upper half of the door itself.

This kind of room comes nearest to primitive conditions in the Mediterranean, requiring the use of the central hearth whether in prehistoric times or as among shepherd people of the present day. Everywhere, however, there are observable in the distribution of rooms reminiscences of climatic conditions in the Mediterranean which had not had to take the same account of the central hearth as a permanent institution as it does in the upland parts of Sardinia. At a very early age in the southern parts of the Mediterranean, household architecture attained to a high degree of elaboration, apart from such considerations

[1] Modernizing influences are bringing in the cooking-oven and the wall fire-place with chimney.

altogether, or only with a limited reference to them. Ample illustration of this phenomenon is now available in the Aegean through discoveries in Crete which go back to Early Minoan times. One has only to consider such thoroughgoing interconnections as are represented for example at Vasilikí to know what this meant. In such early systems, once through connections have come to be established between room and room without reference to the needs of the permanent central hearth, these arrangements tend to be kept up even in circumstances requiring a permanent central hearth, and in spite of that. Many anomalies that are noticeable in Mediterranean central-hearth houses are to be accounted for in this way.[1]

Other anomalies arise through addition of room to room in a way leading to a change in the function of these. Thus, for example, in the Sardinia and Corsica of the present day, there are many b'ut and b'en houses with a living room in front and a sleeping room behind. Here then we have a transformation of the simplest conditions, with change of function of the original hut-room, analogous to what took place in the East Mediterranean in prehistoric times. The central hearth is now in the front room in Sardinia, just as in Melos of long ago the front room became the living room in the Second City at Phylakopi. In Melos in the Second City of Phylakopi we have not the fixed central hearth, but we have suggested that instead of it the portable hearth was in use in the mild climate of the Aegean. The proper place for this now under the altered conditions which gave rise to the b'ut and b'en type of house was again the front room.

When, however, we go further north to Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly we have already in late Neolithic times conditions exactly analogous to those that hold good of the b'ut and b'en houses of Sardinia of the present day. In the b'ut and b'en houses at Dimini and Sesklo there is a fixed central hearth, and this is in the front room. So it is in Sardinia, in houses of the same kind. In Sardinia on the b'ut and b'en arrangement, which does not admit of the isolation of the front room, we find that the central hearth is shifted from its usual central position. This is all done with a view to avoiding the through current which is apt to pass between the b'ut and

[1] Collusion with foreign house types in which the central hearth did not play a part was a fertile source of anomalies in later times. This was apparently what happened with the Frankish house of the Middle Ages.

b'en door. The hearth thus comes to be towards an angle, but always in such a way that people can still sit round it.

This again is exactly what we find happening in the case of the Neolithic house at Sesklo. The genesis of this type of house, as we have seen, was such that the room corresponding to the original hut of a one-roomed house has become a back room on the addition of another room in front. Not only so, but the back room again, through this addition in front, has now all but lost the light it had as a hut direct from the door. Thus, if it is not to remain a dark cellar-like room, it has now to be provided with some sort of window. As an alternative it has to be borne in mind that if the window occurred already in the primitive type of hut, it would, according to modern analogies, be in the same front wall of the hut as the door, and as near as possible to that, if not in the upper half of the door itself. The addition now of the front room would transform the original outside door into an internal one. The window on the other hand would become useless in the old position and would have to be removed to a wall with an external outlook. In all this it has to be remembered that it was in the room which has now become a b'en room, that the original fire, whether temporary or permanent, was wont to be lit. Another matter that has to be borne in mind is that the addition of the new room has involved a distribution of functions over two rooms which were originally concentrated in one. This did not happen without certain compromises of a very curious character. What in the new circumstances is the back room was in its original hut-condition an isolated room by itself, without the possibility of through currents, and the kindling and presence of the fire there was a simple matter of course. It was living and sleeping room in one. Now, however, it is no longer a living room, but a sleeping room of a much more private character, and thus the temporary, or permanent hearth is no longer in keeping there. The living room under the new conditions is the new one which has been added in front, and the fire has accordingly to be here.

This process of division of function is entirely organic and natural, and all domestic architecture in its development is but a continuous illustration of the new practical difficulties that are apt to arise and that have to be overcome in consequence of its necessary action.

Such a difficulty has arisen here on the translation to the front room of a b'ut and b'en system, of a fire that originally belonged to the simple

primitive arrangements for cooking and heating proper to the one-roomed hut. The difficulty was found to be of a lighter and less serious character in those warm southern parts of the Mediterranean, where the fire was of a more temporary nature, and especially where the portable hearth may have been already in use, as in the case of Crete and the Second City at Phylakopi. Much primitive experience with temporary fires is presupposed in a process of selection such as gave rise under these conditions to the institution of the portable hearth.

Far more serious is the difficulty further north, as on the mainland of Greece, where the greater rigidity of the climate has led to the transformation of the primitive temporary fires of the south into a permanent institution necessitating the installation of the fixed central hearth.

We have seen already how the genesis of the b'ut and b'en arrangement has, *ipso facto*, led to the possibility of through currents. We accordingly now understand the difficulty that arises with the fixation of a central hearth that can no longer have that central position it had on the original arrangement, if in this way it would come to be on the line of the through current. Therefore it has to be put somewhat to one side out of the current! This now is precisely what has happened at Sesklo. As the plan of Fig. 9 shows us, the hearth here is not on the line between the b'ut and b'en door, but in the protected angle to the left as one enters the front room.

More curious still is the phenomenon presented by Megaron B at Dimini shown in Fig. 13.[1] Here, apparently to avoid the draught, the fire-place is shifted to a position against the back wall of the room, and to make space for it the door to the b'en room is correspondingly shifted to the left end of the wall. The fire-place thus loses its central function altogether, and it assumes an entirely anomalous character as compared with the other more normal type of central hearth of Dimini and Sesklo.

In Megaron A at Dimini which with its broad front room is of more archaic type than the one at Sesklo, the hearth, to be sure, is in an almost central position a little to the left of the axis between the b'ut and the b'en door. Here, however, it must be remembered that the central position of the fire was the ideal one in primitive conditions. Resting as it did upon primordial tradition, the builder always aimed at giving it this central

[1] *Op. cit.* Fig. 11.

position, unless very special circumstances, such as through currents, interfered. It is very probable, as we have suggested, that such circumstances did have their influence in the case referred to at Sesklo, and that they did not at Dimini. The b'en room at Dimini is built against the fortifications, whose anomalous curve round indeed forms the back wall of the room. In this back room accordingly there was no opening. Tsountas again gives reasons for regarding the room as older than the one in front.[1] In that case as a one-roomed house it would have received its light from the door, and there would have been originally no openings in the side walls either. If then these walls were not opened up later as an afterthought on addition of the front part of the house, we should have a dark room. This accords with Tsountas's suggestion that the place in its later form was used as a mere cellar for storing grain.[2] In that case the through current, whose presence was apt to influence the normal position of the central hearth, would not exist, and there would have been nothing to prevent that central position for the hearth which under primitive conditions, as we have said, always remained the ideal one.

The first and most primitive stage in architectural development then is one in which the household fire, whether permanent or temporary, has its place in the centre of the one-roomed hut. The second phase, represented by the addition of a front room to the original one-roomed hut, shows the fire removed to this front room, as at Sesklo. The third stage in development, marked by the fixation of the central hearth in its final position is a return to primitive conditions, and this we have represented for us in the megara at Tiryns, at Mycenae, at Arne, and at Troy II.

This return to primitive conditions was facilitated by the following circumstances:—in the first place, the people who created a type of b'ut and b'en house like that at Sesklo are not living in an age in which all memory of the primitive central fire of the one-roomed hut is forgotten, but in the midst of a population of poor people with one-roomed huts in which the central fire is a matter of daily use and custom. And in the second place, the genesis of the room added in front is such that it is meant to be a repetition in type of the original room. The b'ut and b'en character of the house has emerged simply as a result of the process by which the new room is added in front of the old one. Although the new front room now turns out to have two doors, one in front and one behind, the underlying original

[1] *Op. cit.* 52. [2] *Ibid.* 52.

type had only one. Indeed it may be said that the intention was all along that the living room should not be a through room. As a matter of fact, however, and in those circumstances in which the added room was put in front of the other, this intention could not be carried out systematically without such afterthought as is not apt to be present in early and tentative phases of development which have once left the primitive hut stage behind.

In the Aegean and in Crete this difficulty apparently never occurred. The general use of the portable hearth in the milder climate of the south could much more easily accomodate itself to the new conditions than the fixed central hearth of Neolithic huts in the more rigid climate of mainland Greece. Once the smoke is gone and the embers are red, the portable hearth can be brought inside and shifted about into any position and from one room to another, somewhat in the manner of a modern Mediterranean charcoal brazier. Thus, for example, in the Second City at Phylakopi, where the b'ut and b'en arrangement is so closely analogous to that of the Neolithic house at Sesklo, the portable hearth would be usually in the front room, but it might be in any position there; if the hearth were properly prepared outside, no inconvenience would be caused by smoke blown about by draughts. It could thus be a central hearth as of old. It could also at bed time in winter be put into the b'en room.

This could no longer be the case with a permanently fixed central hearth like that at Sesklo, on which the fire is lit inside, and which consequently requires a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. The avoidance of draughts under such circumstances is a paramount consideration. It is, as we have seen, this consideration entirely that accounts for the curious eccentric position of the fixed central hearth at Sesklo and its complete loss of centrality in the case of Megaron B at Dimini.[1]

The meaning of this phenomenon in its general connections is this:— the b'ut and b'en type of two-roomed house was already in existence in the Mediterranean at a time anterior to the fixation of the central hearth in that unchangeable position it later came to have in the Mycenaean megaron. That this was so on the mainland of Greece we now know from the Neolithic house at Sesklo. This example shows us the process by which in a north Mediterranean latitude a central hearth, which originally had its place in the middle of the one room of the most primitive type of house, comes to be removed from the later representative of this

[1] Megaron A, Megaron B, here refer to Tsountas's designations.

room to the new front room. Here, however, though its presence is justified by the functions of the new room, it is no longer in place in the old sense of the word, since the new conditions have introduced a possibility of currents which did not exist under the primitive arrangement. At this stage efforts at readjustment, such as we see taking place before our eyes at Dimini and Sesklo, are inevitable, but they are all unsatisfactory, and the final solution of the difficulty is a return to primitive conditions.

The Central Hearth in Thessaly and at Mycenae.

In considering now the genesis of a type of megaron with central hearth, like that of the mainland of Greece in the Mycenaean Age, a form of hall like the elongated front room of the house at Sesklo cannot be left out of account. Neither can we afford to ignore the more archaic variant of this represented to us by Megaron A at Dimini, in which the front room, though already slightly larger than the back one, is still of broad type. It would again be unfair to the evidence to take this by itself and not refer back its type to the still earlier broad-roomed house 8–9 of the first settlement at Sesklo (our Fig. 12) in which the front room this time is not yet larger, but is even smaller, than the back one. If it is not seen that there is a process of development represented in the sequence by which those earlier and later types follow upon each other, it will be difficult ever to arrive at any reasonable explanation of the phenomena consistent at the same time with the general evidence from other parts of Greece and the Aegean. We have already seen that the same type of house is present in the Cyclades as early at least as the foundation of the Second City at Phylakopi, while a broad-roomed variant, coming very close to the b'ut and b'en broad-roomed house 8–9 at Sesklo, exists in Crete (Vasilikí) already in Early Minoan times. It would be rash to make either of these earliest broad-roomed types — the Cretan and the Thessalian respectively— dependent directly on the other. Yet that there is affinity of a very close kind, we have suggested already, for the very good reason that both go back to an earlier prototype of broad-roomed hut which is found to be identical in Thessaly and in Crete at the earliest period of which we have any knowledge.

In the course of our argument hitherto we have indicated various

circumstances which point towards the conclusion that the Neolithic civilization of the Mediterranean is of southern origin, and that, further, the migratory movements which were taken as initiating that civilization were in a direction which was from south to north, rather than from north to south. The only new data that would be calculated to overthrow this view as regards the Aegean would be such as would tend to show that the earliest occupation of mainland sites so far north as Dimini and Sesklo was anterior to the first settlement of Neolithic Crete.

The general tendency of the evidence, however, is rather in the other direction. The Neolithic deposits of the Thessalian sites, in their higher levels at least, coincide with what is already Early Minoan in Crete.[1] Accordingly further evidence is required to show that the earliest strata of enormous Neolithic deposits like those of Knossos are not contemporary, if not anterior, in date to the earliest settlement of sites like Dimini and Sesklo.

Considering the formation, through severance, of distinct ethnic unities that took place at so early a date as the formation of the earliest Neolithic deposits in Crete and in Thessaly respectively, we need not expect very close affinities in detail in later times, after the work of local differentiation has once proceeded far upon its way.

We have seen that Neolithic huts at Sesklo are of exactly the same type as the prototype of Neolithic houses in Crete. There is again only a distinction in detail between a broad-roomed b'ut and b'en house of the earliest settlement at Sesklo and such a house in Early Minoan Crete. In the Second City at Phylakopi once more we have local variants that in some instances point to Thessaly, and in others again as strongly to Crete. The only difference between the b'ut and b'en house type most characteristic of Middle Cycladic Melos, and that of Thessaly, is that the latter has, and the former apparently has not, the central hearth. Yet the type of the Pillar House in the same Second City of Phylakopi quite as closely resembles those of Middle Minoan Knossos. In Melos there is hardly any doubt whatever that Thessalian and Cretan affinities coalesced in the time of the Second City. But no such coalescence took place in Crete itself, or at what for our purpose may be regarded as the other extreme of Thessaly. The broad-roomed b'ut and b'en type of house in Middle Minoan Crete is

[1] See *Classical Review*, xxii. 236.

already a considerable distance removed from the Thessalian b'ut and b'en megaron with elongated front room and central hearth.

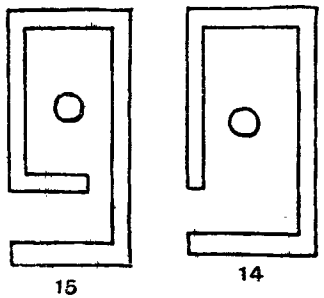
The process of differentiation at the opposite poles of Crete and Thessaly respectively, took place on gradually diverging lines. And it is this local process of gradual differentiation that accounts for the enormous difference in character in the final outcome of architectural development as represented respectively by the palaces of Crete and those of Arne, Tiryns and Mycenae.

Were it not for a b'ut and b'en house-type like that of Dimini and Sesklo, it would indeed be more convenient to regard a type of megaron like the Mycenaean one as being directly derivative from the primitive one-roomed hut with central hearth of Neolithic times of the mainland of Greece. And as a matter of organic development, there is no doubt that megara, like those of the Palace at Tiryns and the house south-east of the Grave Circle at Mycenae, represent typologically a reversal to the primitive type in which the room is isolated, and the hearth is installed in the centre as of old. The persistence and survival of the type would in this sense be owing to its primitive adaptability to the central-hearth arrangement which climatic conditions had made customary on the mainland to an extent for which there is no parallel in the Aegean.

There are, however, several reasons why the intermediate link represented by the b'ut and b'en megaron of Neolithic Thessaly cannot be left out of account. In the first place, in the more advanced type of this megaron we have a distinct bond of connection with the later, Mycenaean megaron, in the elongation towards the front of the central-hearth room. There is every probability that the giving up of the central hearth in the room which originally had it, and the installation of it in the new front room had something to do with this elongation. And the discovery now of the broad-roomed huts of Thessaly with doorway at the end of the front wall gives new point to what previously was hardly more than a reasonable conjecture. As can be seen by reference to the diagram of Fig. 14, once one entered a hut of this kind and looked towards the central hearth and the back of the room behind, what confronted one from the point of view of the depth of the room was no longer a broad room but a long one.

In a room of this kind we have the true and earliest prototype of every Mycenaean hall. Thus it turns out that the elongation of the front room in

the case of the b'ut and b'en system was simply a repetition of the proportions and arrangement of the original hut room.[1] The through door to the back room was the one anomaly here. But the genesis of this was a perfectly natural one, and we have already seen it emerge in the Aegean under circumstances in which it was unnecessary to take account of the central hearth. There it had a long history. On the mainland we see it later eliminated in the case of the Mycenaean hall. This elimination, however, was not of the nature of a new and unheard of transaction, determined upon once for all by a particular architect, but a natural process of return to primitive conditions that never ceased to be present in the simpler habitations of men.



FIGS. 14, 15.

FIG. 14.—CENTRAL-HEARTH HUT WITH DOOR AT END OF WALL.
FIG. 15.—DEVELOPMENT OF PORCH.

In the next place there is the side position of the outer door in its relation to the genesis of the entrance porch. The germ of all this is already present in the shape of the door at the end of the front wall of the original hut, as shown in the last diagram. The device now of separating off the living room by means of a short internal wall as one enters is responsible for the entrance porch which appears in the diagram of Fig. 15. The side door and this entrance porch are features which have a very wide range, not only in the Aegean, but on the mainland of Greece. The Cretan Neolithic house at Magasá presents it in a somewhat anomalous but already advanced form. It occurs later, as we have seen, in Early Minoan Crete, where the prototype is represented in the ossuary at Kastrí, and where it already performs a regular function in the case of houses like those at Vasilikí. It is a feature of very frequent occurrence in the Second City at Phylakopi. It recurs again on the mainland at Arne;[2] and the side doors of the *prodomoi* at Tiryns are more than a mere reminiscence of this arrangement.

[1] There is thus no longer any need for the suggestion made in *B.S.A.* xii. 254–5.

[2] Noack is evidently somewhat perturbed by the presence of the porches with side-door at Arne and strives to ease his conscience by explaining them away as a case of concession to special circumstances. He then warns us as to what we are not to think about them: 'sie dürfen daher nicht etwa als Vertreter eines besonderen Haustypus mit antenloser, allseitig umbauter Vorhalle . . . angesehen werden.' *Hom. Paläste*, 20.

Further, there is the presence of the θάλαμος or sleeping room which, as we have seen, is a b'en room in the case of the Neolithic megara of Thessaly and an isolated back room in certain types of Mycenaean palace. This isolated back room does not exist, to be sure, at Tiryns, but elsewhere

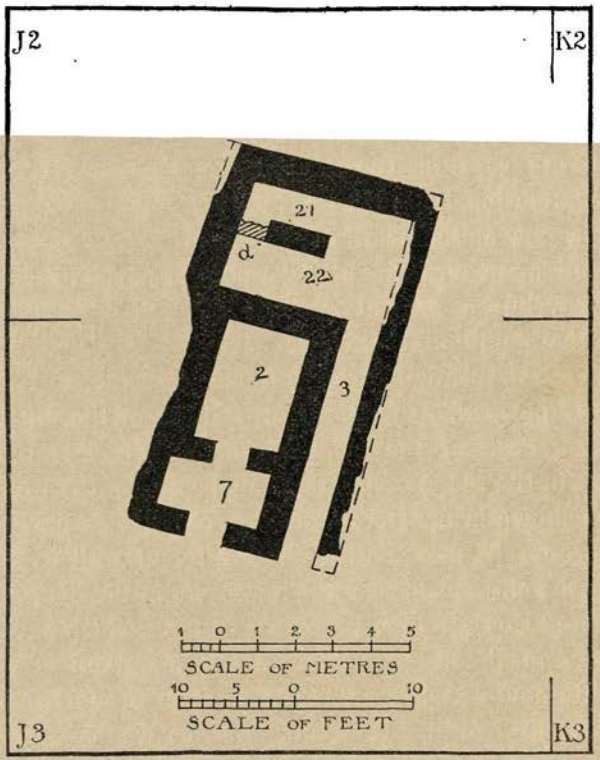


FIG. 16.—HOUSE OF PERIOD II. AT PHYLAKOPI.

it occurs in regions as far apart as Arne in Boeotia and Melos in the Aegean.

An interesting Melian example is the house of the Second Settlement referred to in a previous passage and shown in Fig. 16.[1] In this case there is no direct access from the living room or megaron to the sleeping room behind and this is reached in an indirect way by means of a separate corridor which passes to the back alongside of the megaron and outside of

[1] *Excavations*, Fig. 32. Reproduced by kind permission of the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

that. The same corridor and the same isolated back room exist in the case of the palace at Phylakopi.[1]

With these examples we have already compared the arrangement of megaron with separate corridor to back rooms at Arne.

The Palace at Arne now represents a process of development which, as regards the time-honoured back room, comes out in very strong contrast to that at Tiryns. The old-fashioned back room, as we have seen, has at Arne become multiplied many times over into a rather formidable system, and not only are the corridors lengthened to such a degree that they go, so to say, to infinity but they occur in duplicate. With all this somewhat monotonous grandeur, however, the arrangements for sleeping are seemingly repeated so many times over that the whole building looks more like the barracks of a garrison than the palace of a king.

The final tendency of development is represented, not at Arne, but at Tiryns. Here the old-fashioned back room is found to be entirely out of date and no longer of any use, and so it is simply dropped. But it does not disappear without leaving a reminiscence of this process of atrophy in the shape of the outside corridor, This is still retained everywhere as a useful means of communication, and in the case of the Second Megaron at Tiryns it even goes right round behind. We should have something entirely analogous to this at the palace of Phylakopi, supposing the back room there were cancelled and the corridors retained.

Now in all this there would be no point whatever in comparing what is earlier with what is later over so wide a field, did we not recognize that there is a sequence in the phenomena which is not confined to one locality. And the true meaning of this sequence is that there is an underlying connection between the earlier type of b'ut and b'en megaron and the later one in which the megaron is isolated and there is no longer any passage through it to the sleeping room.

The earlier state of things is quite clear at Dimini and Sesklo. And there we have an isolation of the phenomena at a very early period which, so far as we can see, is quite free from collusion with foreign types of house that are not Mediterranean in origin.

At Phylakopi in Melos, in the Second City, we have the earlier b'ut and b'en megaron and the later type with isolated living room existing side by side.

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. p. 221, Cretan Palaces I. Fig. 4.

Even Arne, with its unity of construction proper to a palace, does not tell a different story. Here the north megaron is an isolated room, but the corresponding apartment in the east wing is of a b'ut and b'en character as at Dimini and Sesklo, and the doorway through its back wall is more than a mere faint reminiscence of an earlier state of things.[1]

From what has been said, then, there can hardly now be any doubt that a connection exists between the earlier phenomena at Sesklo and the later ones at Arne and Phylakopi. In that case we have to conclude that the transition from earlier to later has been brought about through the surrender of the b'en door in the later type of hall. That this doorway should have persisted in one instance even at Arne, only points to the strength of this immemorial tradition which justified its survival to so late a time. It is, as we have seen already, the original hut door! When once this outside door was incorporated into the internal structure of the b'ut and b'en house, it was only as the result of a long process of organic reaction that it finally became eliminated.

What gave persistency to this curious process of reaction was the fact that the b'en door owed its inclusion in the new arrangement to false pretences. True enough, it represented the old hut door, but instead of being an external door it was now an internal one. Again, as Megaron A at Dimini with its broad front room shows, it is equally true that the front room of the b'ut and b'en house with its central hearth was meant to be a repetition of the original hut with its primitive central fire. The only point of variation from it was the through door to the back room.

We have already indicated the practical difficulty that arose on the transference of the central hearth from its traditional position in the room corresponding to the primeval hut to the front room. This difficulty, as we have seen, depended on causes which were inherent in the very process of transformation to which the front room owed its existence. Originally an isolated one-doored room, it now at one stroke had two doors: one in front and one behind. Nothing could have been more unlike its original character. And once given the possibility of through currents on the b'ut and b'en arrangement, nothing could be more out of keeping with that isolation of the living room which made the central hearth the most natural thing in the world in the case of the primitive hut.

In the case of Megaron A at Dimini we saw the hearth still naïvely

[1] See *Homerische Paläste*, 19, Fig. 9.

put in the centre of the room. But, as we have seen, the megaron at Sesklo has it shifted to the side out of the current, while Megaron B at Dimini has recourse to the unheard-of expedient of placing the hearth against the back wall of the room, the b'en door being shifted to the left side to make room for it.

The organic solution of the difficulty was the elimination of the b'en door and the creation of another means of reaching the back room, in the shape of the outside corridor.

This process of development, as we have seen, was all the more natural as it was really in a new form a reassertion of an earlier and more normal arrangement which was still in daily use among simple people living in one-roomed huts. In those earlier conditions, as any simple peasant could point out to the lord of the manor, there could be no real warrant whatever for the through door, if the front room with its central hearth were really to be true to the character of the primitive one whose arrangements it imitated.

The final outcome of the process of organic elimination is to be seen at Tiryns. Here, as we have seen, the old-fashioned back room, having lost all importance in the grand palatial system, besides being spatially awkward as well, is simply dropped.

What we have, then, at the end is the final fixation of the central hearth in an isolated megaron, which, in one form or another, was present from the beginning, was the ideal all through, and received its final apotheosis in the megara of Mycenae and of Tiryns.

In tracing the evolution whereby the central hearth became a feature in an isolated living room, we must never forget the simple conditions in which the process of development started with the original hut. These conditions we now see before our eyes in the primitive huts of Neolithic Thessaly on the one hand, and of Neolithic and Early Minoan Crete on the other.

The original type of hut we found to be identical in either case. The one distinguishing difference at the beginning is that on the mainland of Greece we have a central hearth, while in Crete and the Aegean we have none. In the mild climate of the south, fires are of a temporary character, and portable hearths must have been a very early invention, whereas in the more rigid climate of North Greece the fire comes to be a permanent institution, and the central hearth as a fixture is a necessity. Seeing then

that the type of hut at the beginning is found to be identical in Crete and in North Greece respectively, it is perfectly natural to trace back to different climatic conditions the one feature of the fixed central hearth, which distinguishes Northern Hellas from the Aegean.

The process of development in these conditions was clearly one in which the temporary fire, round which people sat for warmth, but which never was a permanent institution in the south Aegean, was by a gradual process adjusted, and finally became permanent in the more rigid climate of mainland Greece; until at last it attains the glorified form which is represented to us in Mycenaean palaces.

In spite of the elaboration of its later form, there is no reason to suppose its origin was less primitive than what may be found in a Mediterranean shepherd's hut of the present day. In a hut of this kind, in case of its migration to a colder climate what was a temporary fire merely becomes a permanent institution. In the upland wilds of Sardinia of our own time we have the same illustration of this process as we have in Thessaly of the prehistoric age.

We have seen already that the underlying connection between the Aegean and North Greece in the earliest period of which we have any knowledge has now become much clearer since Tsountas's fortunate discoveries at Dimini and Sesklo have been made available for study. And we now only follow Tsountas himself in his cautious suggestion to the effect that this connection was one which was between south and north, not one between north and south.[1] Thus we have to interpret the process of development as having been one in which in primitive conditions the temporary fires of the south became transformed into permanent fires on fixed central hearths in the north. In interpreting the phenomena, we have no justification for asserting that a central hearth which was a permanent institution in Thessaly was given up in the milder south in favour of temporary fires. A process of development which would be in the direction of this kind of elimination and dissolution at an age so early as that of which we speak could never have given rise to an architecture like that of the East Mediterranean, whether on the mainland of Greece or in Crete.

The conditions pre-supposed at Sesklo are the following:—1. The central hearth in a one-roomed broad-fronted house which did not have this arrangement in the more southern parts of the East Mediterranean,

[1] See Tsountas, *op. cit.* 398.

but which on the other hand was entirely adapted to its use under changed climatic conditions, owing to the simple isolated character of the room in such a type.

2. Alongside of this we have the central hearth in the front room of a b'ut and b'en type of house. This type of house had equally come into being without reference to the exigencies of the fixed central hearth. In this case, however, the b'ut and b'en character of the house was entirely unsuited to such an arrangement, owing to its creation of through currents.

In the first case referred to the process of architectural development only demanded that the isolation of the central-hearth room should be kept up, and as a matter of fact we find that it is so kept up.

In the second case the process of development required that the through passage of the b'ut and b'en system should be given up, and this, as a matter of architectural history, was what happened.

We have to remember once more that the original prototype hut, underlying the whole later process of development, was found to be identical in Crete and in Thessaly. In keeping with its primitive character it started its existence as an isolated room.

This isolated room in Crete to all appearance did not possess the fixed central hearth; in Thessaly it did. In other words, a type of room which originally did not have the fixed central hearth in the Aegean, is found to have this as a permanent institution on the mainland of Greece as early as the Neolithic age. This we now know from the discoveries at Dimini and Sesklo; and the new knowledge only adds point to what I ventured to suggest in this connection on a former occasion.[1]

The phenomenon really turns out to be of capital importance, since the absence of the central hearth in the one case, and its presence in the other, are found to affect all later architectural development. There is no getting over this.

The isolation of the one living room, as we have seen, in the case of the primitive hut is something quite primordial and given as an irreducible fact at the start.

Now in a southern climate like that of Crete, with no fixed central-hearth arrangement to bar the way, we find that the primitive isolation of the living room is apt to disappear when it becomes a unit in an architectural system, and that thoroughgoing interconnections are started at a very

[1] 'Cretan Palaces,' II., *B.S.A.* xii. 250–1.

early phase in development. Even an upper storey can be added above the living room, and side rooms begin to open off the b'ut and b'en system without any difficulty.[1]

In contrast with this we find that the isolation of the living room with the fixed central hearth on the mainland of Greece shows as strong a tendency to be kept up. At the earliest stages in development, as represented in the first settlement at Sesklo, it is not a case of giving up interconnections that were already there, but of preserving if possible intact an isolation of the living room which, when all is said and done, was always in accordance with its primitive character.

This isolation, besides being natural to begin with, was convenient as well under circumstances which made the fixed central hearth a permanent institution. In the first place the fixed central hearth requires a hole in the ceiling for escape of the smoke. Thus there could be no upper storey above a living room of this kind. As we saw, there was no difficulty at all of this kind involved in the case of Crete, and the development of upper storeys there is a universal phenomenon.[2] So great, indeed, is the smoke vent difficulty in the case of a central-hearth house, that if this is to have an upper storey over the room that originally had the central hearth, this has now to be removed to the upper floor as we have seen to happen frequently in the case of modern Sardinia. But living rooms of the megaron type on upper floors are bound to be always an inconvenience under primitive conditions, unless indeed we have to do with a steep site. Yet this possibility is not entirely to be left out of account in dealing with Greece of the prehistoric age. The removal, however, of the central-hearth room to the upper storey would not annul the cause of isolation present in the shape of the roof vent, since there in turn the hole for smoke would stand in the way of further storeys above. That the necessity for this roof vent was a fertile source of isolation for the central-hearth living room is so perfectly clear that it would have been well if criticism like that of Dr. Noack had taken its possibility more into account.

Analogous to the device of removing the central hearth to the upper room in a two-storeyed house is that of transferring it to the front room in a b'ut and b'en system like that of Dimini and Sesklo. There is com-

[1] Note, for example, the way in which a side system opens off room 15 of the Early Minoan house 15–16 at Vasilikí. *Gournιá*, Plan on Pl. XII.

[2] As a neat illustration of this for Middle Minoan times, see the porcelain plaques with house façades from Knossos shown in *B.S.A.* viii. 15, Fig. 8.

promise in either case. Here, however, it is of a much more serious character, since what is compromised now is the isolation of the central-hearth room itself. But all this happened, so to say, before the people who added the front room realized what they were about. The door of the room which corresponded to the original one had been there at the outset; but it was now an internal door, and in its new character as a b'en door it was all the more intrusive because it was there as a *fait accompli* before the consequences of its presence could be properly realized.

The b'ut and b'en system in its very nature is inconsistent with the exigencies of the fixed central hearth; *ipso facto*, the doubt is apt to arise as to whether the plan of building one room in front of another did not originally emerge under circumstances in which the central hearth was a negligible element. We found the broad-roomed b'ut and b'en system already an accomplished fact in the first settlement at Sesklo. Did it then have its original genesis there, or are we not rather to assume as probable that it was already in existence in other parts of the East Mediterranean further south, before it got as far as Thessaly? The architectural phenomena of Early Minoan Crete point distinctly in this direction. The broad-roomed b'ut and b'en system occurs again and again at a very early period in Crete, and at Vasilikí it even enters as a unit into an elaborate architectural system of a palatial character. Anything so complex as this in Early Minoan times presupposes many previous stages of development of a simpler kind, going back to remote beginnings in Neolithic times. The Neolithic hut with porch at Magasá itself indeed rather prepares us to expect further surprises of a similar character, going back to an equally early period.

If we now sum up the latest evidence, whether from Crete or from the mainland of Greece, we find that it is in favour of the following general conclusions:—

1. The one-roomed hut is what we have to start with. The central hearth as a permanent institution was not in vogue in the southern parts of the Aegean or in Crete. Accordingly under these circumstances, when room came to be added to room in the course of development, the isolation of the primitive hut is apt to disappear in favour of thoroughgoing systematic interconnections. That this process had already reached a high degree of development in early Minoan Crete we now know from sites like Vasilikí, Psira, and Mochlos.

2. In the more rigid climate of mainland Greece, where the central hearth is seen to be a permanent institution, the isolation of the living room tends to be kept up from the beginning. In the case of the one-roomed house, this isolation survived continuously all over the area where the central hearth was in vogue.

3. When the central hearth is installed in a type of room like the front room in the b'ut and b'en type of house, which does not already possess the requirement of isolation, this isolation is found to reassert itself later on, as the result of what can only be called an organic process of elimination, which is a return to normal conditions. A process of this kind is presupposed in the case of the palace at Phylakopi, the palace at Tiryns, and the palace at Arne.[1]

That a process of adjustment of this kind really took place is made probable by the following circumstances :—The elongation of the front room is in accordance with the depth towards the back, beyond the hearth of the original central-hearth room of the primitive hut. The disappearance of the through door to the back room restores once more the time-honoured isolation which had always been characteristic of the room with the central hearth. The new outside passage is a substitute for the old b'en door.

Our main positions, then, in view of the new evidence, are the following :—

1. In the Aegean and Crete there is an initial—but no later—isolation of the living room. This is owing to the absence of the fixed central hearth.

2. The isolation of the living room, in conjunction with the presence of the fixed central hearth, is a primitive phenomenon on the mainland of Greece which tends to be kept up throughout the prehistoric age.

3. If the central hearth is installed in an unisolated room, this room is apt once more to become isolated.

The Nordic House and the Mycenaean Megaron.

Here now we come to deal with an interesting question. Noack would dispute the validity of the conclusion that the presence of the central hearth was in any causal relation to the isolation of the Mycenaean

[1] The back door of the East Megaron at Arne, as we have seen, preserves more than a mere reminiscence of an earlier state of matters in which the b'ut and b'en system played a more prominent part.

type of megaron. He regards the whole question as one of difference of origin. The Mycenaean megaron, according to him, has no affinity whatever with the other house-forms of the East Mediterranean, such as those of Crete. In doing so he calls attention to a type of hall with central hearth which has a very close resemblance to the central-hearth house of the Balkan Peninsula This is the Nordic House. Noack then assumes that somewhere in North-Central Europe there must have existed some prototype which was responsible both for the Nordic house and the central-hearth house of the Balkan Peninsula. This then would be the primitive 'Indo-Germanic' prototype of the Mycenaean megaron.[1]

In all this, Noack supports his theory on the fact that Meitzen has suggested a connection between the Nordic House and the old 'Greek' house with central hearth.[2] Meitzen, however, quite rightly regarded both the Nordic house and the central-hearth house of the Balkans as entirely of southern origin; his error consisted only in this, that he put the Nordic house in a relation of dependence to the later types of old 'Greek' house with a central hearth. Noack, now, in a way that hardly does justice either to the letter or to the spirit of Meitzen's views, reverses these entirely by the suggestion that both the central-hearth house of the Balkan Peninsula and the Nordic house stand in a relation of dependence to a Middle European prototype, which presumably at a less remove would be equally responsible for the East Germanic house.[3]

We have suggested in a previous passage what are the real affinities of the Nordic house. These, as we have seen, are to be sought in the West Mediterranean, and we have already indicated the way, and probable circumstances, in which this house type found a passage into Scandinavia.

The type started its existence in a definitely differentiated European form in the West Mediterranean area, and its dolmenic characteristics suggest that at a very remote period it had some sort of affinity with analogous house forms in the East Mediterranean. Once, however, the East Mediterranean type emerged with the characteristic mark of the

[1] *Hom. Paläste*, 35-6.

[2] Meitzen, *op. cit.* iii. 464 f., 475 f., 502 f.

[3] With this supposed connection of the architectural phenomena Noack seeks to bring into touch the speculations of Hubert Schmidt and others to the effect: 'dass die neueste Forschung immer häufiger die Uebereinstimmung zwischen alttroischer und jüngerer neolithischer Keramik der Balkan- und Donauländer beobachtet, und im Sinne einer Kulturströmung in nord-südlicher Richtung zu deuten geneigt ist.' On all this see now especially *Class. Rev.* xxii. 233-8.

central hearth in the Balkan Peninsula, and the dolmenic hut of the West Mediterranean found its way with a central hearth through West Europe to Scandinavia, the paths of the two types diverged to such a degree that it would be perilous to assume that they ever came into any real contact again.

For this very reason, however, the central hearth arrangement in its relation to the isolation of the living room of the Nordic house is all the more significant.

We have already suggested that the migration of this house type into North-West Europe took place at a very early period, and probably indeed at a time when in the West Mediterranean the one-roomed hut, whether rectangular or round, was still practically in universal use. At a period so early the b'ut and b'en systems and the development of thoroughgoing interconnections had not yet had time to make their influence felt in those parts of the Mediterranean and its northern littoral where the central hearth was becoming a permanent institution. Now, what is likely to happen if a West Mediterranean dolmenic type of hut like that in question manages to reach a frigid climate like that of Scandinavia, at a stage in its development early enough for it to preserve its primitive characteristics under the altered climatic conditions? We are almost certain to find that the central fire comes to be fixed in the normal and central position it had in the most primitive circumstances. And all this is likely to happen without any such disturbance from the collusion of types, developed without relation to the central hearth arrangement, as is apt to come to the surface in the Mediterranean itself. This is accordingly the case with the Nordic house. A phenomenon like that of the central hearth in the front room of a b'ut and b'en system like that of Dimini and Sesklo is here quite unknown. There is nothing at all in the Nordic house to come near the frequent compromises of the isolation of the living room which occurs in the central-hearth houses of Corsica and Sardinia of the present day.

The isolation of the living room in the Nordic house is complete. The nearest analogy to this isolation in the Mediterranean is that of the Mycenaean megaron. Both represent a final stage in development, and both represent the type in its perfect form.

In the case of the Nordic house this result was apparently attained by simple conservation of the isolation of the original type throughout history. So much is this so, indeed, that when additions are made to the Nordic

house it is simply a case of reduplicating the living room on the free side of the entrance porch. This happens in such a way that the entrance door is now at the side with two identical rooms on either hand of an entrance passage.

The reason for all this is that in a severe climate like that of Scandinavia, the exigencies of isolation required by the central hearth are realized in an emphatic form. Here, accordingly, we find that everything is done to avoid innovations such as would come into conflict with these requirements.

In the case of certain types of Mycenaean megaron (Phylakopi, Arne, Tiryns) the influence is perceptible of an intrusive South Mediterranean b'ut and b'en type of house that had come into being without reference to the requirements of the central hearth. The intermediate stage, as we have seen, is represented by the b'ut and b'en megara of Dimini and Sesklo. In the regions accordingly influenced by the intrusive type the final ideal was not attained without what we have ventured to call an organic process of elimination. And there can be no doubt whatever that the intrusive through door came to be eliminated, because it was found to be inconsistent with the isolation of the living room required by the central hearth.

The simplest type of Nordic house is that represented in Fig. 17.[1] It is simply a one-roomed hut with porch. The hearth is in the centre, and the isolation is complete. The only opening besides the door is the roof hole for letting out the smoke and letting in the light.[2] The roof hole is provided with an adjustable shutter.

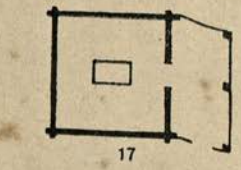
The first modification of this plan is that the back part of the porch is partitioned off and then entered from the central-hearth room.[3] In course of time the oven against the wall ousts the central hearth, and under the influence of the change of conditions brought about by this transformation, window openings begin to appear in the walls.[4] This, however, was a very slow process, and according to Lund the central hearth did not begin to vanish entirely until the 18th century.[5]

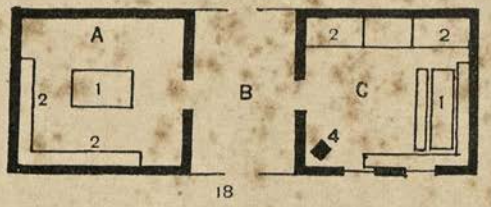
The usual way of enlarging a house of this kind was by simple reduplication. This was done in the way shown in Fig. 18.[6] Here A is

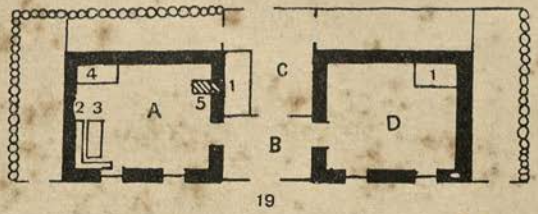
[1] After Meitzen, *op. cit.* iii. Fig. XVI. *a*.

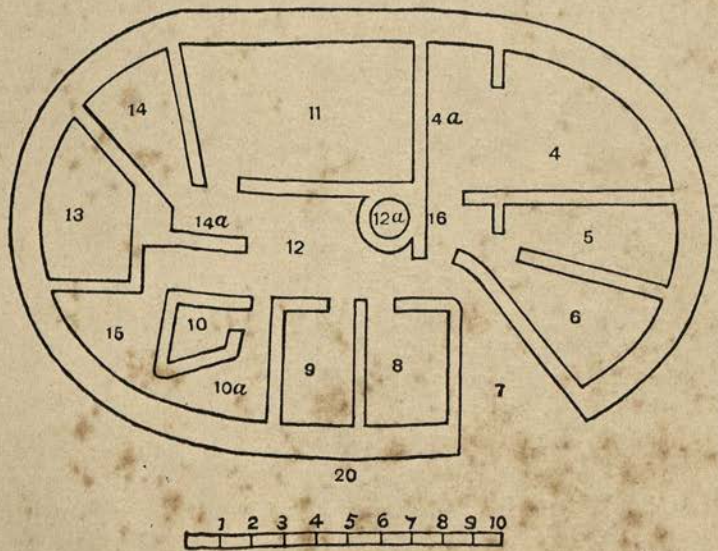
[2] Meitzen, *ibid.* 486, is emphatic on this point: 'the living room got its light only from above.' [3] Meitzen, *ibid.* Fig. XVII. *a*. [4] *Ibid.* Fig. XVIII. [5] *Ibid.* 487.

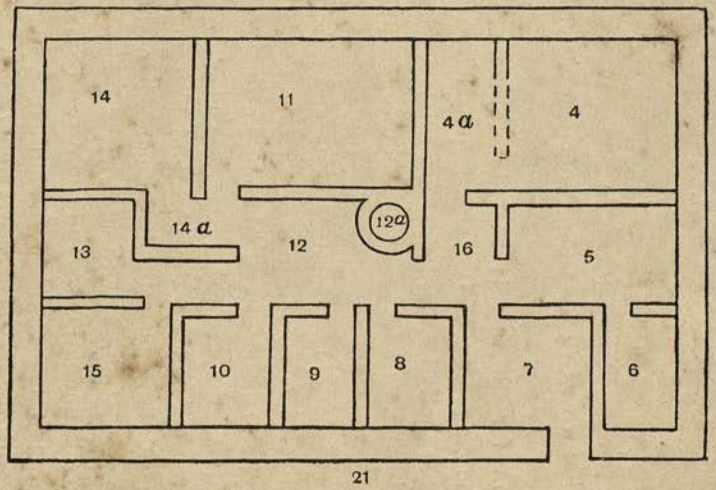
[6] After Meitzen, *op. cit.* Fig. XX.

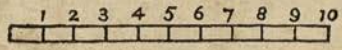












FIGS. 17–21.

FIGS. 17, 18, 19.—PLANS SHEWING DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORDIC HOUSE.
FIG. 20.—THE ELLIPTICAL HOUSE AT CHAMAIZI (P. 414, No. 1).
FIG. 21.—DIAGRAM SHEWING RECTANGULAR MODEL WHICH WAS THE BASIS OF THE ELLIPTICAL HOUSE.

the central-hearth room, B the porch, and C the new room. This new room is simply the central-hearth room over again, with the hearth left out. Instead of this central hearth it has an oven or stove (4) in a corner.

Now the remarkable and significant phenomenon in all this is that, with the appearance of the stove in this 'best room,' the time-honoured isolation is given up at once, and we have two windows in the wall alongside of the stove.

The simplest and most reasonable explanation of a phenomenon so striking is that which we have suggested all along, namely:—that it is the presence of the central hearth itself that, at bottom, is responsible for the isolation in the one case, and that it is its absence and the substitution of the stove that has brought about the possibility of wall-openings such as windows in the other.

In all this the work of collusion must not be left out of account, since the stove itself was an intrusion from another type of house in which windows were the order of the day. Once the stove came into a house of the Nordic type the windows were there to hand and intruded themselves as well.

But the evidence that it is the central hearth that is really responsible for the isolation of the living room is of a cumulative character. This becomes quite clear if we observe what happens when the hearth is ousted from its central position in the house altogether, and the fire is relegated to a subordinate position by the wall.

A very good illustration of this process is afforded by reference to the plan of a Nordic house shown in Fig. 19.[1] Here the room to the left (A) has lost its central hearth equally with the room to the right (D). Thus there is no longer any point or purpose in keeping up the old-fashioned isolation of the living room, and we accordingly have here two windows in the front wall of that, similar to the two in the other room.

What is most interesting in all this process of change is the way in which innovations are tried, first of all in the added room. This was the case with the other house referred to. By the time the central hearth comes to be ousted altogether from the house, a model is there ready to hand for the transformation of the old living room. This has now got a side oven (5), while the primitive culinary functions of the old living room are now relegated to a separate kitchen with side hearth (1) at the back of the lobby.

[1] After Meitzen, *op. cit.* Fig. XXI. *a.*

This lobby itself has a curious history. It is here so much interned in the structure of the house that it is only on reflection that one recognizes the primitive porch of Fig. 17. But even that no longer represents the most primitive arrangement. According to Meitzen, what was originally an open porch in the south is here, under severer climatic influences, a closed one with entrance at the side.[1]

Now Noack lays special stress on the analogy pointed out by Meitzen and others between the Nordic house with front porch and the 'templum in antis' of the Hellenic world.[2] Unfortunately, however, for the use Noack makes of this analogy, it now turns out that the 'templum in antis' arrangement of portico with two columns occurs at Dimini and Sesklo in a context which Tsountas himself, as we have seen, would interpret much more in the sense of what is right in Meitzen's views than of what is wrong in Noack's.

Tsountas, that is, would suggest that the Neolithic folk of Dimini and Sesklo were a Mediterranean people of one kin with the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete. The severance between the two branches, he would say, must in that case have taken place long before the Fourth Millennium B.C.[3] This again is a view which quite fits in with what has been said in previous passages, since it allows full scope for the divergencies that emerge in later development. We are thus prepared not to be surprised at the final form taken by these divergencies as represented respectively in the palaces of Crete on the one hand, and of Tiryns and Mycenae on the other.

The more immediate connections of the Scandinavian phenomena lie, however, in quite another direction, and the real congeners of the Nordic porch in early times are to be sought, not in the East Mediterranean, but in the West. The antae of those porches reflect a feature characteristic of many dolmens, and in this guise they have a very early and wide distribution in West Europe, ranging from the Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula through France and Britain to Scandinavia.

In Spain there are dolmenic tombs with antae that in type come very close to the *Hünenbeds* of North Germany and dolmens like those of Clare in Ireland.

The antae in certain localities show a tendency to splay away right

[1] *Ibid.* 475. [2] *Hom. Paläste*, 35-6.
[3] Tsountas, *op. cit.* 398.

and left in such a manner as to suggest that it was in this way the Sardinian Tombs of the Giants came to have their great frontal semicircle.

In Portugal, France, Ireland, and Sweden, certain dolmenic tombs show as marked a tendency for the antae to become elongated towards the front, and it is in this way that the genesis of the so-called *Allées couvertes* of France and Passage Dolmens of Ireland is to be understood.[1]

In all this, however, we must not forget that the underlying rudimentary form is the simple rectangular dolmen with short antae.

In Britain, in regions as far apart as Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, dolmenic tombs with antae are of very frequent occurrence.[2]

We have referred already to the existence of dolmenic houses with base course of orthostatic slabs in Corsica. It is thus not a little suggestive to find represented in North Scotland, at Moorland in Caithness, a similar type of dolmenic house with orthostatic slabs.[3] Here the antae recur, though they are not in line with the side walls of the house, but brought near together, so as to form a sort of narrow porch in front of the house. As along with all this we have the central hearth, we are bound to feel that we are very near the prototype of the Nordic house.

A porch of this kind is a feature of a very conservative type of two-roomed central-hearth house of the present day in Lappland.[4]

That this type of two-roomed house goes back to a very remote age is shown by the fact that the prototype seems to be copied in a type of double domenic tomb which has a very wide range in West Europe.[5]

Dolmenic tombs of the *Hünenbed* type, with sides prolonged as antae in front, such as we found already existing in the Iberian Peninsula, are frequent in Scandinavia itself, and these bring us as near as we can reasonably get to the prototype of the simple one-roomed Nordic house with front porch of the 'templum in antis' style.

Thus we find the general tendency of the West European evidence on the point to be such that there is no reason whatever to do violence to this evidence by reversing it in such a way as would make the 'templum in antis' porch of early Balkanic sites like Dimini and Sesklo, not to speak of Troy II., derivative from the North.

[1] Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, ii. 670, 693. [2] *Ibid.* 372, 386.
[3] Montelius, *Orient und Europa*, 161, Fig. 214.
[4] Meitzen, *op. cit.* Atlas, Pl. 28 *a*, items 15, 16, 17.
[5] *Ibid.* item 10; Montelius, *op. cit.* 99, Fig. 135, 100, Fig. 136.

It would be much more in accordance, indeed, with the East Mediterranean evidence and with the spirit of Meitzen's views, if the presence of the dolmenic type of tomb in Syria and in the Anatolian Levant as far as the Caucasus and the Crimea were not forgotten.[1] Especially would this be the case if the probable African origin of the dolmen were kept in mind, and it were seen to be likely that it was by way of the Isthmus of Suez that the dolmen penetrated northwards through Syria.[2] Ethnological pathways divide more easily than they unite again, and from this point of view we should not be surprised to know that another branch of dolmens can be traced as far as India.[3] To reverse the evidence, whether in the West, with Great Britain on the one hand and Scandinavia on the other, or in the East, with two separate environments like the Caucasus and India, would be as much as to say that ethnological pathways meet more easily than they divide.

The antecedents of the dolmen tomb and its congeners, wherever these occur, point to a type of house with or without the portico 'in antis' of which it may well be true that the Neolithic huts, whether of Crete or of Thessaly, are only variants.

The portico 'in antis' of Dimini and Sesklo does not stand alone in the East Mediterranean, and the analogy of this with that of Troy II. has been already pointed out by Tsountas.[4]

In the Asiatic Levant itself, where we come into closer touch with one of the great tracks to northward taken by the dolmenic type of tomb, a form of house has survived in Lycia, of which the affinity with the megara of Troy II. is no less patent on the face of it, than the analogy with the megara of mainland Greece and with the Nordic house itself.

The resemblance of the later Lycian house to the rock-cut tombs of Lycia in classical times suggests in turn underlying connections going back to those prehistoric times when the dolmenic type of tomb was making its way northwards across the Anatolian Levant as far as the Caucasus and the Crimea. We are bound then to ask whether there is not a nexus of an intimate kind underlying these phenomena.

[1] Borlase, *op. cit.* iii. 726–50.

[2] It is hardly possible to agree with Pinza when he would call the Syrian dolmens the work of Hebrews. See *Atti Congresso storico, Roma*, vol. v. 471.

[3] Borlase, *op. cit.* 750–5.

[4] *Op. cit.* 368, 404.

A very luminous suggestion tending to show a real connection in prehistoric times of the phenomena referred to, has been made by Dr. Arthur Evans while discussing the house-sign on the Hieroglyphic Disk of Phaestos.[1] In this sign Dr. Evans suggests a close resemblance with the tombs and rock carvings of Lycia, and adds that 'it is natural that the sepulchral art of classical Lykia should have preserved the domestic architecture of a more remote period.'[2]

To judge by the house-sign on the Disk, the portico 'in antis' in one form or another must be taken to have been characteristic of this earlier domestic architecture of Lycia no less than of Troy II. and of the megara of Dimini and Sesklo. And if Dr. Evans is right in his suggestion of an Anatolian origin for the Disk of Phaestos, we have a gable entrance, made probable for this kind of house in Lycia, as early as the first half of the Second Millennium, B.C.

Here now comes out an interesting architectural feature. The Anatolian building represented on the Phaestos Disk, though a gable house, has the same eccentric position of the doorway towards one side of the façade as we have already noticed in regions as far apart as Egypt, Crete and the early settlements of Neolithic Thessaly.[3]

The division of the front into two parts again suggests an underlying affinity with the portico arrangement characteristic of the Cretan palaces. And this resemblance in turn makes it seem likely that the particular feature of Minoan architecture referred to stood, as an isolated survival, in a derivative relation to some earlier type of simple house front, of which the Anatolian façade represented on the Disk might then very well be a closely allied variant form.

The Round Hut in its relation to Rectangular Construction in the Aegean.

In all that has been said above about early settlements in the Aegean and on the mainland of Greece in the prehistoric age, it may seem remarkable that so little should have emerged about the rôle played by the round hut in the development of East Mediterranean architecture.

[1] Now published by Dr. Luigi Pernier in *Ausonia*, iii. 1908, 255–302. For the house-sign referred to see 288, item 26, and Tav. XII., XIII.

[2] *Scripta Minoa*, 26; also notes 2 and 3.

[3] The stamped sign has the door at the left end of the *façade*. On the stamp itself the door was at the right end.

This, however, has not been without its own good reasons in special local circumstances. For example:—we should not have been able to discuss house forms in Early Minoan Crete without any reference whatever to the round hut, if the round hut were at all common at those sites from which we derive our knowledge. As a matter of fact, however, it is entirely absent. Not one example of its presence occurs at sites like Vasilikí or Psira or Mochlos, and any Early Minoan houses that have been traced at Knossos are of rectangular construction. Under these special local circumstances accordingly we have only to do such justice to all the available evidence as takes into account the fact that, alongside of rectangular Early Minoan ossuaries like those at Kastrí, we have circular tholoi like those at Koumása and Hagia Triada.

Then there is Sardinia. In this case, any discussion of architectural development in the prehistoric age would be entirely a question of round huts and their transformations. And we should only be unjust to the evidence did we fail to take account of the fact that the burial monuments of Sardinia are largely, if not exclusively, of rectangular type.

In Crete we have a reversal of this relation, but not a quite complete one. Rectangular houses, as we have seen, are universal there in the Early Minoan age. Alongside of these there are circular tholoi, but there are also rectangular ossuaries as at Kastrí.

At Dimini and Sesklo the houses are entirely of rectangular type. On the other hand, the earliest settlement at Orchomenos is one entirely of round huts. But in neither case do we know what the corresponding burials were like. Were those of Orchomenos of round type like the houses? Here there are many pitfalls, and it would be useful to know more about the round hut and early tholoi elsewhere on the mainland of Greece, and their distribution further north, before venturing on the sweeping generalization that it was from that direction the round hut and the beehive tomb penetrated into the Hellenic world.[1] In the absence of such knowledge, examples like those of Crete and of Sardinia might serve as a salutary warning not to jump too hastily to conclusions of this kind.

The tendency of the evidence is rather this:—in the Mediterranean we hardly ever find the one type or the other in exclusive use over a wide area. And we are never at all able to get so far back as to entirely separate

[1] Bulle, *Orchomenos*, I.: *Die älteren Ansiedelungsschichten* (*Abh. K. Bayer. Ak. Wiss.* I. *Kl.* xxiv. *Bd.* II. *Abt.*), 43.

rectangular construction from the round building ethnologically, that is, we are never able to say definitely that the one is from the south and Asiatic or African, and the other from the north and European. The process of exclusion and of separation is of another kind: it is organic and a matter of development. Thus, for example, in any one locality where both types of construction are represented simultaneously it usually turns out that the one type tends to come more and more into vogue for dwellings and the other for tomb-use or *vice versa*.

The general tendency of this process is of a very essential character. It is this:—given the simultaneous occurrence of round huts and rectangular houses over wide areas like the East or West Mediterranean taken as a whole, there is no doubt that in the long run the general tendency is for the rectangular house to oust the round one.

A phenomenon intimately connected with this one is that when once the round building has gone out of use over a wide area like the Mediterranean it never again regains any ascendancy either generally or locally.

Rectangular construction, however, never manages to get the upper hand to the entire exclusion or extinction of the round type of building. This always manages locally to lead a latent existence in one form or another, and it shows a remarkable tendency to come to the front once more when special circumstances tend to favour its doing so. But it always survives in its primitive form, and complexes like those represented in the pyxis of Melos or the Nuraghi of Sardinia do not often repeat themselves in architectural history.

The round type of building is by its nature structurally exclusive of the rectangular one. It never manages to absorb it in any shape or form.

Rectangular building on the other hand, while not easily combinable with circular construction, is not entirely exclusive of it. The early development of the apse is a phenomenon in point. Again, the round bastion at the corners of a rectangular building has had a long and continuous history. In this respect much of later fortification, especially in West Europe, whether in the form of the castle or of the citadel, is to be traced back to beginnings in the Mediterranean in prehistoric times.

We see then that it is the rectangular type of construction that really performs the process of assimilation; the other does not assimilate at all. Thus it is that the round building has never been found to exercise any formative influence on rectangular construction, even in those circumstances

in which the two types of building went on side by side. And when once in any locality the round building loses its hold as a form of domestic architecture, it is hardly ever likely in that same locality to come to the front again in the same capacity. It manages to survive in virtue of its being relegated to other uses, such as, for example, the housing of the dead or the cult of some divinity. It henceforth remains in its self-isolation and there cannot now be any question at all of its exercising any further formative influence whatever on rectangular construction.

This uncompromising self-isolation on the one hand, and the almost equally strong tendency to avoid assimilation by the rectangular system on the other, come out very clearly in the later history of the building. Its final apotheosis in the antique world is to be seen in the Pantheon at Rome.

In all this, one underlying fact is quite clear :—the problem from the beginning was one as to what rôle the round building was to have in rectangular construction, and not *vice versa*. This problem was never solved in ancient times at all, and its ultimate solution was reserved for a much later time, with the apotheosis of the primitive round hut in the cupola of St. Peter's at Rome.

What then shall we say now of the other question of a formative influence of the round building on rectangular construction? And what shall we say of this in relation to Early Minoan Crete? There the circular habitation, so far as we at present know, is entirely lacking at the period in question, and the only form in which it has been as yet found to live on is that of the circular tholos tomb. If then it is clear, from what has been said already, that even the existence of the round house on a large scale in Early Minoan times would have been hardly calculated to exercise a formative influence on the rectangular construction of a later time, what shall we say of such an influence when it is limited to the sepulchral architecture of the time? It thus turns out that at most it would only be a case of inquiring what the possible influence could have been from a still earlier period on Early Minoan architecture itself. And this question in turn would only have actuality provided one knew for certain that the round hut existed in the Crete of Neolithic times.

When, however, we turn to Early Minoan sites themselves we find that these, so far as we at present know, are so entirely rectangular in their constructions that they can be exhaustively studied as a matter of early archi-

tectural development without the question ever once arising whether at an earlier age round or elliptical buildings may not have existed alongside of similar rectangular constructions of a simpler kind. This, be it remarked, is not at all meant to deny such existence, since our real view is that Neolithic round huts could quite well have so existed without exercising any formative influence whatever on Minoan architecture.

It is true indeed that the circular building as a habitation might conceivably be found as a result of excavation on Early Minoan sites themselves not yet explored. But the case is different here, since we have already positive evidence, and it must be steadily borne in mind that the round hut has not so turned up on any Early Minoan site hitherto excavated. It does not occur at Vasilikí, nor has its presence been verified at Psira, or Mochlos, or indeed at any other known Early Minoan site in Crete.

We must then for the present stick to the evidence we have. Thus if the round hut did really exist at an earlier age, as the circular tholoi would lead us to conjecture, the one lesson taught by the evidence from the Early Minoan sites is the completeness with which they have disappeared. Of any possible formative influence they could have had there is, as we might have expected, not a trace.

The general impression left by these Early Minoan sites is the advanced character of their house architecture. A massive building like that brought to light by the British School at Palaikastro, is a revelation in this respect.[1] The broad type of room is here already apparently elaborated into a system. Then there is the facility with which certain fundamental house-units come to be incorporated into a consistent plan with thoroughgoing interconnections. This is especially noticeable at Vasilikí. The main system here is of such large size and of so elaborate a character that the discoverer, Mr. R. B. Seager, is very likely right in regarding it as one building. In other words, it is probably an Early Minoan palace.[2] In that case we shall eagerly await the complete excavation of it. It already presents some of the fundamental features of the later Minoan palaces. If then on further excavation it should prove to have other palatial characteristics, such as the internal court and uncovered spaces for lighting, that again would only be what was to be expected. This building, I understand, belongs to the Second Early Minoan period (E. M. II.). The earlier palace at Phaestos and the earlier

[1] See *B.S.A.* xi. Pl. X. [2] *Gournιá*, Pl. XII. and Text 49.

elements of the palace at Knossos go back to the First Middle Minoan period (M. M. I.). Thus it does not seem too great a stretch of the imagination to conjecture that features such as the central court may have been already in vogue in the still earlier period to which belongs the important edifice at Vasilikí to which reference has been made.

In connection with the prototype of the Neolithic house at Magasá we have had again and again to refer to the early preference for doorways at or near the end of the wall to which they belong, in the case of one-roomed houses with a broad front. We found the tendency illustrated not only in Neolithic Crete but in the earliest settlement at Sesklo. In the case of both Crete and Sesklo it turned out that the more distinct bias was for the right end of the wall.

This preference has a long later history. As single rooms are united in a system, the tendency is still there in the case of the single rooms. This tendency is frequent in particular instances in Early Minoan times, to judge by Vasilikí and the ossuaries at Kastrí. If room is added to room in a system, so as to give several in a series to one front, the door sometimes gets displaced, but if the plan of the house has been conceived as a whole and the house built at one time, the door is apt to be placed once more towards one or other end of the façade. Early Minoan examples are as yet lacking, and this makes one all the more regret that the main door of the house at Palaikastro referred to already, and of the 'palace' at Vasilikí, has not been made out.

The later influence of the tendency is, however, quite clear. The entrance to the earlier palace at Phaestos is towards the south end of the west façade; that is to say, looking in a central position towards the front, one has it to the right. It is similar with the South-West Portico at Knossos. At Gourniá the palace has its entrance near the south-east angle of the building, again to the right as one faces the front.

With this bias comes into competition in the Middle Minoan period a counter tendency in favour of doorways in the middle of the front. This is neatly illustrated for Crete by the faïence plaques from the Palace at Knossos showing the façades of Middle Minoan houses. The tendency is general. We see it again in the Second City at Phylakopi, and on the mainland, as already remarked, at Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly. The tendency is intimately connected with the development of the b'ut and b'en system and the narrow front. Yet here once again an influence

that comes down from Neolithic times, in the shape of the entrance corridor or porch with side door, alters the orientation in such a way that the elongated side of the house becomes once more a broad front with the door at or towards one end of this. This influence is illustrated in Early Minoan Crete at Vasilikí, it is very strong in the Second City at Phylakopi, and there is more than a remote echo of it on the mainland at Arne. The advantage of having the side of the house towards the street has all along had a strong influence in keeping up the broad front with end door.

Thus the time-honoured old arrangement is never really given up. Under the influence of later palace architecture the tradition about having the door towards the right of the front gradually loses its force. Thus, for example, the entrance to the *Petit Palais* at Knossos is still towards the end of the façade, but it is to the left towards the S. E. angle of the house.

Provincial architecture is much more conservative of tradition. We have a good example in the L. M. II. house at Palaikastro published in *B.S.A.* xi. 282, Fig. 13.[1] This is a typical house with broad front to the street and entrance with portico here once more at the right end of the façade.[2]

In all this we cannot expect a tendency so marked as to admit of no exceptions. These are always sure to occur under the stress of particular circumstances especially in town sites.

From the point of view of affinities it is perhaps more instructive to call attention to the fact that the usual Egyptian hieroglyph for 'house' shows a front with door at its right end.[3] This is not without a very close relation to reality. In Crete a hut like the prototype of the Neolithic house at Magasá would have to be indicated in a similar way, and the Neolithic hut at Sesklo shown in Fig. 11, with its door at the right end of the front, is exactly such a house as that represented in the Egyptian hieroglyph. Further excavation of Egyptian houses will throw much light on this matter, and it is already startling to find that houses like those of Tell el-Amarna have their entrances so often at the end of their façades.[4]

The elongated rectangular shape of the house at Palaikastro with door at the end of the façade is characteristic, and, as we saw, goes back to

[1] For description see *ibid.* 284–5.

[2] The house shown *ibid.* Fig. 9 has its door in a similar position to the right.

[3] Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, i. 260.

[4] See Tell el-Amarna, Pl. XXXVIII. 2, 4, 5, 6; XXXIX. 7; XL. 13.

very primitive times. The influence of this comes out in palace architecture in that wing which has the portico towards the end of the façade, and in this respect the elongation and the position of the entrance have to be considered in relation to this wing, not to the palace as a whole. In other words, an entrance like the South-West Portico at Knossos and the wing to which it belongs have to be taken together and regarded as going back to a house-type like the prototype of the Palaikastro house.

The Cretan type of palace, taken as a whole, would then have to be considered as a reduplication of such a type in such a way as to have the old outside court in the centre of the whole. It might then be the influence of this central court arrangement itself that would in turn account for the genesis of the palatial façade with central entrances.

In this connection it must be remembered that the primitive arrangement is for a house to have a free space in front of it, paved or unpaved, and enclosed or unenclosed. An enclosed area is a front yard and an unenclosed one is an external court.

An enclosed court in front of the house, like those common all over the Mediterranean, becomes transformed into an internal one in the following way:—In the first place, out-houses are built on the other side of the court or on all free sides of it, as is apt to happen in the case of a farm-yard. In the second place, the out-houses are transformed into rooms which very often begin by being spare or guest rooms and then by means of thoroughgoing interconnections become an integral part of the house. The difference between public and private wings in the case of the Cretan palaces may go back to a simple origin of this kind.

In all this, one matter has to be kept steadily in view: the elongated shape of the internal court on the new arrangement is intimately connected with the elongated character of the house in its original form, and this in turn has its influence on the shape of the transformed house. This tends to have the same form of an elongated rectangle as the original type.

The Elliptical House at Chamaizi and the Cretan Palaces.

Let us now, armed with these essential data, come to the elliptical farm-house at Chamaizi (Fig. 20).[1] This house has several of the characteristic features of the type we have described.

[1] Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. Xanthoudides.

In the entrance towards the right of the front we recognize a very old friend indeed. For a moment we are deceived by the strange disguise and form. Then there is the characteristic elongated shape of the house as a whole, and here again the elliptical contour only deceives us for an instant. We realize that the house is simply an elongated rectangular house of well-known Minoan type, compressed within the limits of an ellipse. The whole is a freak.

Noack, however, puts forward an entirely opposite theory, and with much misguided subtlety would seek to show that what we really have before us is an illustration of the process by which an elongated elliptical house was transformed into an elongated rectangular one, which then in its internal arrangements became the prototype of all Cretan palaces.[1]

In all this Noack makes much of the eccentric position of the doorway. But instead of recognizing in this a very old feature of rectangular houses which, as we have seen, occurs again and again in Crete, he wastes much ingenuity in the attempt to show that the eccentric position of the doorway is chosen on purpose to suit special circumstances.[2] This will never do. Indeed, if there is anything that cannot be invented out of the circle or even the ellipse, it is an eccentric position of the doorway. Noack himself seems to be conscious of this difficulty, and hence the curious effort to relieve his conscience with an explanation *ad hoc*. The builder is, of course, all the time following a traditional right-angled model, and as regards the position of the doorway in its relation to the rooms adjacent to it at the end, he is simply landing himself in all sorts of difficulties in his endeavour to compress a rectangular house into an elliptical casing.

Once given the elliptical form which the builder wanted to give to his rectangular model, the convergence of some of the walls at the ends is inevitable, if he is not to find himself in new dilemmas. To convince ourselves of this, we have only to imagine what would happen if the wall between rooms 5 and 6 were carried along parallel to that between rooms 4 and 5. This latter wall itself, however, is drawn straight along in rectangular fashion, instead of radiating, as it ought to do according to the elliptical model given by Noack in his Fig. 6. By so doing, it very clearly betrays the fact that the builder in his construction is really under the influence of the traditional rectangular model he has in his mind. Neither it nor the short wall at the back of room 4 should go at right angles as if

[1] *Ovalhaus und Palast*, 51–70. [2] *Ibid.* 59.

they belonged to a rectangular house, but ought to radiate, if they had the relation to the roof-beams of an elliptical house which Noack would give them. It is the same with the wall between rooms 13 and 15 at the other end of the ellipse, and with the wall of room 10 in line with it. These equally betray the rectangular model. Room 10 has its walls twisted up in such a way as to have no connection with the rest of the system. It was possibly the pig-stye! The walls between rooms 11, 14, and 13, and that between rooms 15 and 10 and between 10 and 10 *a* radiate, it is true, but they do not converge on any common point. Wall 14 *a* again which ought to represent Noack's long roof-beam is not in the long axis of the ellipse but somewhat in front of that. It is the same with the central court. This is both more to the front and more to the left end of the house than it ought to be. Noack adds the corridor area numbered 16 to this, but without apparent warrant, and if that space is subtracted from the whole area of the central court the eccentric position of that is at once apparent. A discrepancy of this kind matters very little from the point of view of the rectangular house, but added to so many others it is hardly calculated to inspire confidence in the rightness of Noack's views to the effect that there is an essential relation of parts in the plan of this house to the ellipse as such.

If on the other hand we start from the position that this plan was developed in course of time independently of the use to which it is put in the present case, we shall take whatever is rectangular as representing what is normal in the whole. But this includes not only all the central part of the plan, but also all the construction at the ends which betrays the influence of rectangular models.

If now further we copy out all these rectangular elements on paper, we find that they by themselves form the foundation for the plan of a rectangular house of characteristic Minoan type. We have finally only to straighten out the few oblique walls at either end, to complete this plan as shown in the diagram of Fig. 21.

Comparing the two plans, we now realize that all that is not consistent with the rectangular plan in the elliptical one is owing to the occasional difficulties in which the builder is involved in attempting to carry out his rectangular constructions at the ends, when he comes into conflict with the rapid curve of the ellipse at those parts.

What the builder has done is what every early mason would be likely

to do in similar circumstances with a rather novel job on his hands. He draws out his walls as well as his eye shows him at right angles to his curve just as if that formed a straight line. All this is a fairly easy matter at either side of the ellipse where the curves are shallow, and here the rectangular plan is fairly easily carried out. But at the ends, where the curve is rapid, difficulties crowd upon him, and he is evidently so unpractised in this sort of curved construction that he does not always succeed. The oblique walls are neither consistently at right angles to the curve, nor do they converge towards any common focus at either end. Then, as we have seen, he occasionally forgets himself and draws out his walls in rectangular fashion in cases where they ought to have been oblique, were they carried out at right angles to the curve. The result is that everything betrays the prentice hand where the critical parts of the elliptical construction are concerned, and everything reveals the rule of thumb of rectangular construction wherever that can anyhow be got in. Of almost the whole back part of the house this latter observation is particularly true. And, indeed, hardly more than a stroke of the pencil is needed in the case of the few oblique walls that exist in order to bring out the complete plan of a rectangular house like that shown in our diagram.

That our mason was entirely ignorant of curved construction, it would be difficult to affirm without risk of error, in view of the existence of tholoi in Minoan Crete; but what he was entirely ignorant of was the rational internal construction of an elliptical house such as Noack has in view with his type diagram. Given, however, an elongated rectangular house of the period and the desire, for whatever reason, to adapt this to a curved shape, the elliptical form of this curve emerges without further ado as a direct consequence of the elongated shape of the rectangular type of house, which, as we have sought to show, the mason had in his mind.

The presence of the elongated rectangular central court at Chamaizi is a a very essential feature, and as yet we have no evidence from the Early Minoan period which might throw a positive light on the earlier stages of the development of this. Here it is essential to remember that the elliptical house at Chamaizi itself belongs to the First Middle Minoan period; that is to say, it belongs to the same period which saw the foundation of the Cretan palaces. An essential part of the deposits of this house is represented by the terracotta figurines shown in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906, 135–42. These come into the same category as the figurines of Petsofà which are of

M.M.I. date.[1] To judge indeed by the polychrome character of the geometric motives that occur at Petsofà those figurines belong to an advanced rather than to an early stage in the First Middle Minoan period. Thus it turns out that the elliptical house at Chamaizi belongs to a period when all the essential features of Cretan palace architecture, including the central court, were already an accomplished fact.

As then it is clear that the Cretan palace plan was already in existence at the period to which belongs the house of Chamaizi, we have enough evidence to show that the rectangular type of house with elongated central court was already there to hand as the model which the builder of that house had in mind when he conceived the singular freak of adapting this rectangular type to his elliptical outline. Thus there are no cogent grounds whatever for accepting as a reasonable theory Noack's account of the genesis of the elongated form of the rectangular central court out of the ellipse. One only requires to do some little justice to chronology to see that the view we have set forth already is the right one, and that it was the elongated shape of the rectangular type of house of the period that conditioned the elongated form of the ellipse at Chamaizi and not *vice versa*. Indeed we may go a step further and conjecture that the rectangular house-type responsible for the internal plan of the ellipse of Chamaizi already stands under that reflex influence of the palace architecture of the period which is so continuously operative from Middle Minoan times onwards. In that case we are not far away from a conclusion which would be the exact opposite of Noack's. That is to say: the primordial ellipse supposed to underlie the plan of the farmhouse at Chamaizi never existed, and could not have been responsible for the main features of the Minoan palatial style; it is the palace architecture of the First Middle Minoan Period in its reflex influence upon the domestic building of the time that accounts for all that appears 'palatial' in the internal architectonic arrangement of the house at Chamaizi.

In relation to the development of the elongated central court, Noack would assign an important function to the roof construction of his elliptical house as illustrated by his diagram, Fig. 6.

It is, according to him, the distribution of longitudinal and transverse roof beams and their relation to partition walls corresponding to them below that condition the whole internal arrangement of the house. Especially the

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. Pls. VIII.–XI.

elongated rectangular form of the central court is made to depend on the greater length of the side beams α—β and γ—δ as compared with the shorter tranverse intervals between α and γ, and β and δ.

We at once begin to doubt the feasibility of this explanation when we realize that this singular organic process involves the removal of the entire central part of the roof, including the whole of the long roof-tree itself.

Before going further, one would like to ask Noack as to his evidence for the existence of a keel roof of this kind in Middle Minoan Crete. Far from there being any real evidence of this kind, there is every reason for believing that at that period flat roofs, with a slight incline to carry off rain water, were the order of the day. The faïence house-façades of Knossos are a telling illustration as to what the roofs of Cretan houses were like in Middle Minoan times. They are invariably flat!

Here we come to a very crucial point. The central court of the house at Chamaizi has a cistern for rain water in the near right hand corner as one enters. In relation now to the collection of rain water in such cisterns the construction of the roof plays an important rôle in southern countries; and long experience had apparently shown the adaptability of flat roofs to this special function. The slight incline, however, had to be there in order to compel the water to flow in a certain desired direction. In the case of the house at Chamaizi, we can be certain that the roofs in the immediate environment of the cistern had a declination and a convergence of the slopes such as would effect the flow of the water into that.

What is the case with a roof like that presupposed by Noack? Instead of having a declination towards the central court, and notably towards the cistern, this slopes rapidly down outwards all round in such a way as to carry off and disperse the rain water outside, and does not collect in the cistern inside the house.

Noack may conceivably be prepared to give up his keel roof with its rapid slope down and outwards, and to admit that such special circumstances as the necessity for collecting rain water supplies may have led to a slope, which though not so great was the very opposite of that assumed by himself. In that case, however, he comes very near indeed to giving away his cause entirely. And it is a very poor cause at best which would seek support in the suggestion that the round and elliptical hut as represented in the East Mediterranean was itself of Northern origin, and that the transition to flat roofs was a transformation which took place later in the

Mediterranean. Unfortunately for such a suggestion, were one disposed to make it, the declination which the flat roof always retains is, as we have indeed seen, the wrong one at Chamaizi from the point of view of the keeled roof imagined by Noack. But it is entirely the right one from the point of view of the architecture of rectangular flat-roofed houses with central court in the Aegéan, for which a rain water supply conveniently at hand in the interior of the house is seen, from the house at Chamaizi, to have been a paramount consideration.

We shall not go the length of suggesting that Noack assumes for the Cretan Palaces any real survival of a keel roof, such as he imagines for the elliptical house at Chamaizi. If, however, he were to make any such assumption, he would, as it happens, be once more entirely in the wrong. A group of manholes connecting the roofs with the drainage system is preserved for us in the East Wing of the Palace at Knossos, and these are all adjacent to the Central Court. This can only mean that there was a declination of the flat palace roofs towards the point at which the manholes occur in order to make the flow of water converge on that. Here then again we have a slope of the palace roofs at Knossos completely analogous to that which the internal position of the cistern makes necessary for the house at Chamaizi, and it contradicts the carinated roof prototype of Noack's theory in entirely the same way.

Let us now finally for argument's sake grant the keel roof of Noack's prototype. Even so, why put this into any special relation to an elliptical type of construction, since Lycia, as we have seen, probably had a house-type with carinated roof which was itself, be it noted, entirely rectangular in form! Notwithstanding then the misleading ellipse of Chamaizi, we see keel roofs in the East Mediterranean area which, instead of being associated with elliptical houses, are seen in the case of Lycia developing in connection with a rectangular type of house. Shall we then go the length of suggesting that the rectangular house took over the keel roof from an elliptical type of building? Yet even then this rectangular type of house with carinated roof, notwithstanding all its southern affinities and claims of relationship to Aegean house forms with which those of Noack's primordial ellipse cannot be compared, could hardly be assigned a rôle in relation to the development of the Cretan Palaces, such as Noack claims for the supposed prototype of the elliptical house at Chamaizi. From the point of view of roof construction, the development of the Cretan Palaces

was of an entirely different kind. And of this we found an indication in arrangements for roof drainage, which are seen to be no more characteristic in the East Wing of the Palace at Knossos than at Chamaizi itself.

The theory of the development of the central-court house of the Aegean criticised appears at first sight so plausible that one would naturally be disposed to discuss it on its own merits, were there any real data to go upon, such as might reasonably be supposed to point in the direction suggested by Noack.

Such indications as there are, however, rather point, as we have seen, in another direction. And here we are more than justified in appealing to a piece of evidence left out of account by Noack, but which for our present purpose is very much to the point. It is that supplied by the pyxis of Melos shown in Fig. 1 [see p. 359].

What the pyxis shows us is a house with circular rooms ranged right and left and at the back of a central court which is itself, be it noted, of elongated rectangular type. The house is entered, be it further noted, by a gabled portico in the long axis of the central court. Now it does not require much observation to see that the genesis of this kind of central court is quite different from that conceived by Noack for the elliptical house at Chamaizi. And the difference becomes all the more striking for the very reason that, though the unit in construction with which we start is a circle, the central court which emerges has the same quadrangular form it would have had were we dealing entirely with rectangular construction. Indeed, so much is this the case, that the suspicion arises that the model for the rectangular court of the Melian pyxis was an entirely rectangular house with central court. The straight front of the portico points in the same direction, and though this has a gabled roof, the latter cannot be explained by reference to the keel roof of Noack's ellipse. A portico of this kind is indeed more likely to have a certain affinity with that which formed a characteristic feature of the megara of Dimini and Sesklo which are of entirely rectangular construction. The portico, equally with the central court of the Melian pyxis, betrays the influence of rectangular construction.

The one architectural analogy in the Mediterranean, which shows most strikingly how circular constructions generate an internal court independently of the traditions of rectangular construction, is provided by the

Nuraghi of Sardinia.[1] And it can be taken as quite symptomatic that in this case a rectangular outline is a very rare exception and never the rule Yet all the same the Nuraghi of Sardinia, equally with the house-model for the pyxis of Melos, start with an addition of unit to unit, and there is nothing whatever in either case corresponding to that process of internal differentiation within a single unit presupposed in the elliptical prototype of Noack's theory.

That the portico of the Melian pyxis, taken by itself, may have a certain affinity with that which is characteristic of the megara of Dimini and Sesklo, need not surprise us too much, since the pyxis probably belongs to the beginning of that Middle Cycladic period when intercourse between the Aegean and Thessaly was probably more active than at any other time. But in case we should be tempted to draw wrong conclusions from the fact of this affinity, it will be well to bear in mind the equally striking fact that certain typical house fronts of the Second City of Phylakopi betray an equally strong analogy with characteristic façades of Middle Minoan Crete, as represented by the Saience plaques of Knossos.

As regards the type of circular-roomed house in the Aegean represented by the pyxis of Melos, the near analogy of the Nuraghi of Sardinia does not encourage us to wander so far afield as East Central Europe for the prototype of this kind of house in the Mediterranean. This is what Bulle does with the round huts of Orchomenos; but with that and connected questions I hope to deal later.

DUNCAN MACKENZIE.

[1] The Nuraghi of Losa, Lugheras, Voes are typical examples.

(To be continued.)

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual meeting of subscribers to the British School at Athens was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 27th, 1908, LORD CROMER presiding.

The Chairman of the Committee (MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN) brought to the notice of subscribers the work of the recently founded Byzantine Research and Publication Fund.

The Secretary (Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE) submitted the following report on behalf of the Managing Committee.

The Managing Committee in presenting their Annual Report desire to congratulate the Director and the staff of the School on a successful Session of varied activities and particularly on the continued success of the excavations at Sparta. They also wish thus early in their Report to record their gratitude to Mr. W. W. Astor for his munificent donation of £1,000 to the excavation fund, which will make it possible to continue operations during the coming Session on a more extensive scale.

The next feature of importance in the history of the year has been the foundation, in association with the School, of the *Byzantine Research and Publication Fund*, whose programme the Managing Committee warmly recommend to all supporters of the School. It had long been matter of regret to the Committee that they had been unable to do more for the study of the Byzantine epoch, a regret which was enhanced when they considered the high quality and repute of the individual essays made by their students in this field. To the newly formed organisation have been made over some funds already contributed to the School but ear-marked for research in the Byzantine and Frankish periods, and the facilities of the School in Greece will naturally be placed at the disposal of students coming out under the auspices of the Fund. These students are entitled as such to election as Students of the School. The organisations are otherwise independent, but common representatives sit on both Committees.

While preparing their Report the Committee saw with gratification the

production of the thirteenth volume of the School Annual. They congratulate the staff on the beauty and interest of the volume, and desire to record once more their gratitude to Mr. Cecil Smith for acting as editor and to Miss C. A. Hutton for her ungrudging assistance in this important part of the School's work. With the growth of the School, the claims on the Director's time and interest are increasingly heavy, and the Director and the Committee sincerely appreciate Mr. Cecil Smith's continued kindness to the School in undertaking the labour of editing its *Annual*.

The Director.—With the exception of a brief visit to explore an ancient site near Datcha in the Cnidian peninsula, Mr. Dawkins spent the whole of his time at Athens and at Sparta. The results of the excavations, which were carried out under his superintendence from March to the end of May, are summarised below. At Athens he was occupied in the general management of the School, and during the Session he read papers at two of the four Open Meetings, prepared vol. xiii. of the *Annual* for publication, wrote summaries of the progress of archaeological study in Greece for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and other publications, and a lengthy report on the modern Greek language for the Treasury Committee on Oriental Studies. His official duties have been added to by a Royal decree of the Greek government, which compels his frequent attendance at examinations of Greek Students for a diploma to teach the English language. He spent August and September in Italy, and since his return to England has lectured on the work of the School before the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Liverpool, and has read a paper on the Byzantine mosaics in the churches of St. Demetrius and St. Sophia at Salonika, before the Oxford Historical Society.

The Assistant Director and Students.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Director of the School, reached Athens on October 17th and left on July 1st, during which time he has, as in former years, been responsible for the Library and the Hostel, and, in the Director's absence, for the general management of the School. The success with which he has discharged his varied and important duties is shown in the paragraphs dealing with the Hostel and Library, and indeed in the smooth working of the whole Session. Mr. Hasluck's work on the Cyzicene district is now on the eve of publication, and during the past year he has been free to devote himself to the study of the records of Italian history and art in Greek lands. He has now completed a valuable treatise on the Genoese monuments of Chios, which will be followed by a work on the Gattilusi monuments of Lesbos and its dependencies. For these and other researches he travelled in March and June, visiting, amongst other places, Chios and several sites in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. He also visited Cotyaeum, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Philadelphia, Aezani, and Trebizond. He has also collected materials at one time or another in the Peloponnesus and in Genoa. The Committee learn with gratification that Mr. Hasluck's health has

been fully restored after a serious illness in the winter, and that he has already started for the Balkan States on the way to resume his duties at the School.

Mr. W. M. Calder, B.A., Christ Church, Oxford, spent a month in Athens studying the history of the Seleucid period, and a fortnight in Crete on his way to Asia Minor to join Sir William Ramsay. He helped in Sir William's excavations at Bin Bir Kilisse and Emir Ghazi, and travelled with him in the districts north-east of Laodicea Combusta. Mr. Calder subsequently spent three weeks alone in Central Galatia, where he found inscriptions of topographical and historical importance. He will renew his researches during the coming Session.

Mr. G. Dickins, whom the Committee wish to congratulate on his recent election to a Fellowship at St. John's, Oxford, completed in the course of the Session the important work on which he has been long engaged, the restoration of the colossal group by Damophon at Lycosura. In a previous volume of the *Annual* Mr. Dickins had published a definitive article on this sculptor, which goes far towards settling the long-vexed question of his date. In the volume just issued appears Mr. Ogilvie's fine drawing of the group as restored by Mr. Dickins, with the latter's closely reasoned study of the evidence for each step of the work. The whole forms one of the most notable contributions to our knowledge of ancient sculpture that has appeared in recent years. Mr. Dickins has also been at work on the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, and has practically completed the section dealing with early works in marble. At Sparta he finished the examination of the Chalkioikos site, and worked on the smaller finds from the Orthia Sanctuary. He also made a short tour in Albania and Thessaly.

Mr. J. P. Droop, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge, again spent the greater part of his time, both at Sparta itself and in Athens, in the study for publication of the vases and bronzes found at Sparta. As in former years his careful work as draughtsman has been of great value to the excavation. He also did some preliminary work on the minor antiquities of the Acropolis Museum, in connection with the Catalogue now being compiled by the members of the School. In March Mr. Droop travelled in the north of Greece, noting some previously unknown prehistoric sites in Phocis, and in June he joined Mr. Wace for the prosecution of the excavations in Thessaly, an account of which appears below.

Mr. J. Farrell, B.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, after preliminary studies in the museums of Vienna and Belgrade, and an examination of the site of Vinça in Servia, proceeded to Crete where he spent six weeks in a tour of the principal excavations. Later in the year he continued his researches in connection with the prehistoric age in Asia Minor, visiting Yortan near Gelembeh, the prehistoric fort in the district of Calloni and other sites in the neighbourhood of Mytilene.

Mr. W. Harvey, Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy of Arts, spent the summer in Greek Lands. Mr. Harvey's work principally consisted of Byzantine studies carried out in consultation with the Committee of the newly founded Byzantine Research Fund. He was also engaged as draughts-

man to the Sparta Excavation, spending a month at the site drawing the vases, terracottas, and ivories there found. Mr. Harvey's Byzantine studies consisted of works in Athens; the Argolid, where he made careful records of several interesting churches; Salonika, where he continued the work of recording the Byzantine monuments of this city. A more detailed account of this work will appear in the Byzantine Fund Report.

Mr. H. Pirie-Gordon, B.A., of Magdalene College, Oxford, came out to the School to make a study of the mediaeval castles of Cyprus and Syria. After preliminary journeys to St. Luke in Stiris, Meteora, and Mt. Athos, he spent January and February in Rhodes and Cyprus, and the following three months in Syria, in the course of which he visited and studied the Crusader castles at Honin, Belvoir, Beaufort, Toron, Safed, Safita, Mons Ferrandos, Hárim, Antioch, Margat, Tortosa, and Athlit, and also the Arabic castles of Homs, Haleb, Akka, Masyad-Ruad. He also inspected a large number of late Greek and Graeco-Roman remains in north Palestine (Kadesh), Syria (Baalbek and Seraikin), Hierapolis, and also many rock tombs at Gebala.

Mr. M. S. Thompson, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, holder of the Charles Oldham University Scholarship, after a month's study in Athens, travelled with the Director to Chios, Datcha, and Syme, continuing his journey alone to visit Macri and other Lycian sites. After more work in Athens and a visit to Crete, Mr. Thompson proceeded to Sparta, where he was present at the excavations to their close, working on the plans and sections and studying the smaller finds. He afterwards joined Mr. Wace and Mr. Droop on their Thessalian excavation and subsequently visited Rhodes and other islands with Mr. Wace.

Mr. A. C. Sheepshanks, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, assistant master at Eton College, devoted his time to procuring that first hand acquaintance with ancient sites which does so much to give interest and freshness to historical and classical teaching. In pursuance of this plan he visited most of the famous sites of Crete and continental Greece.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has been again at work on the study of the smaller finds from the Orthia site, one item of his labours being the cleaning, sorting, and study of the lead figurines, which now amount to over 5,000 specimens. In addition to this he was in charge of the trial-pits near the theatre, the stoa, and the iron bridge, and again gave valuable help in the excavation at the Artemision. At Athens he helped in the preparation of the Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum and continued his studies in Hellenistic art. He also travelled with Mr. Droop in Boeotia and Phocis, noting several hitherto unknown prehistoric sites in the district between Lamia and Lianokladia. In June, with Mr. Droop and Mr. Thompson, he conducted the excavations in Phthiotis of which a report is given below. In July and August he travelled with Mr. Thompson in Rhodes with a view to studying both ancient sites and modern dialects. At the invitation of Dr. Kinch, who is excavating for the Ny Carlsberg Foundation of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, they joined his expedition and assisted for a fortnight in his excavations at Vroulia and Kattavia. This

compliment to their students on the part of the Danish Mission is duly appreciated by the Committee.

Mr. Norman Whatley, B.A., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, having been granted a year for study abroad by his College before taking up tutorial duties, spent the winter in Germany and reached the School in February. With a view to obtaining as much help as possible towards teaching the history of Greece, he made a series of tours, studying the influence of Greek geography on its history, and in particular tracing the ancient, military, and commercial routes. Among the districts he visited were the Peloponnesus, Aetolia, Thessaly, Acarnania, and Boeotia. The Committee consider Mr. Whatley's method and results an excellent instance of what a student may accomplish who, being unable to specialise during a single session in any one branch of archaeology devotes his time to acquiring a general but first-hand knowledge of the topography and antiquities of the country whose history he is about to teach.

Mr. A. M. Woodward, B.A., Magdalen College, Oxford, who came out with grants from the Craven Fund and from his College, again devoted himself to epigraphical study, preparing for publication the numerous inscriptions that have come to light in the course of the excavations at Sparta. Besides this task, which is always one of the most important in a Greek excavation, Mr. Woodward has been at work on a report of the topography and antiquities of Maina and on a paper dealing with inscriptions of the Acropolis Museum, which latter will be published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Besides students of the School the following have been allowed rooms in the Hostel for short periods: Mr. M. Rackham, who came to assist in Mr. Ure's excavations; Mr. Lukach, travelling with Mr. Pirie Gordon; and Mr. Ogilvie, the artist employed on the drawings for Mr. Dickins' restoration of the Damophon Group. The Secretary of the School was also in residence till January.

Excavations.—At Sparta it was considered best to devote the limited funds available for excavation almost entirely to the continuation of work on the Orthia site. Here the Director superintended operations throughout the course of the excavation from March 23rd to May 29th, being assisted, as detailed in their respective reports, by Messrs. Wace, Dickins, Droop, Woodward, Farrell, Thompson, and Harvey. To the zeal and capacity of their staff, junior as well as senior, the Managing Committee once more desire to express the School's indebtedness. Gregorios Antoniou again proved a skilful and trustworthy foreman, and on leaving for Knossos was ably succeeded by Michael Katsarakis. The services of Janni Katsarakis were again secured as mender. Work began at the Orthia site by removing such parts of the Roman amphitheatre as seemed likely to cover archaic remains of importance. In this way a series of houses, probably of the fifth or fourth century B.C., were discovered to the east of the great altar. These probably lay outside the archaic *temenos*, and the objects found in them fill a gap in our knowledge of Spartan art, as hitherto no remains of this period had been discovered. The same process of removing the Roman masonry was carried out in

the area between the sixth-century temple and the river. Here the archaic strata yielded many objects of importance, including a large number of ivories, a series of small sixth-century reliefs in soft stone, some bearing inscriptions, and some fine 'Cyrenaic' pottery. It was, however, from the area uncovered to the south of the temple that the most important results were obtained, for here was sought and found the primitive temple coeval with the large archaic altar. It proves to have been a building of mud brick, resting on a foundation of undressed stones, and held together by a framework of wooden beams, while a row of wooden columns ran down the centre. Traces were also found of a small *cella* for the reception of a cultus image. In this temple we have in all probability the earliest Dorian building known. In the course of the excavation of this building a great number of archaic votive offerings were found of the same date and class as those previously discovered, the series of carved ivories and lead figurines being thus materially increased. The pottery finds, however, are of more striking importance. Following on the vases of the Geometric period a fabric was found which begins as an early stage of the pottery known as Cyrenaic, develops into a mature style of this fabric (one very fine kylix was found practically entire), and ends as a degeneration of the same style. It would seem, therefore, practically certain that this fabric is really Laconian, a view that has long since been put forward by Klein. The excavation of the site of Athena Chalkioikos was also completed. Owing to the denudation of the ground little of importance was found, but addition was made to the fragments of Panathenaic Amphorae and the Geometric pottery discovered last year. A small excavation on the northern bank of the Eurotas, at a spot just above the modern bridge, led to a find of considerable numismatic importance. In a jar was discovered a hoard of 86 silver tetradrachms. Half of these were Athenian coins, the rest belonged to various dynasts of the Hellenistic age. One series make it practically certain that the coins with the inscription ΔΑ variously assigned by numismatists to Allaria in Crete or to Lacedaemon may now definitely be attributed to the latter place.

The need for a determined effort to throw more light on the chronology of the early civilisation of Northern Greece and on its relationship to other cultures was emphasised in last year's Report. In pursuance of this idea, Messrs. Wace, Droop, and Thompson, with the help of a grant from the Cambridge University Worts Fund, excavated a site called Zerelia near Almyro in Southern Thessaly (Phthiotis). It had long ago been suggested that this site was identical with Itanos and that the temple of Athena Itania might here be discovered. Early in the excavation this identification was disproved, no Hellenic remains much earlier than the third century being discovered. But immediately below these late and badly built walls lay a rich prehistoric deposit from 6 to 8 metres thick, comprising no fewer than 8 successive settlements separated by layers of burnt and decomposed mud brick. Roughly speaking, the pottery degenerates in style and fabric as the more recent age is reached, while, on the other hand, there is an improvement in the technique of the stone implements found. This decline of the artistic spirit with a simultaneous rise in the practical and commercial side of life

strikes a curiously modern note, coming from the remote ages of the Greek past. How remote, it is possible to a certain extent to surmise. In the topmost stratum were found cist-tombs containing wheel-made vases and a few bronze objects, and from the same stratum come fragments of late Mycenaean Vases of the Ialysos type (Late Minoan III). This settlement may therefore be attributed to about 1200–1100 B.C. The contents of the other settlements indicate that until the last phase of the Mycenaean supremacy the north of Greece was still in the Neolithic Age. Further study of the finds of Zerelia and further excavation in the same neighbourhood will doubtless add to the important results already attained. The Committee heartily congratulate the excavators, who, while working under the aegis of the School, carried out these excavations on their own initiative and with funds specially granted to, or collected by, themselves for this admirable purpose.

A second supplementary excavation was undertaken by Mr. P. N. Ure, B.A., of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, with grants from the Managers of the Craven Fund and Caius College and with funds partly raised by Professor R. M. Burrows and partly contributed by the School and by individual members of the Committee. At Mycalessos (Rhitsóna) in Boeotia Mr. Ure continued the work undertaken in a previous year by Professor Burrows and himself. He opened seven more large tombs of the archaic period, which were found to contain Boeotian vases and figurines of this age, with objects of silver and bronze, including a bronze tripod. In a series of late Greek tombs Mr. Ure discovered a large quantity of 'Tanagra' figurines resembling closely those found in the Chaeronea graves, and a row of Roman graves was also explored. For part of the time Mr. Ure had the assistance of Mr. Maurice Rackham. The excavators hope to continue their work in the course of the coming Session.

With a view to settling doubtful points, Professor Bosanquet visited Palaikastro in April, and opened a small *larnax* cemetery high up on the slopes of the kastro. Four *larnakes* were found, together with vases, beads, and a bronze knife. He made some minor discoveries in the town, notably that of a third megaron of the four-columned type in House Γ. An inscription found in Palaikastro village in the previous winter confirms the identification of the temple of Dictaean Zeus and throws interesting light on the statues which it contained. Mr. Bosanquet also made some trial excavations on the Grandes Islands in Palaikastro bay, and the Dionysiades group off Siteia, and in the cave of Drogonara which gives its name to the largest of these latter, he found Middle Minoan pottery.

Open Meetings.—Four open meetings of the School were held, and were well attended, especially the fourth, which was honoured by the presence of H.R.H. the Crown Princess.

Dec. 20, 1907.—The Director: The Year's Work of the School.
Mr. Dickins: The Reconstruction of the Lycosura Statues of Damophon.

Jan. 17, 1908.—Mr. Wace: Excavations in Magnesia (Thessaly).
Mr. Woodward: The Newly-discovered portion of the Damonon Inscription at Sparta.

Jan. 31, 1908.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.
The Director: The Excavation.
Mr. Droop: The Bronzes and Pottery.

Feb. 21, 1908.—Mr. Hasluck: Genoese Monuments in Chios.
Mr. Dickins: The Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta.

Reports of School Meetings have been drawn up regularly for the *Athenæum* and Ἀθῆναι (an Athenian daily paper), for the latter at the request of Dr. Clon Stephanos, an old and valued friend of the School, who is good enough to see that the accounts of the meetings are full and accurate. Occasional reports have also been sent to the *Bulletin d'Orient* and the *Monde Hellénique* (two weekly papers published in Athens), and also to the *Morning Post*.

The Library.—The Library has been enlarged by the addition of seventy-two complete works, forty-one volumes or instalments of works in progress, fifty-four pamphlets, six maps, and the complete series up to date of Arndt-Amelung-Bruckmann's photographs of sculpture (in the 'Einzelverkauf' form). For the latter, an expensive work, economies have naturally been necessary in the library department, which account for the drop in the number of accessions as compared with those of last year.

The arrangement of the Library in the Penrose building is completed, the collection of pamphlets having been finally housed in the cases designed for them. The general catalogue has this year been checked throughout to correspond with the new arrangement, and some 500 cards, representing topographical articles in leading periodicals, have been added to the Topographical Index. It will be remembered that two years ago the School received a generous present of a large Collection of lantern slides mainly dealing with the work of the School for use at Open Meetings. This collection has been added to, and is found increasingly useful.

The Committee desire to offer their thanks to the following for gifts of books and pamphlets:—

H.M. Government for gifts of portions of the Archaeological Surveys of Cyprus and India, the University Press at Oxford and at Cambridge, the American Schools of Athens and Rome, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Carnegie Institute for Advancement of Teaching, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the Dilettanti Society, the Scientific Society (Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑταιρεία) of Athens, and the University of Upsala. The Scientific Society has most generously presented the many volumes hitherto lacking of its publication Ἀθηνᾶ, which contains many valuable papers, especially on philological subjects.

The following authors have been good enough to present copies of their works :—

Miss D. M. Bate, Mr. R. A. Bullen, Prof. J. B. Bury, Dr. P. Castriotis, M. D Chaviaras, Dr. G. H. Chase, Prof. F. Constantinidis, M. Cortesis, Mr. C. C. Edgar, Mr. D. Fyfe, Prof. C. Gourlay, M. J. Gennadios, Prof. G. N. Hatzidakis, Prof. G. Mistriotis, M. Ph. Negris, M. G. Radet, Mr. R. de Rustafjaell, Dr. A. Rose, Dr. K. Sabbas, M. J. Valaoritis.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from Mr. J. D. Bourchier, Mr. W. M. Calder, Mr. M. C. Thompson, Mr. M. N. Tod, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, and from the Director and the Librarian.

The School is also indebted to the following, who have kindly presented works published by them: Messrs. Carl Baedeker, Henry Frowde, Maclehose, and Macmillan & Co.

The above lists only include donors whose gifts have actually reached Athens by the close of the Session.

The School Premises.—Sundry improvements have been effected in the School premises. On the removal of the library from its old home in the Director's house to its new quarters in the Penrose Memorial Library, the Committee felt that something should be done to make the disused library in the upper house of service to the School and more comfortable to the Director. The room has now been fitted with a large fireplace and parquet floor and a new entrance, in accordance with a scheme devised by Professor Bosanquet and Mr. Heaton Comyn, and has been repainted throughout. In its new aspect it makes an excellent dining-room, and is also admirably adapted for official entertainments.

Less interesting but by no means less important has been the thorough overhauling of the drainage system of the School and hostel. This has now been placed under the control of a competent adviser, and the Assistant Director believes that, with the ordinary precautions that should not be pretermitted in any southern climate, students of the School run no avoidable risks. The water-supply has also been regulated and improved.

It will be remembered that the Greek Archaeological Society expressed their intention of presenting a bust of the late Francis Cranmer Penrose, first Director of the School. This gift, which is the work of an Athenian sculptor, M. Bonanos, has now been delivered, and its formal reception will take place early in the coming Session.

Acknowledgments.—The Managing Committee desire to tender sincere thanks, for support accorded in various ways to the School, to the following:—to Sir Francis Elliott, H.M. Minister at Athens, for his never failing care for the School's interests; to Dr. Kavvadias, Ephor General of Antiquities in Greece, for facilities courteously accorded the Staff and Students; to Dr. H. Schrader, of the German Institute, for kindly putting at the disposal of the compilers of the

Acropolis Catalogue his unequalled knowledge of the early marbles of Athens; to Dr. Kinch, of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, for courtesies shown to Messrs. Wace and Thompson in Rhodes; to the British representatives in Salonika for once more furthering the School's interests in the *vilayet*; to Mr. W. R. Paton for his friendly action in initiating the inspection of Datscha and other sites in the Cnidian peninsula; to Mr. William Miller, an old friend of the School, for generous support not recorded elsewhere; to Mr. Arthur Peel, H.B.M. Consul-general for Crete, for his able assistance in questions relating to Cretan archaeology; to M. V. Stais, Director of the National Museum at Athens, for facilities kindly afforded; to MM. Arbanitopoullos, Kapsalis, Kastriotis, and Keramopoulos, representatives of the Ministry of Antiquities in different districts, for help and facilities kindly given to members of the Staff and Students; to Mr. P. P. Hasluck for a generous gift of a lantern for the open meetings of the School; and to the Rev. L. R. Phelps of Oriel for a valued addition to the pictures at the hsotel by the presentation of a portrait of Dr. Arthur Evans.

Plans for Coming Session.—In the course of the Session the Director hopes to complete the investigation of the Artemision at Sparta, to carry out excavations between the Chalkioikos site and the theatre, and to sink numerous trial-pits at likely spots within the *enceinte*. The Thessalian excavations will be resumed in June and July, and Messrs. Burrows and Ure propose completing their work in Boeotia. Progress will be made with the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, and the difficult question of the definitive publication of the excavations at Palaikastro and Sparta has the attention of the Managing Committee.

Finance.—The Revenue account for the year shows a credit 'balance of £1,139 8*s.* 5*d.* as compared with a credit balance of £522 17*s.* 2*d.* for the preceding year. The improvement is entirely due to the donation of £1,000 from Mr. W. W. Astor to the Laconian Fund, which is alluded to in the opening paragraph of the Report. If it had not been for this most welcome contribution, the accounts would have shown a very meagre surplus. Four annual subscribers to the funds of the Schools have died during the year, and eight subscriptions have been discontinued, but eighteen new subscribers appear in the list. The total amount of these subscriptions is £949 5*s.* 0*d.* as compared with £938 6*s.* 0*d.* for the previous year. The donations to the General Funds of the School have decreased this year, being £47 7*s.* 0*d.* as compared withe £110 2*s.* 0*d.* The amount received from the sales of the Annual shows a satisfactory increase over the preceding year, while the cost of publication of Vol. XIII. has been appreciably less than that of Vol. XII.

The balances of the Byzantine Architecture and the Frankish Funds have been paid over during the year, as stated earlier in the Report, to a new organisation, and these Funds appear now for the last time in the School accounts.

In moving the adoption of the report the Chairman (LORD CROMER) delivered the following address :—

GENTLEMEN,—I feel that I owe you some apology for attempting to deal with a subject which may at first sight appear to be mainly, if not exclusively, interesting to archaeologists and scholars, for I cannot claim to be ranked in either of these two categories. I am merely a politician and an administrator, who, being attracted by the undying charm of classic, and especially of Greek literature, has dabbled a little in the classics during the leisure moments of a busy life. My excuse for addressing you must, therefore, be sought in the strong conviction which I have formed that archaeologists and scholars cannot claim—and I feel convinced would not wish to claim—an exclusive interest in the studies and researches which it is the object of the School at Athens to promote.

My contention is that those studies, by stimulating classical learning, and those researches by giving a living interest to the history and monuments of the past, tend to foster an educational system of incalculable value to all who may be engaged in public life. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I am not going to fight over again the battle—at times so stoutly contested—between the humanities and positive science. I assume that most men of evenly-balanced minds will admit, with that great protagonist of the humanities, to whom the School at Athens owes so much—I mean the late Professor Jebb—that the scientific habit of thought, however valuable in the treatment of special subjects, is not by itself an adequate equipment for dealing with general problems. I cannot of course attempt to cover the whole field of thought opened out by this broad generalisation. My ambition is more modest. I merely wish to allude to a few practical considerations which have been forced on my attention during the course of a somewhat lengthy public career, in support of Professor Jebb's conclusion.

Everyone who has paid attention to this subject is, I conceive, familiar with Gibbon's oft-quoted statement to the effect that he gave up the study of mathematics without regret as he feared that the habit of relying on rigid demonstration would harden his mind to the finer feelings of moral evidence. It is impossible, even for a Gibbon, to compress a whole philosophy of life into an epigram. Gibbon's statement does not, therefore, contain the whole truth, but it contains a half truth of great cogency.

Statesmen and politicians have to deal with a great variety of subjects, but I think that if you will ask any practical reformer what is the main difficulty which he has had to encounter in giving effect to his schemes for reform, he will unhesitatingly reply, Finance. I am aware that, in advocating this view, I may be reproached with being myself a castaway after having preached to others; in other words, that I am guilty of inconsistency in pleading for general as opposed to specialised education as a preparation for public life, and simultaneously urging that marked attention should be paid to that speciality, with the treatment of which I have been most concerned. But I think that I can answer this charge of inconsistency. Let me give you an example—possibly an extreme example—of

what I may call the working of the highly specialised mind. Some twenty-five years ago, when the Government of Mr. Gladstone decided not to maintain Egyptian authority in the Soudan, I received a visit from a gentleman of high scientific attainments who had devoted most of his very useful life to the study of botany. He was very indignant with the British Government, and his indignation was, to a great extent, based on the fact that one of the most remote of the districts which were about to lapse into unredeemed barbarism was the only spot on the earth which produced a certain species of trefoil. (Laughter.) His mind had been so centred on one special subject that he was led to judge British-African policy by a purely botanical standard. Now, I maintain that the state financier who pleads for the importance of his speciality, cannot justly be accused of imposing any such exclusive limits to his political vision. Glance at all the questions, whether connected with external or internal affairs, which now occupy public attention in this country. You will find that in almost all cases the main obstacles to their effective treatment are financial. Instances abound. Let me give a few. What was the origin of the Egyptian question? It was financial. Turn your eyes to Turkey. A very remarkable movement, with which no one sympathises more warmly than myself, has recently taken place in that country. It is as yet far too early to predict the ultimate results which will be obtained, but if the leaders of the movement continue in the future, as in the recent past, to draw their inspiration from that moral quality from which the great monument of Justinian which towers over Constantinople takes its name—if they continue to show *wisdom* in the direction of recognising the hard facts of the situation and moderation in the execution of reforms—it is permissible, in spite of the very great difficulties which still have to be surmounted, to make a somewhat sanguine forecast of the future. (Cheers.) What are the main difficulties which the Turkish reformers will have to encounter? They will, without doubt, assume various forms, but I shall be much surprised if the most formidable amongst them are not found substantially to be of a financial character. To quote another example, what is the rock on which the reform of the Congo administration is most liable to be wrecked? Again I say, Finance. The same characteristic appears in almost all important questions of internal policy. The bed-rock of all the difficulties connected with Tariff Reform, Old Age Pensions, Licensing Bills, and Educational progress is Finance.

You may ask, in what respect are these observations connected with the special subject in which my present audience is interested? I venture to think that on reflection it will be seen that a somewhat close connection can be established between them.

It might appear at first sight that, of all political subjects, Finance is that which, beyond all others, approaches most nearly to a positive science. Here, at all events, it may be said, there is no room for anything but that rigid mathematical demonstration which Gibbon thought would blunt his moral sense. To a certain limited extent this view of the case is correct. Figures are inflexible, and it is certain that if any nation indulges in a Corybantic revelry of the emotions to the neglect of facts (laughter), it is sure to be brought up, sooner or later, by what has

been called—I think by St. Augustine—the *odiosa cantio* of arithmetic. But this does not state the whole case, and it is on this account that I described Gibbon's *dictum* as only a half-truth. For the financier has not merely to deal with figures. He, perhaps more than any other public man, has to consider human aspirations, wishes, and even prejudices, and his success might be tested by his skill in hitting off what in statics would be called the resultant of the divergent facts and forces with which he has to deal.

If this view of the case contains even a certain amount of truth, what education, I would ask, is the most suited to prepare our youth for the work of public life, bearing in mind especially that, apart from those who rise to places of marked political distinction, every educated Englishman should be, and generally is, more or less of a politician? With what material—to use a very beautiful expression of Lucian—should we water the garden of the young mind?

Do not, indeed, let us neglect the purely utilitarian side of education, or disparage its value. We may remember that Plato urged that a child, who was intended to be a builder, should be encouraged to play with toy bricks. Do not let us exaggerate the value of a classical education. Let us rather follow Freeman's advice and allow the classics to be an object of reasonable homage and not of an exclusive superstition. More especially, do not let us exaggerate the value of a literary style, which is often supposed to be acquired by a study of the classics, for although that study may add some persuasive grace to the written and spoken word, it is none the less true that a man who has clear ideas will generally find language to express them clearly and forcibly, albeit he may know no language but his mother tongue. But, on the other hand, do not let us suppose for one moment that utilitarian education alone will do all that is necessary to develop that Megalopsuchia which is so essential to youths who are destined to take their share in the government and administration of an Empire which is world-wide. Let me remark in passing—in case I should be misunderstood by any who are not amongst my present audience and who may perhaps think that I am advocating some novel and objectionably aggressive form of Imperialism—that Megalopsuchia, which is admirable, is not in any way to be confounded with Megalomania, which is altogether detestable. (Cheers.)

No, gentlemen, we cannot afford to neglect the teaching of those who were not only the Schoolmasters of future ages, but also some of the most acute observers which the world has ever produced, of the springs which move human beings to action; of those whose fertile, versatile, and analytical genius may have been equalled, but has certainly never been surpassed; of those who attached far greater importance to education, in the sense of training and developing the character, than to instruction, which merely stores the minds of the pupils with miscellaneous knowledge; of those who were the fathers alike of arithmetic and oratory, of geometry and moral philosophy; of those who were not only the fountain head of all our intellectual possessions, but whose civilisation has been recognised by so eminent a theologian as Cardinal Newman to have been so intimately associated with Christianity that it may even be called the soil out of which Christianity sprang.

More than this. What is the quality most of all required to deal with the political problems of the present age, and notably with those important financial issues, to the intricacy and all-pervading nature of which I have already alluded? I say it is the abhorrence of extremes, which was so marked a characteristic of the Greek mind. It is Sophrosyne, and inasmuch as the study of the masterpieces of Greek literature tends to foster that quality, it forms a very useful—I should say an almost indispensable—portion of any liberal education which professes to be a preparation for the exercise of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a free country. There must, after all, as an eminent scholar, Professor Gilbert Murray, has recently remarked, be something in books which are 2,000 years and more old, and of which, in spite of their age, the world has not yet had enough.

It would be easy to dwell at greater length on this fascinating theme, but what I have said will be sufficient to explain some, though by no means all of the reasons why—in spite of my deficiency in archaeological and scholarly attainments—I am present here to-day in order to testify my sympathy with the work being performed by the British School at Athens in the direction both of classical study and archaeological research.

Let me add a few words on the subject of the recent work performed under the auspices of the School. I believe I am correct in saying that the excavations conducted last year yielded results which are mainly of value in connection with Greek history during the seventh and sixth centuries, that is to say, during the period when the Greek genius was in its childhood, and had not yet been fully developed. They are none the less valuable on that account. It is of the highest interest to watch the germ and growth of the seed which at a later period yielded such admirable fruit.

I should also wish to allude briefly to the Students of the School. The numerous fellowships which they have obtained at the universities are of themselves a sufficient proof of their efficiency. There must, however, always remain a mass of work which is done, and well done, without hope of any special reward, in the genuine spirit of scientific research, and for mere love of the work for its own sake. The School at Athens has, therefore, every reason to be grateful to such students as Mr. Hasluck, Mr. Wace, Mr. Dickins, and their colleagues. (Cheers.)

Lastly, let me say something of the financial outlook. You may remember that, at a period before the Government had decided to make a grant of £500, for which we are all very grateful, Lord Sherborne advised those who were interested in the Institution to fall back on the generosity of some British Herodes Atticus. Well, gentlemen, during the course of last year a most welcome Herodes Britannicus *vel* Americanus appeared in the person of Mr. Astor, who gave the munificent and wholly unsolicited gift of £1,000 for the Spartan excavations. (Cheers.) Moreover we have a long list of annual subscribers. But the ever-increasing complexity of subjects for study and the constant opening of fresh fields for research make it incumbent on all who are interested in the objects which the School seeks to attain to spare no efforts in order to maintain and increase its efficiency. (Cheers.)

With these remarks, I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

The BISHOP OF BRISTOL seconded the Report which was carried unanimously.

The Director, Mr. R. M. DAWKINS, delivered an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of the year's work of the School.

Mr. G. F. HILL moved the following resolutions for the election and re-election of officers:—

That Prof. J. L. MYRES, Prof. J. S. REID, and Mr. R. J. G. MAYOR, be re-elected on the Committee.

That Mr. THEODORE FYFE, F.R.I.B.A., be elected on the Committee.

That Mr. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Hon. Treasurer.

That Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE be re-elected Secretary.

The resolutions were seconded by Mr. A. E. BERNAYS, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the auditors, moved by Dr. WALTER LEAF and seconded by Mr. M. N. TOD, was carried unanimously.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to LORD CROMER, moved by Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P., and seconded by the Chairman of the Committee, for his address and for presiding at the Meeting.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1907–1908.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE AND EXCAVATIONS,

3RD OCTOBER, 1907 TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1908.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received or due during the year	949	5	0
Subscriptions received for 1906–7	7	6	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Interest on Investment to July 5th	60	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th	22	1	1
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I–XI)	150	3	8
Special Donations for Excavations:			
Crete 3 0 0			
Do. Laconia 1,343 3 0			
Do. Boeotia 20 0 0			
	1,366	3	0
	£3,054	18	9

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1908				57	2	0
Hostel Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1908	161	9	9			
Less Students' Fees	100	12	3			
				60	17	6
Director's Stipend, 4 quarters to Michaelmas, 1908				500	0	0
Salary, Assistant Director				150	0	0
Publication of Annual (Vol. XIII)				438	1	4
Printing, Postage, and Stationery				42	9	4
Secretary's Salary to Midsummer 1908				30	0	0
Sundries				11	12	0
Studentship (Mr. Droop)				100	0	0
Excavations: Laconia	436	19	8			
Do. Boeotia	38	8	6			
				475	8	2
Payment to Byzantine Fund				50	0	0
Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure				1,139	8	5
				£3,054	18	9

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT,

3RD OCTOBER, 1907 TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1908.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, as per list	47	7	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	94	14	10
	£142	1	10

	£	s.	a
Library	128	19	1
Hostel Building and Furnishing Acct.	13	2	9
	£142	1	10

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE FUND.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Sundry Disbursements . . .	24 16 9	Balance from last Account . .	3 16 8
Balance paid over to Byzantine Research and Publication Fund .	103 19 11	Received from Frankish Fund . .	75 0 0
		Repayment from Funds of the School	50 0 0
	£128 16 8		£128 16 8

FRANKISH FUND.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Transferred to Byzantine Architecture Fund (above)	75 0 0	Balance from last Account . .	50 0 0
		Donation (anonymous) . . .	25 0 0
	£75 0 0		£75 0 0

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1908.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .		5 3 0	Investment—India 3% Stock, at par	2,000 0 0
Balance, representing the funds of the School other than the property in land and building, furniture and library, as per last Account	2,577 17 6		Cash at Bank on Deposit Account .	1,800 0 0
Add Balance of Expenditure and Receipts on Revenue and Excavations Account for the year as above . .	1,139 8 5		*Less* Overdraft on Current Account .	172 5 11
	3,717 5 11			1,627 14 1
Less Capital as above	94 14 10			
		3,622 11 1		
		£3,627 14 1		£3,627 14 1

Examined and found correct.

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

DONATIONS—1907-1908.

	£	s.	d.
Chance, A. F.	5	0	0
Evans, Lady	10	0	0
Lindley, Miss J.	25	0	0
Penoyre, Rev. S. B.	3	3	0
Richmond, Bishop of	2	2	0
Wilson, H. F.	2	2	0
	£47	7	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS.

For Crete—

Tod, Mrs.	£3	0	0

For Laconia—

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Hon. J.	55	0	0
A. H.	10	0	0
Astor, W. W.	1,000	0	0
Baker-Penoyre, John Ff.	1	1	0
Bell, Miss G. E.	2	0	0
Benecke, P. V. N.	2	2	0
Bolak's Electrotype Agency	1	0	0
Brasenose College	10	0	0
Caspari, M.	1	1	0
Corpus Christi College	2	2	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	10	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Gardner, Professor	5	5	0
Genner, E. E.	1	1	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Hellenic Society	100	0	0
Hodgkin, T. E.	1	1	0
Joseph, H. W. B.	2	0	0
Keser, Dr. J.	1	1	0
Leaf, Dr. W.	25	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	2	0	0
Meyerstein, Mrs.	1	0	0
Newman, W. L.	5	0	0
Pembroke College	5	0	0
Penrose, Miss E	1	1	0
Powell, Sir F.	5	0	0
Raleigh, Miss	5	0	0
Ridgeway, Professor	1	1	0
Roberts, J. S.	2	2	0
Rotton, Sir J.	5	0	0
Carried forward	£1,316	0	0

For Laconia (continued)—	£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward	1,316	0	0
Rackham, H.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss E. J.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	2	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	2	0	0
Wagner, H.	20	0	0
	£1 343	3	0

For Boeotia—	£	*s.*	*d.*
Leaf, W.	10	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	10	0	0
	£20	0	0

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	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University, Montreal	5	5	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
The Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Agnew, Sir W.	2	2	0
Allbutt, Prof.	1	1	0
Allen, H. W.	1	1	0
Alma Tadema, Sir L.	2	2	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Awdry, H.	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bodington, Dr. N.	1	0	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Boyle, Miss F.	1	0	0
Brinton, H.	1	1	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burnham, Lord	5	0	0
Burrows, R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Butcher, S. H.	2	2	0
Campbell, Prof. L.	1	1	0
Campbell, Rev. W. W.	1	1	0
Campion, Rev. C. T.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Carr, H. Wildon	1	1	0
Carrington, J. B.	5	0	0
Caspari, M.	1	1	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Cowper, H. S.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Curtis, Mrs. Omodei	1	0	0
Cust, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Dalrymple, J. G. D.	1	1	0
Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Dickins, Mrs. A. L.	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Dörpfeld, Dr. W.	1	1	0
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. A.	1	1	0
Dyer, Louis	1	0	0
Earl, A. G.	1	1	0
Egerton, Rt. Hon. Earl	10	10	0
Elliot, Rev. F. R.	1	1	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Evans, F. Gwynne	1	1	0
Evans, Sir J.	5	0	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forbes, W. H.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£519	5	0

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	519	5	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K. . .	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W. . . .	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman . .	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy . .	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Goolden, R. E.	1	0	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Grenfell, B. P.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Harper, Rev. Principal .	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Henderson, A. E. . . .	1	0	0
Hett, W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Miss Violet . .	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Thomas . . .	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hunt, W. Holman . . .	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A. . . .	1	1	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
James, Rev. S. R. . . .	2	0	0
Karo, Dr. G.	1	1	0
Kenyon, F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
La Touche, C. D.	1	0	0
Lawrence, A.	1	1	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Letts, M. H.	1	1	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Livesay, W.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L. . .	1	0	0
Loring, W.	1	1	0
Lucas, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Lyttelton, Canon Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
MacLehose, James J. . .	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss A. M. C. .	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	2	0	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	2	2	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T. . .	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H. . .	2	2	0
Mond, Ludwig	100	0	0
Morshead, E. D. A. . .	1	0	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Oppé, A. P.	1	1	0
Palli, Miss F. L.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-Smith	1	1	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Laura . . .	1	0	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F. . .	1	1	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S. . .	1	1	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Powell, Miss C. M. . . .	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Rawlinson, W. G.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W. . . .	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys .	1	1	0
Robertson, Malcolm . .	1	0	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Sandys, Dr.	5	0	0
Scott-Moncrieff, Sir C. .	1	1	0
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, Hugh	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Carried forward	£876	5	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1907–1908 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	876	5	0
Stewart, Mrs. H. F. . .	1	1	0
Swan, Mrs.	1	1	0
Tancock, Rev. C. C. . .	1	1	0
Thompson, F. E.	1	1	0
Thornely, Miss A. M. M..	1	1	0
Tod, T. N.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	5	0	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Verrall, Dr.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Ward, John	1	0	0
Waldstein, Prof. C. . . .	1	1	0
Warren, T. H.	1	1	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Welsh, Miss	2	2	0
Wernher, Sir Julius . . .	25	0	0
Whibley, Leonard . . .	1	0	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, W. J. . . .	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M. . . .	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£949	5	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year				959	12	0
Paid in advance last year				2	2	0
				961	14	0
Less Paid in advance at date	5	3	0			
„ on account of 1906–7 as below	7	6	0			
				12	9	0
				£949	5	0

Received during the year Subscriptions for 1906–7 :—

	£	s.	d.
Woodhouse, W. T.	1	1	0
Harper, Rev. Principal	1	1	0
Sole, Rev. S. H.	1	1	0
Karo, Dr. G.	1	1	0
Evans, F. Gwynne	1	1	0
Letts, M. H.	1	1	0
Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool	1	0	0
Total	£7	6	0

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The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list, which is made up to September 7th, 1909.

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1886—1908.

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CECIL H. SMITH, LL.D., 1895—1897.
DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., 1897—1900.
R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.
R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906— .

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1908.

Prof. J. B. Bury, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Arthur J. Evans, Esq., LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres, M.A.	A former Student of the School. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner, M.A.	Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897.
Prof. A. van Millingen, M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
W. H. Forbes, M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.	Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1908.

Ernest A. Gardner. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Yates Professor of Archaeology at University College, London. Admitted 1886—87. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks. Admitted 1886—87.
H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost and late Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
Robert Weir Schultz.	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
J. G. Frazer. M.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.[1]
William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of the Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90 Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93.

G. C. Richards. M.A. Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.

O. H. Parry. B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.

J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.

R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.

A. G. Bather. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.

E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.

J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.

H. Stuart Jones. M.A. Formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.

Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Girton College, Cambridge. Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.

F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.

C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Curate of Cranleigh, Guildford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.

E. F. Benson. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.

J. G. Piddington. M.A. (J. G. Smith) Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.

V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.

J. L. Myres. M.A. Student and Tutor of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94, and 1894—95, Hon. Student of the School.

R. J. G. Mayor. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.

R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95, Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96, and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
T. Duncan.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
Charles R. R. Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect to Arab Monuments Committee, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Formerly in the Education Department, Cairo. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis.	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.

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Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Formerly Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth, Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904—05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. B.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.
J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Admitted 1900—01.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901-02.

F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education Formerly Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrew's University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. B.A.	Victoria College, Toronto. Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1903-04. Re-admitted 1904—05. Appointed Director 1906.
E. S. Forster. M.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Readmitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 1905. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907-08.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. F. Fulton.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Lecturer at University College, Gower Street, W. Admitted 1903-04.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Scholarship. Admitted 1903-04.
G. Dickins. B.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05. Re-admitted as School Student 1905-06, 1906—07, 1907-08.
C. C. T. Doll. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—05.

W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. B.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—07.
Miss G. M. A. Richter.	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907–08.
Miss M. Hamilton. B.A. (Mrs. G. Dickins.)	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Scholarship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
A. C. B. Brown. B.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Lecturer on Architecture to the Edinburgh College of Art.
Miss E. B. Abrahams.	University College, London. Admitted 1905—06.
J. Farrell. B.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—07, 1907–08.
Walter George.	Admitted 1906—07.
T. E. Peet. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1906–07, 1907–08.
A. M. Woodward. B.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1906—7, 1907–08.
W. M. Calder, B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted 1907–08.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907–08.
H. Pirie-Gordon, B.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907–08.
M. S. Thompson, B.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Admitted 1907–08.
A. C. Sheepshanks, B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907–08.
N. Whatley, B.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907–08.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	„	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	„	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	„	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	„	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	„	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	„	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	„	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	„	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	„	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	„	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq	„	1906.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY.

Under an ideal system a student would spend two or three seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year the student, while not losing sight of his special subject, might apportion his time thus :—

August and September.—Learn German in Berlin, Munich or Dresden, and thus be able to profit by the three or four courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of the German and Austrian Institutes in Athens. For archaeological literature some knowledge of German is practically essential.

October.—Arrive in Greece. Acquire if possible some use of Modern Greek. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Argive Heraion, before the November rains.

November (middle).—Remain three or four months in Athens steadily working at sites and in Museums, attending courses of lectures and making frequent short excursions to points of interest by train, cycle, etc.

March and April.—Travel, study sites, join one of the Island cruises for students.

May and June.—Begin to concentrate on special work, *e.g.* assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control in the second summer,

or explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or a group of islands,

or work in museums in Italy, Austria, or Germany,

or attend lectures in Pompeii and spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In this case the student is advised to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), in order that he may be admitted to the Library, and have the right to attend the lectures (see rules of the School).

The second year should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified to suit each case. There will always be students who are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. There will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life in order to illuminate their reading and fit themselves for general classical teaching, although they have not time for minute archaeological study.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1908.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1908—1909.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D.Litt., *Chairman*. } *Trustees.*
PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.
J. E. SANDYS, ESQ., Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
SIDNEY COLVIN, ESQ., D.Litt. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
REGINALD BLOMFIELD, ESQ., A.R.A., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A.
ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., D.Litt., LL.D.
THEODORE FYFE, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D.
D. G. HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A. } Appointed by the Subscribers.
W. LORING, ESQ., M.A.
R. J. G. MAYOR, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR J. LYNTON MYRES, M.A.
PROFESSOR J. S. REID, Litt.D.
CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.
M. N. TOD, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 22, Albemarle Street, W.

DIRECTOR, 1908—1909.

R. M. DAWKINS, ESQ., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Assistant Director:—F. W. HASLUCK, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars. The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. First, the command of an adequate library; and second, the advice of trained archaeologists residing on the spot, who follow the rapid advance of the science, due to new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials. These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and British archaeologists. By means of these Schools many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos, in Crete, and, finally, in Sparta, by the British School during the past twenty-one Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported. The *Annual of the British School at Athens*, an archaeological periodical of recognisedly high standing, affords an opportunity for the publication of the Students' more important results.

Students are admitted free of charge. They are required to pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands,[1] and at the end of the Session to write a report of the work they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, Esq., 22, Albemarle Street, W., who will also give full information.

Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are much needed, and will be gladly received. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.

[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

September, 1909.

INDEX.

ACRIAE, 162
Aegean civilization, in Servia, 319, 341 f.; in Thessaly, 222 f., 378 f., 394, 404, 422
'Αλείπτης, 108
Altar, archaic, of Artemis Orthia, 3, 12, 18, 330, 335
Amphitheatre, Roman, at Sparta, 5 ff., 28
Anaxibios, votive stele of, 136, 144
Animals, on Laconian pottery, 33, 39; clay figures of, at Sparta, 49
Ant, 39
Antefixes, terracotta, 12
'Απέλλα, 135 f.
Aphrodite, 49, 65; warlike, 145
'Apollo' statuettes, 69
Apollo Hyperteleates, 165
Arne, palace of, 372, 373, 390 ff., 398, 401
Artemis, Aeginaea, 73; Limnatis, 176; Soteira, 168
Artemis Orthia, as Πότνια Θηρῶν, 63, 64; as fertility goddess, 49; temple, archaic, of, at Sparta, 3, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 27; sixth-century, 5 ff.; Hellenistic reconstruction of, 6, 28; statuettes of, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69
'Ασάνεα, 83
Asia Minor, artistic influence of, 30; on terra-cotta types, 63, 64
Asklepios Philolaos, 164
Athena, games in honour of, at Sparta, 83; Chalkioikos, hieron of, 3, 142 f.; Cyparissia, temple of, 164; Itonia, 197, 199, 224

BEADS, glass, 215; metal, 340; paste, 215
Bears, 52, 54
Bês, 71
Bicephalous figures, 328
Birds, 33, 37, 38, 39; water-, 9, 39, 273
Boeae, 168
'Boeotian kylix style,' vases of, 250, 257, 265, 271, 281, 287, 300, 304, 308 ff.; colouring of, 308 ff.; date of, 311 ff.: origin of, 314 f.
Bone carvings at Sparta, 9, 21, 22; comb (?), 298; needle, 145; plaques, 9, 15; plectrum, 145; statuette, 327
Bones, *see* Skeleton.
Bothroi, 320; ground-plan of, 320
Bothros stratum, date of, 339, 341
Bread-bakers, statuettes of, 52
Brick, mud, 19, 21, 202, 362
Bronze Age, date of in N. Greece, 221, 222; in Servia, 321
Bronze, bell, 145; bull, 145; dagger, 166; knife, 215; nails, 145; statuettes, 145, 165, tripod, 286
Brygos, vases signed by, 302 f.
Byzantine pottery, 198, 202

CAPITAL, Corinthian, 162; Doric, from sixth-century temple of A. Orthia, 6, 7; of poros, 166
Chamaizi, elliptical house at, 414 ff.
Chips, flint, 213, 221; stone building, 16
Cist tombs, 213 f.
Coffins, wooden, 242 f.
Coins, Attic, 153; Egyptian, 155 f.; Hellenistic, 3, 149 ff., 156; Laconian, 153 f., 156 ff.; mediaeval, 232; Syrian, 154
Columns, Doric, 166; wooden, 3, 20
Comb (?) bone, 298
Cooks, statuettes of, 296
Crystal cube, 221
Cycladic, civilization, 422; statuettes, 325
Cyparissia, 161
'Cyrenaic' pottery, 2, 15, 26, 44, 61

DAGGER, bronze, 166
Dea Syria, 187, 189 f., 191

Dialect in Spartan inscriptions, 83, 90, 102, 108, 117, 132, 134, 136, 139
Die, ivory, 145, lead, 73; terracotta, 73
Dimini, date of Bronze Age at, 222, 332; houses at, 374 f; implements from, 219, 221; pottery from, 201, 209 f., 223, 332, 334, 387; terracottas from, 216 f., 227, 322; tombs at, 215, 344.
Dionysos, statue of, 169
Disk, hieroglyphic, 407
Divinities, nature triad of, 67, 69
Divinity as magistrate, 90, 108, 112 ff., 117, 130
Dolmen, 346, 348; tombs in Syria, 406
Dona militaria, 194
Doric, capitals, 6, 7, 166; columns, 166; dress, 62; temples, archaic, 21
Double axe, terracotta, 73; *see* also Labrys
Dress, of Laconian terracotta figures, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, (of A. Orthia), 65; of Servian prehistoric figures, 324 f., 326

EAGLE; as coin type, 191; on sepulchral reliefs at Hierapolis, 191
Eileithyia, tile from shrine of, 29
Engraved gem, 221
Epidaurus Limera, 179 f.
Epidelium, 176
Επιμελητής, 90, 109, 115 ff.
Equestrian goddesses, 57

FIGURINES, clay, from Sparta, 48 ff., 145; from Hierapolis, 189; from Zerélia, 216 ff., 218; from Rhitsóna, 255, 263, 270, 279, 285, 295, 309 f.; from Servia, 321 ff. 328.
Figurine-vases, 304
Fish, sacred, 187, 188
Flint, arrow-head, 215; chips, 213, 221; knives, 320,
Flute-players, 52, 71
Flutes, ivory, 2, 5
Φορθασία, 25
Fourmont, inscriptions copied by, 140 f.

GAMES in honour of Athena, 83
Glass, amphoriskoi, 279, 285; beads, 215
Gem, engraved, 221
Genealogies, Spartan, 98, 122 f.
Geometric, Age, 2, 30; graves, 242, 244; patterns, 336: pottery, 17, 18, 26, 30, 33, 49, 227; style, 313, 315, 316, 317
Gorgoneia, 34, 35, 40
Graves, cist, 213 f.; geometric, 242, 244; Hellenistic, 241, 249; pithos, 213, 242, 298; shaft, 242
Grotesque statuettes, 70
Γυναικονόμοι, 124 f.

HEAD, marble, 147 f.; terracotta, 61, of Dea Syria, 189, of goddess with horses' heads, 73
Hellenistic, coins, 3, 149 ff.; graves, 241, 249; pottery, 10, 46
Hermaios, 249 f.
Hierapolis Syriae, 183 ff.
Hieroglyphic disk, 407; signs, 413
Horses, terracotta, 39, 49, 54
Horse-footed sileni, 71
Horsemen, terracotta, 280
Houses, b'ut and b'en, 368 f., 374 f.; central-hearth, 348, 353; dolmenic, 348; Early Minoan, 366, 371; elliptical, 414 ff.; Lycian, 406, 420; Neolithic, 361, 367; Nordic, 353, 398; rectangular, 346, 358, 361, 366; round, 345, 356, 357, 358, 407, 422; on pyxis, 359, 421
Hyperteleatum, 165

IDOLS, prehistoric, 325, 326, 329
Inscriptions, 3, 10, 12, 25, 34, 74–141, 161, 162, 165, 166, 171, 172, 178, 185, 191 ff., 256, 263, 264, 281, 287, 298, 301, 307
Iron, nails, 242, 256, 264, 270, 281, 286; sickle, 199; sword, 166; vessel, 286
Ithyphallic figures, 52, 71, 218
Ivory, carvings, 21, 22; die, 145; flutes, 2, 5

KANTHAROS, facetted handles of, 293
Keel-roof, 419 f.
Kinados, tomb of, 167 f.
Κλίνη, 242, 244
Knife, bronze, 215
Kourotrophos figures, 327
Kriophoros statuette, 52

LABRYS, 328, 329; as amulet, 329, *see* also Double axe
Laconian, coins, 153, 156; dialect, 83, 102, 108, 117, 132, 134, 136, 139; pottery, 9 ff., 15, 22, 26, 30 ff., 35, 40, 45 f.; relief-technique, 145; school of sculpture, 148
Λάκαινα, 31, n. 3
Lake, sacred, 187 f.
Lead, figurines, 3, 12, 15, 23 f., 145; rivets, 298; vase, 224: wreaths, 60
Lentoid gem, 221

Leucae, 162
Libation-table, 330, 335
Limestone reliefs, 25; statuettes, 25
Lion, 21, 37, 55, 63, 64, 188
Lycian house, 406, 420

MALEA, Cape, 172
Marble, bench, 103; bowl, 111; head, 147 f.; reliefs, 142, 144 f., 169, 171; statues, 171; statuettes, 325
Masks, terracotta, 3, 5, 12, 15, 72
Megarian bowls, 10
Milestones of Septimius Severus, 184 ff.
Monemvasia, 176
Monkeys, terracotta, 52
Mosaic pavement, Roman, 162
Mumbij, 183 ff.; etymology of, 196
Mycalessos, site of, 232 f.; history of, 234 f.
Mycenaean, megaron, 388, 394, 398; pottery, 201, 212, 215, 222, 223

NAILS, bronze, 145; iron, 242, 256, 264, 270, 281, 286
Nature triad of Divinities, 67, 69
Naucratis ware, 261, 367
Needle, bone, 145
Neolithic, civilization, in Crete, 332, 362, 387; in Servia, 338, 341; in Thessaly, 201, 202; house, 361, 366; pottery in Crete, 387
Nordic house, 353, 398
Nuraghi, 346, 347, 422

OBSIDIAN, imported, 221, 320; knives, 221, 320
Onugnathus, 167
Ὁπλομάχος, 107
Orchomenos, tombs at, 215, 344, 408, 422
Orientalizing pottery, 17, 18, 22, 26, 31, 40, 45, 49, 57; style, 313

PAN (?); head of, 148
Panathenaic vases, 145
Panthales, C. Pomponius, genealogy of, 123
Pavement, cobble, 4, 27; mosaic, 162
Phiale, silver, 256
Φιλτοπιεσίλαι, 195
Pictographic signs, 337 f., 407
Pithoi, 208, 211, 213, 215
Pithos burial, 213, 249, 298
Plaques, bone, 9, 15; terracotta, 67
Plectrum, bone, 145
Pomegranate, terracotta, 72
Poseidon Gaiaochos, 83
Pottery: from Boeotia, black-figure, 253, 260, 268, 274 f., 283, 288 f., 306; black-glaze, 254, 262, 270, 278, 285, 292 f.; kylix style, 250, 257, 265, 271, 281, 287, 300, 304, 307, 308 ff.; Proto-Corinthian, 251, 257, 266, 270, 282, 287; red-figure, 241, 294 f., 301 f.: Byzantine, 198, 202: 'Cyrenaic,' 2, 15, 26, 44: Hellenistic, 10, 46: Laconian, from Sparta, 9, 15, 22, 26, 30 ff., 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45 f.; imitation of, 43: Mycenaean, 201, 212, 215, 222, 223: Naucratite, 261, 307: Neolithic, 387: orientalizing, *see* under Orientalizing: prehistoric, from Dimini, 201, 209 f., 223, 332, 334, 387; from Servia, 330 f.; decoration of, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 340; shapes, 331, imitating metal, 326; from Zerélia, 201 ff.; hand-made, 204 ff., local, 204–209, imported, 209–212; wheel-made, 212 f.
Pratolaus, P. Memmius, genealogy of, 123
Προβασκάνια, 72
Protome, 58, 60, 61, 296, 305
Pyxis from Melos, 359, 421

RELIEF, bone, 9, 15; limestone, 25; marble, 105, 142, 144, 169, 171
Relief-technique, Spartan, 145
Rhitsóna, date of necropolis, 241
Rivets, lead, 298
Roman, mosaic, 162; remains, 169 f.; walls, 3, 123 f.
Roof, flat 419 f.; gable, 20; keel-, 419 f.
Roof-tiles, *see* Tiles

SATYR, bearded head of, 71
Satyric scene, 302
Sickle, iron, 199
Sileni, 70 f.; horse-footed, 71
Silphium, 45
Σιτονία, 132
Skeletons, 202, 213, 242, 246, 256, 264, 270, 281, 287
Snail, 39
Snake, 39, 41
Sphinx, 25, 37
Stag-horn, 221, 222; fish-hooks, 320; harpoons, 320
Statue, 193, 189
Statue-base inscribed, 162
Statuettes, bone, 23, 327; bronze, 145, 325; marble, 325; terracotta, 48–73, 145, 165, 216–218, 255, 263, 270, 279, 285, 295, 321–328

Steatite gem, 221
Stele, votive, 6, 95, 136
Στέρεο, 247
Stone, chips, 16; implements, 219 ff. pendant, 221
Sword, iron, 166

Talayot castles, 346
Teisias, signatures of, 263, 292 f., 305
Terracotta, antefix, 12; dice, 73; heads, 61, 189: masks, 3, 5, 12, 15, 72; plaques, 67; statuettes, *see* under Statuettes
Θεὰ Ῥώμη, magistracy of, 130
Θεὸς Λυκοῦργος, patronomate of, 90, 108, 112 ff.
Tiles, from shrine of Eileithyia, 29; painted, 20; stamped, 199
Tombs, cist., 213 f.; dolmenic, 406; shaft, 242 f.
Tortoise, terracotta, 54
Tripod, bronze, 286
Tumblers, terracotta, 52

VASE, lead, 224
Vase handles, 37, 293
Vase-protomai, 61; date of, 61
Vase shapes, 31, 34, 35, 37, 39, 42, 46, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 249, 331
Vases, designs on, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 203, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 332, 333, 334, 337, 338
Vessel, iron, 286.

WALLS, Hellenic, 162, 164, 168; late Roman, 187; Pelasgian, 175
Wing-footed men, 22, 40
Wooden, coffins, 242; columns, 3, 21; frame, 21; temple, 20, 21
Wreath, lead, 60; on stele, 76
Wrestlers, 52

XOANON, of Artemis Orthia, 20, 22 (bone), 58 (clay), 60, 62; of Apollo, 69

ZERÉLIA, date of prehistoric necropolis, 222 f.
Zeus, Dolichenus, 189; Laphystios, 225; Soter, 179, 182

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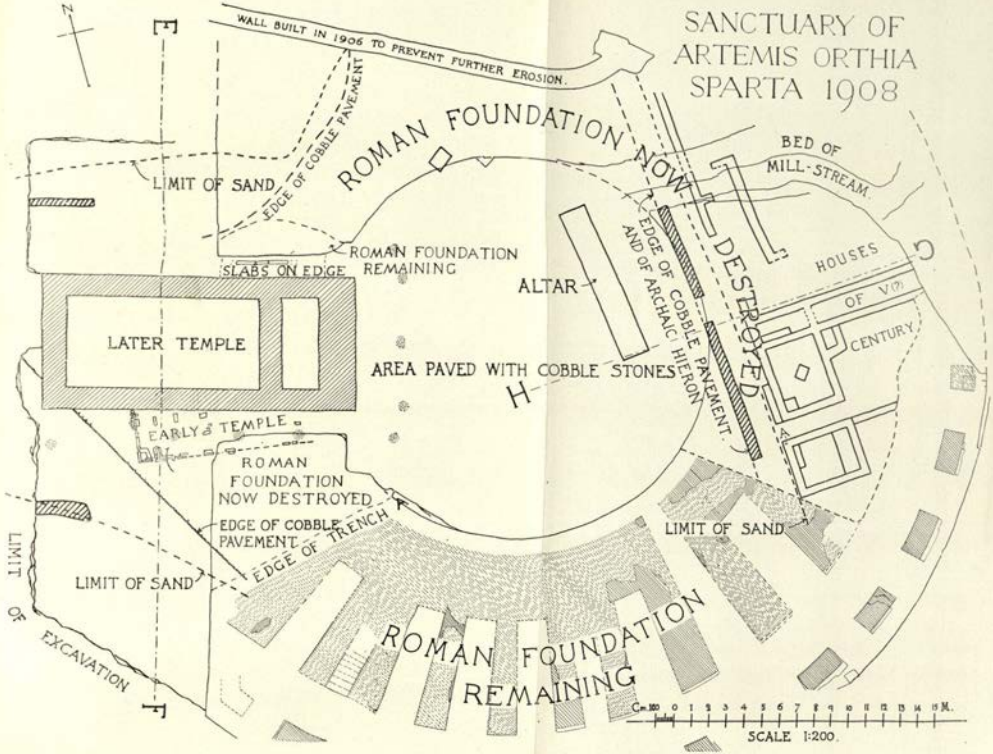
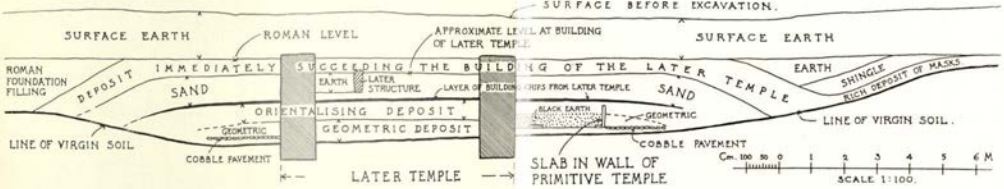
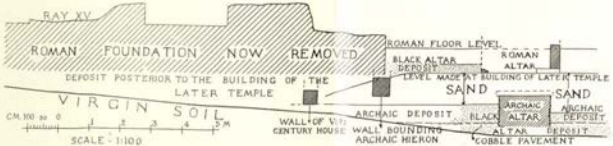

SANCTUARY OF
ARTEMIS ORTHIA
SPARTA 1908
N
WALL BUILT IN 1906 TO PREVENT FURTHER EROSION.
EDGE OF COBBLE PAVEMENT
ROMAN FOUNDATION NOW DESTROYED
BED OF MILL-STREAM.
LIMIT OF SAND
ROMAN FOUNDATION REMAINING
SLABS ON EDGE
EDGE OF COBBLE PAVEMENT AND OF ARCHAIC HIERON
HOUSES OF V(?) CENTURY
ALTAR
LATER TEMPLE
AREA PAVED WITH COBBLE STONES
EARLY TEMPLE
ROMAN FOUNDATION NOW DESTROYED
EDGE OF COBBLE PAVEMENT
EDGE OF TRENCH
LIMIT OF SAND
LIMIT OF SAND
LIMIT OF EXCAVATION
ROMAN FOUNDATION REMAINING
SCALE 1:200.



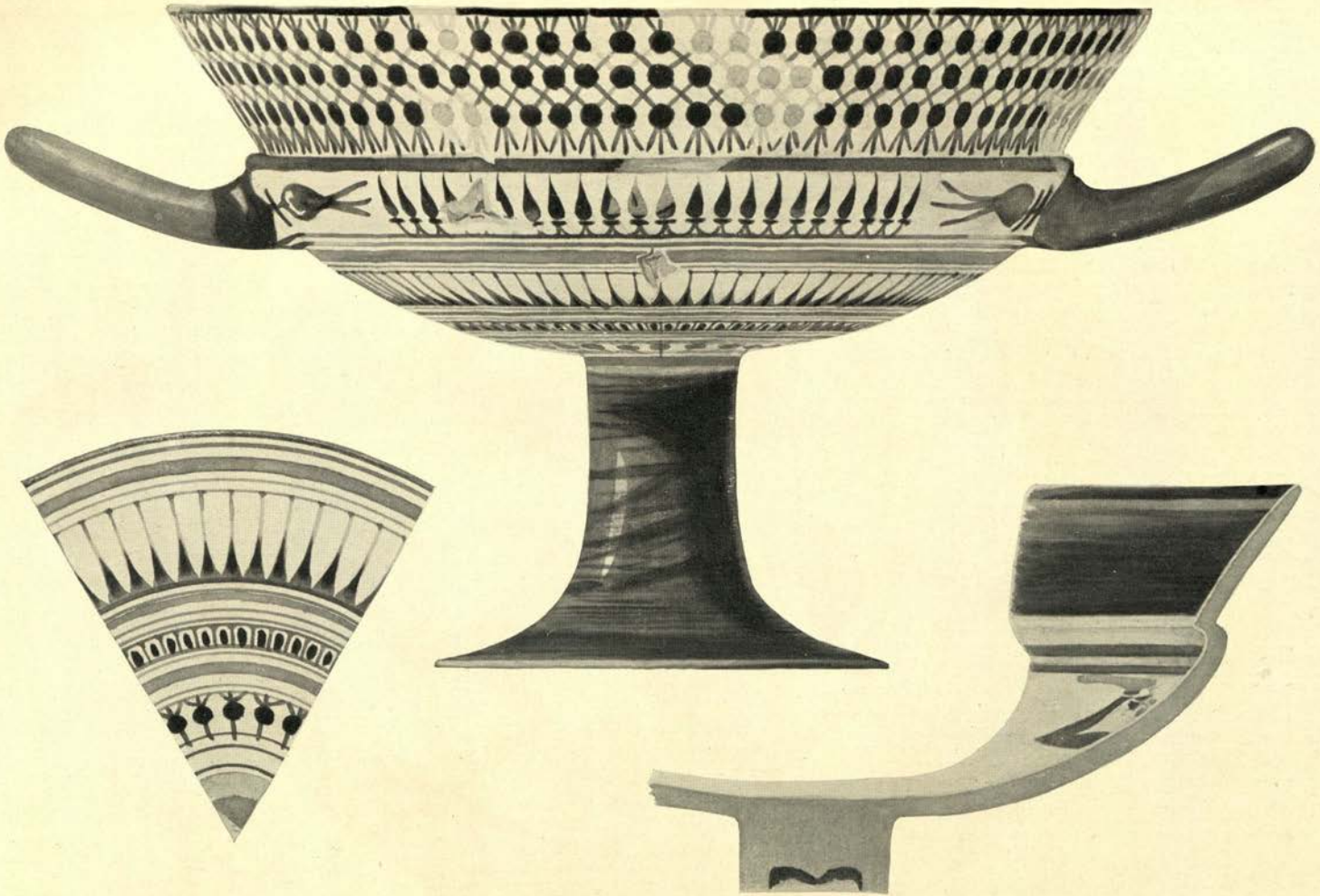
Section on Line E—F in Plan. (*See* Pl. I.)



Section on Line G—H in Plan. (*See* Pl. I.)

Sparta: Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

Sparta: Kylix of Laconian III. Style. (Scale 2 : 3).



SPARTA: KYLIX OF LACONIAN III. STYLE. DETAIL OF ORNAMENT AND SHAPE.

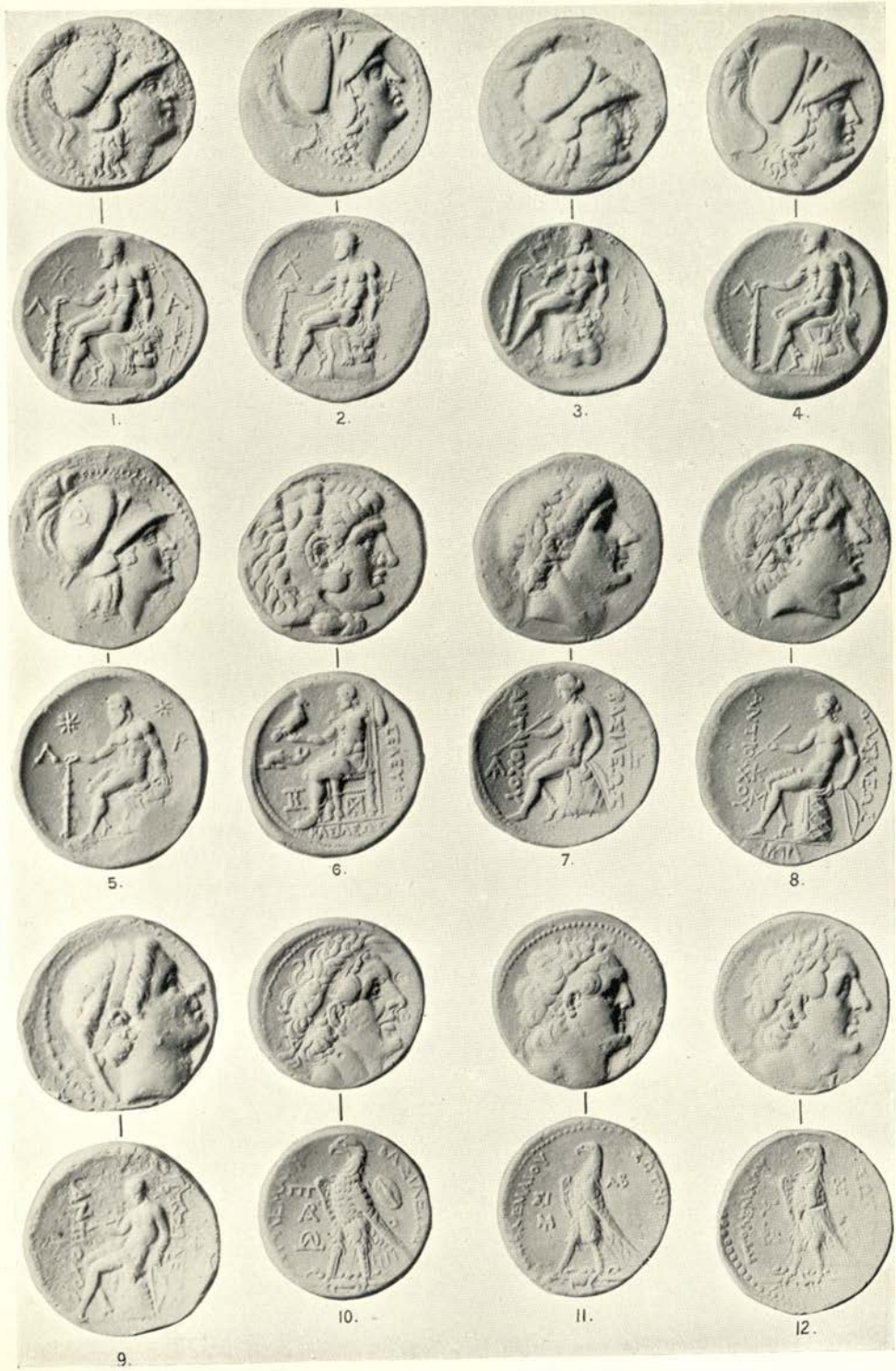
B.S.A., Vol. XIV. (1907–8), Pl. IV.

1. 2. 3. 4.

5. 6. 7. 8.

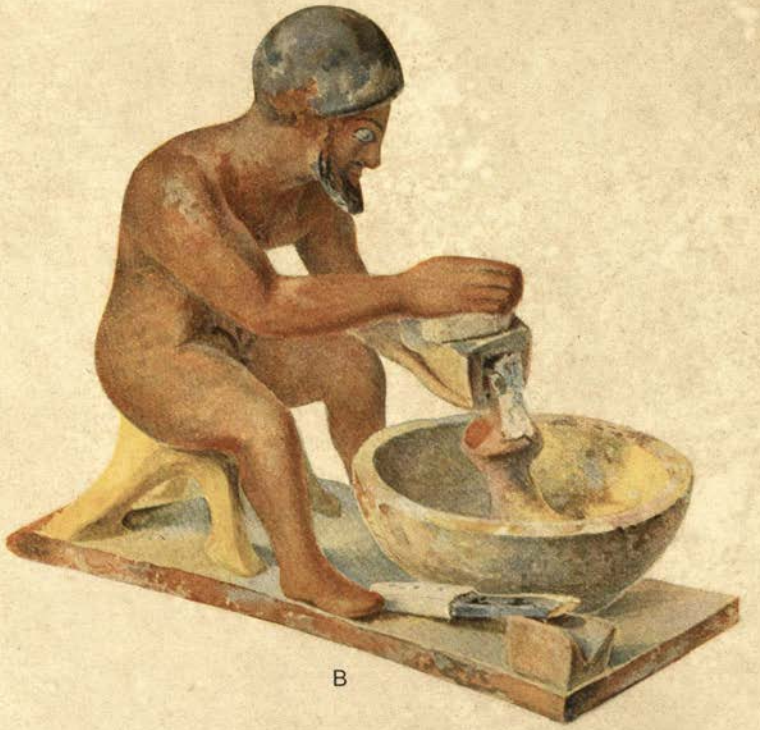
9. 10. 11. 12.

SPARTA: HOARD OF HELLENISTIC COINS.



SPARTA: HOARD OF HELLENISTIC COINS.

A



B

RHITSÓNA: TERRACOTTA STATUETTES FROM GRAVES 31 (A) AND 18 (B).

B.S.A., Vol. XIV. (1907—8), Pl. VII.

A

B

RHITSÓNA: BOEOTIAN GEOMETRIC VASES FROM GRAVES 18 (A) AND 26 (B) (SCALE 3 : 4).

RHITSÓNA: VASES FROM GRAVES 49 AND 51.

a

b

c

d

h

i

e

f

k

g

RHITSONA: VASES FROM GRAVE 50.

B.S.A., Vol. XIV. (1907–8), Pl. X.

RHITSÓNA: VASES FROM GRAVES 26 AND 31.

RHITSÓNA: TERRACOTTA STATUETTES, ETC. FROM GRAVES 26 AND 31.

RHITSÓNA: VASES FROM GRAVES 18 AND 22.

B.S.A., Vol. XIV. (1907—8), Pl. XIII.

RHITSÓNA: RED-FIGURE SKYPHOS FROM GRAVE 22.

RHITSÓNA: VASES FROM GRAVES 26, 31, 49, 51.

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